A Comprehensive Introduction to Nostratic Comparative Linguistics

With Special Reference To Indo-European

VOLUME 3

Allan R. Bomhard

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By
Allan R. Bomhard

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By Allan R. Bomhard

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22.24. PROTO-NOSTRATIC *gʷ

				Eurasiatic			
Proto-Nostratic	Proto-Afrasian	Proto-Dravid.	Proto-Kartvel.	Proto-IE	Proto-Uralic	Proto-Altaic	Proto-Eskimo
gʷ-	gʷ-	k-	gw/u-	gʷʰ-	k-	g-	k- q-
-gʷ-	-gʷ-	-k-	-gw/u-	-gʷʰ-	-x-	-g-	-ɣ-

507. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **gʷal-a* ‘snake’:

A. Proto-Kartvelian **gwel-* ‘snake’: Georgian *gvel-i* ‘snake’; Mingrelian *gver-* ‘snake’; Laz *mgver-* ‘snake’. Klimov 1964:61—62 **gwel-* and 1998:29 **gwel-* ‘snake’; Schmidt 1962:101; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:83 **gwel-*; Fähnrich 2007:105 **gwel-*.

B. Proto-Uralic **kulɜ* ‘(intestinal) worm’: Votyak / Udmurt *kõl* ‘intestinal worm’; Zyrian / Komi *kol* ‘intestinal worm’; Ostyak / Xanty *kuł* ‘tapeworm’; Yurak Samoyed / Nenets *haly* ‘(long) worm’, *sœœńseŋ kaly* ‘tapeworm’; Selkup Samoyed *kåå* ‘intestinal worm, especially tapeworm’. Rédei 1986—1988:227 **kɤlɜ* ‘intestinal worm’; Décsy 1990:101 **kula* ‘a kind of intestinal worm’; Collinder 1955:25, 1960:407 **kułɜ*, and 1977:45. Yukaghir (Southern / Kolyma) *kelid'e* ‘worm’. Nikolaeva 2006:205.

Buck 1949:3.83 worm; 3.85 snake. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:389—390, no. 227.

508. Proto-Nostratic root **gʷan-* (~ **gʷən-*):
(vb.) **gʷan-* ‘to hit, to strike, to slay, to kill, to wound, to harm, to injure’;
(n.) **gʷan-a* ‘strike, harm, injury’

A. Proto-Afrasian (?) **gʷan-* ‘(vb.) to hit, to strike, to slay, to kill, to wound, to harm, to injure; (n.) strike, harm, injury’: Proto-Semitic **gan-ay-* ‘to harm, to injure’ > Akkadian *genū* ‘to butt, to gore’; Arabic *ǧanā* ‘to commit a crime, to harm, to inflict’, *ǧanāya* ‘perpetration of a crime, felony’; Modern Hebrew (pi.) *ginnāh* [גִּנָּה] ‘to denounce, to deprecate; to condemn, to censure, to take to task, to put to shame, to disgrace, to defame; to be denounced, deprecated, disgraced’; Syriac *gannī* ‘to blame, to reproach’; Mandaic *ganī* ‘to denounce, to condemn, to blame; to abuse, to insult’. D. Cohen 1970— :147—150; Murtonen 1989:138; Klein 1987:104. Egyptian *gns* ‘violence, injustice’; Coptic *čons* [ϭⲟⲛϲ] ‘violence, injustice; strength, might, force’, *ǧinčons* [ⲭⲓⲛϭⲟⲛϲ] ‘to use violence, to act violently; to hurt, to harm, to injure’. Hannig 1995:902; Erman—Grapow 1926—1963.5:177; Vycichl 1983:342; Černý 1976:332. Proto-Highland East Cushitic **gan-* ‘to hit’, **gan-am-* ‘to fight’ > Gedeo / Darasa *gan-* ‘to hit, to whip’, *gan-em-* ‘to fight’, (reduplicated) *gan-gan-*

‘to knock, to pound in a mortar’; Hadiyya *gan-* ‘to hit, to thresh by driving ox’, *gan-am-* ‘to fight’; Sidamo *gan-* ‘to hit’, *gan-am-* ‘to hit, to fight’, (reduplicated) *gan-gan-* ‘to knock’; Kambata *ganno* ‘harm’. Hudson 1989:63, 80, and 116.

B. Dravidian: Malayalam *kaṇti* ‘gap in a hedge or fence, breach in a wall, mountain pass’; Kannaḍa *kaṇḍi*, *kiṇḍi*, *gaṇḍi* ‘chink, hole, opening’; Koḍagu *kaṇḍi* ‘narrow passage (for example, mountain pass, hole in a fence’) ; Tuḷu *kaṇḍi*, *khaṇḍi*, *gaṇḍi* ‘hole, opening, window’, *kaṇḍeriyuni* ‘to make a cut’; Telugu *gaṇḍi*, *gaṇḍika* ‘hole, orifice, breach, gap, lane’, *gaṇṭu* ‘(vb.) to cut, to wound; (n.) cut, wound, notch’, *gaṇṭi* ‘wound’, *gaṇḍrincu* ‘to cut, to divide’, *gaṇḍrikalu* ‘pieces, fragments’; Kuwi *gundṛa* ‘piece’, *gandranga rath’nai* ‘to cut in pieces’, *gaṇḍra* ‘piece’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:111, no. 1176.

C. Proto-Indo-European *g^{wh}*en-*/*g^{wh}*on-*/*g^{wh}*n̥-* ‘(vb.) to hit, to strike, to slay, to kill, to wound, to harm, to injure; (n.) strike, blow, wound’: Hittite (3rd sg. pres.) *ku-en-zi* ‘to strike, to kill’; Sanskrit *hánti* ‘to smite, to slay, to hurt, to kill, to wound’; Avestan *jainti* ‘to beat, to kill’; Greek θείνω ‘to strike, to wound’, φόνος ‘murder, homicide, slaughter’; Armenian *ganem* ‘to strike’; Latin *dēfendō* ‘to repel, to repulse, to ward off, to drive away; to defend, to protect’, *offendō* ‘to strike, to knock, to dash against’, *offensō* ‘to strike, to dash against’; Old Irish *gonim* ‘to wound, to slay’, *guin* ‘a wound’; Old Icelandic *gunnr* ‘war, battle’; Old English *gūþ* ‘war, battle’; Old Saxon *gūđea* ‘battle, war’; Old High German *gund-* ‘battle, war’; Lithuanian *genù*, *giñti* ‘to drive’, *geniù*, *genėti* ‘to lop, to prune, to trim’. Rix 1998a:194—196 *$g^{u̯h}$*en-* ‘to beat, to strike, to hit’; Pokorny 1959:491—493 *$g^{u̯h}$*en-(ə)-* ‘to hit’; Walde 1927—1932.I:679—681 *$g^{u̯h}$*en-*; Mann 1984—1987:379—380 *gu̯hen-* ‘to drive, to beat, to kill’, 380 *gu̯hentu̯ā*, 381 *gu̯hn̥-*, 381—382 *gu̯hn̥tis*, *-i̯os*, *-i̯ə* ‘blow, wound, slaughter’, 382 *gu̯hn̥tos* ‘struck, wounded, killed, driven’, 382 *gu̯hondh-* ‘to strike’, 382—383 *gu̯honos*, *-ā*, *-is* ‘blow, chase, slaughter’; Watkins 1985:25 *g^{w}*hen-* and 2000:35 *g^{w}*hen-* ‘to strike, to kill’; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.II:740 *g[^{h}]^{o}en-* and 1995.I:87, I:107, I:644, I:780 *$g^{h o}$en-* ‘to kill, to destroy, to pursue (enemy)’, I:779 *$g^{h o}$(e)n-* ‘to break, to strike; battle’; Mallory—Adams 1997:548 *g^{w}*hen-* ‘to strike’; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:425—426 *gh^{w}*en-*; Frisk 1970—1973.I:657—658 *$g^{u̯}$*hen-i̯ō* and II:1035—1036 *$g^{u̯}$*hónos*; Boisacq 1950:336 *$g^{u̯}$*hen-* and 1033 *$g^{u̯}$*hono-s*; Hofmann 1966:112 *$g^{u̯}$*hen-* and 402 *$g^{u̯}$*honos*; Beekes 2010.I:536—537 *g^{wh}*en-* and II:1586 *g^{wh}*en-*; Ernout—Meillet 1979:224—225 *gh^{w}*en-*; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:332—333 *$g^{u̯}$*hen-*; De Vaan 2008:210—211; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.III:575—577; Puhvel 1984— .4:206—212 *gh^{w}*en-* ‘to smite, to slay, to pursue’; Kloekhorst 2008b:485—486; Orël 2003:146 Proto-Germanic *ƹunþz*; Kroonen 2013:196 Proto-Germanic *gunþi- ~ *gunþjō-* ‘fight’; De Vries 1977:195 *$g^{u̯}$*hen-*; Fraenkel 1962—

1965.I:152—153; Smoczyński 2007.1:180—181 *g^{u^h}*en-*/*g^{u^h}*n̥-*; Derksen 2015:170—171 *g^{w^h}*en-* and 177 *g^{w^h}*n-*; García Ramón 1998 *g^{w^h}*en-*.

D. Proto-Altaic **guna-* ‘to rob, to attack, to torture’: Proto-Tungus **gun-* ‘to punish, to avenge’ > Evenki *gunča-* ‘to punish, to avenge’. Proto-Mongolian **gani-* ‘(vb.) to strive, to endeavor; (adj.) berserk, frenzied’ > Mongolian *gani-* ‘to make efforts, to endeavor, to strive’, *gani* ‘frenzied, mad’, *ganira-* ‘to be mad, to be intoxicated; to be lonely or depressed’, *ganiral* ‘madness; mental obscuration’, *ganiraltu* ‘mad’; Khalkha *gań* ‘berserk, frenzied’, *gani-* ‘to strive, to endeavor’; Buriat *gani(g)* ‘berserk, frenzied’; Kalmyk *gäńṛ-* ‘to become mad’; Dagur *gāni* ‘berserk, frenzied’. Proto-Turkic **Kun-* ‘to rob, to plunder, to attack’ > Old Turkic (Old Uighur) *qun-* ‘to rob, to plunder, to attack’; Karakhanide Turkic *qun-* ‘to rob, to plunder, to attack’; Turkmenian (dial.) *gunuš-* ‘to rob, to plunder, to attack’; Kirghiz *qun-* ‘to rob, to plunder, to attack’; Tuva *χunā-* ‘to rob, to plunder, to attack’. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:571 **guna* ‘to rob, to attack, to torture’.

Buck 1949:9.21 strike (hit, beat); 11.28 harm, injure, damage (vb.). Bomhard—Kerns 1994:467—468, no. 312; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 638, **g[o]ʔiⁿV* ‘to beat, to strike’.

509. Proto-Nostratic root **g*^{w}*an-* (~ **g*^{w}*ən-*):
(vb.) **g*^{w}*an-* ‘to swell, to abound’;
(n.) **g*^{w}*an-a* ‘swelling, abundance, large quantity, prosperity’

A. Proto-Afrasian (?) **g*^{w}*an-* ‘to swell, to abound’: Proto-Semitic **gan-an-* ‘to swell, to abound’ > Arabic *ğanna* ‘to abound (in plants and herbs)’, *ğanma-t* ‘plenty, abundance; the whole’; Geez / Ethiopic *ganna* [ገነ] ‘to be important, to be proud’; Gurage (Wolane) *genä* ‘large’ in *genä ḳuṭäl* ‘large leaf of the *äsät* in which dough is placed’, *gännänä* in *səm-äw yägännänä* ‘famous’, literally, ‘a man whose name (*səm*) is exceeding’; Tigre *gänna* ‘to exceed the measure’; Tigrinya *gänänä* ‘to be numerous, to be strong’; Amharic *gännänä* ‘to be abundant, to be large in quantity, to augment, to increase, to grow (of fame), to be famous’. D. Cohen 1970— :147—150; Leslau 1979:281, 284 and 1987:198; Militarëv 2008a:197 and 2010:75. (?) Geez / Ethiopic *g*^{w}*anak*^{w}*a*, *g*^{w}*annak*^{w}*a* [ጐነኰ] ‘to heap up, to accumulate, to make a large amount’; Tigrinya *g*^{w}*änäk*^{w}*ä* ‘to make a pile of mown hay or grain’. Leslau 1987:198. Egyptian *gn* ‘to be big, great, mighty’. Hannig 1995:901; Erman—Grapow 1926—1963.5:173. East Cushitic: Somali *gen* ‘age’; Konso *kaan-* ‘to be left to grow big’; Dullay *kaan-* ‘to grow’, *kaan-a* ‘big’; Burji *gann-an-ee* ‘big, great, mighty’, *gaan-* ‘to be or become big’, (causative) *gaan-is-* ‘to make big, to enlarge’. Sasse 1982:73 and 78.

B. Dravidian: Kui *gunda* (*gundi-*) ‘(vb.) to sprout, to bud, to shoot forth into bud or ear; (n.) a sprouting, budding’; (?) Kuwi *kunda* ‘a very small plot of

ground (for example, for seed-bed)'; Kuṛux *kundnā* 'to germinate, to bud, to shoot out', *kundrnā* 'to be born', *kundrkā* 'birth', *kundrta'ānā* 'to generate, to beget, to produce'; Malto *kunde* 'to be born, to be created'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:157, no. 1729.

C. Kartvelian: Svan *gun* 'very; plenty of'.

D. Proto-Indo-European *g^{wh}*en-*/*g^{wh}*on-*/*g^{wh}*n̥-* 'to swell, to abound; to fill, to stuff, to cram': Sanskrit *ā-hanā́-ḥ* 'swelling, distended', *ghaná-ḥ* 'solid, compact, hard, firm, dense; full of (in compounds), densely filled with (in compounds)'; Greek εὐθηνέω (Attic εὐθενέω) 'to thrive, to prosper, to flourish, to abound'; Armenian *yogn* (< **i-* + **o-*g^{wh}*on-* or **o-*g^{wh}*no-*) 'much'; Lithuanian *ganà* 'enough'. Perhaps also in Germanic: Proto-Germanic **γunðaz* (< *g^{wh}*n̥-to-*) 'abscess' > Gothic *gund* 'gangrene'; Norwegian (dial.) *gund* 'scurf'; Old English *gund* 'matter, pus'; Old High German *gunt* 'pus'. Pokorny 1959:491 *g^{u}*hen-* 'to swell'; Walde 1927—1932.I:679 *g^{u}*hen-*; Watkins 1985:25 *g^{w}*hen-* 'to swell, to abound'; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.I:84 and I:357; Boisacq 1950:294 *$\underline{g}^{u}$*hen-*; Frisk 1970—1973.I:586—587 *g^{u}*hen-*; Hofmann 1966:98 *g^{u}*hen-*; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:384 *g^{w}*hen-*; Beekes 2010.I:478—479; Orël 2003:146 Proto-Germanic **ǥunđan* ~ **ǥunđaz*; Kroonen 2013:195—196 Proto-Germanic **gunda-* 'pus; decaying skin' (?); Feist 1939:226; Lehmann 1986:163; Jacques 2017; Smoczyński 2007.1:155—156 *g^{u}*hen-*; Fraenkel 1962—1965.I:132—133; Derksen 2015:163 *g^{wh}*on-*.

Buck 1949:12.53 grow (= increase in size); 12.55 large, big (great); 13.18 enough. Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 637a, **g[oʔa]nV* 'much, big'; Bomhard—Kerns 1994:468, no. 313.

510. Proto-Nostratic root *g^{w}*ar-* (~ *g^{w}*ər-*):
(vb.) *g^{w}*ar-* 'to turn, to twist, to wind, to wrap, to roll';
(n.) *g^{w}*ar-a* 'any round or circular object'; (adj.) 'rolling, round, bent, twisted, turned'

A. Proto-Afrasian *g^{w}*ar-* 'to roll, to revolve': Proto-Semitic (reduplicated) **gar-gar-* 'to roll, to revolve' > Ugaritic *t-grgr* 'to bustle about, to make haste'; Geez / Ethiopic *ʔangargara* [**አንገርገረ**] 'to wallow, to revolve, to roll, to roll oneself, to make roll about, to spin, to drive around, to flop around, to wriggle', *nagargār* [**ነገርጋር**] 'rolling, spinning, epilepsy, palsy, possession by an evil spirit, evil spirit'; Amharic *nägärgar* 'epilepsy'; Tigre *ʔangärgära* 'to roll, to wallow'; Tigrinya *ʔangärgärä* 'to roll, to wallow'. D. Cohen 1970— :181; Leslau 1987:202. Proto-Semitic **gar-ar-* 'to turn, to roll' > Akkadian *garāru* 'to turn or roll over (intr.); to roll', *garru* 'round'. D. Cohen 1970— :191—192. Berber: Kabyle *grirəb* 'to roll'. Southern Cushitic: Proto-Rift *g^{w}*ar-* 'to turn (intr.)' > Iraqw (reduplicated) *gwangwaraʔ-* 'to roll (downhill)'; K'wadza *golat-* 'to bend

(intr.)'. Ehret 1980:372. Cushitic: Somali *girāngir* 'wheel'; Saho *gur-* 'to roll', *gargar-* 'to roll'; Bilin *gargar-* 'to move, to stir; to sway back and forth', *ʔengirgír* 'epilepsy'. Reinisch 1887:161. North Omotic: Bench / Gimira *gart-* 'to roll (intr.)', *gars-* 'to roll (tr.)'. Chadic: Hausa *garaa* 'to roll a circular object along the ground', *gaře* 'any circular object used by children to roll along the ground'. Ehret 1995:192, no. 302, *gʷar-* 'to turn (intr.)'; Diakonoff 1992:25 **gʷVr*, **gVr* 'rolling, round, bent'; Militarëv 2012:90—91 Proto-Afrasian **gVr(gVr)-*.

B. (?) Proto-Kartvelian **gor-*/**gr-* 'to roll, to rotate': Georgian *gor-* 'to roll, to rotate, to turn'; Mingrelian *gorgol-* 'to roll'; Laz *ngor-*, *gr-* 'to roll, to wallow', *ngorebul-* 'wallowing'; Svan *gwr-*, *gur-* 'to roll, to rotate', *gur-na* 'round stone'. Schmidt 1962:102; Klimov 1964:64 **gor-*/**gr-* and 1998:31 **gor-*/**gr-* 'to roll, to wallow'; Fähnrich 2007:110—111 **gor-*; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:88—89 **gor-*. Proto-Kartvelian **grgw-* 'ring; round': Georgian *rgol-i* 'ring' (Old Georgian *grgol-i*), *m-rgv-al-i* 'round'; Mingrelian *rgv-* in *mo-rgv-i* 'part of a wheel, coil; round'; Svan *girg-od* 'ring on a wicket', *girgweld* 'link (in a chain)'. Klimov 1998:32 **grgw-* 'round artifact, ring'; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:90 **grgw-*; Fähnrich 2007:117 **gurgw-*. Proto-Kartvelian **grex-*/**grix-* 'to roll, to twist', **grex-il-* 'twisted, rolled': Georgian *grex-*/*grix-* 'to roll, to twist', *grexil-* 'twisted, rolled'; Mingrelian *girax-*/*girix-* 'to roll, to twist', *giraxil-*, *giroxil-* 'twisted, rolled'; Laz *ngrix-* 'to roll, to twist'. Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:89—90 **grax-*; Fähnrich 2007:111—112 **grax-*; Klimov 1998:32 **gr-ex-*/**gr-ix-* 'to roll, to twist' and 32—33 **grex-il-* 'twisted, rolled'.

C. Proto-Uralic **kure-* 'to twist, to turn, to plait, to tie (together), to twine together, to braid': Finnish *kuro-* 'to fold, to plait, to crease, to pull together, to tie shut; to baste (sew), to patch up, to stitch together'; Lapp / Saami *gorrâ-*/*gorâ-* 'to tie together without actually making a knot, to tie shut, to fasten'; (?) Zyrian / Komi *kõr-* 'to plait, to gather'; Yurak Samoyed / Nenets *hura-* 'to tie up'; Selkup Samoyed *kura-* 'to plait, to twist together'; Kamassian *kür-* 'to plait, to braid, to twist'. Collinder 1955:29 and 1977:49; Rédei 1986—1988:215—216 **kure-*; Décsy 1990:101 **kura* 'to bind'. Proto-Uralic **kurɜ* 'basket': Votyak / Udmurt *kür* 'basket made of the inner bark of the linden'; Cheremis / Mari (Eastern) *kurukš* 'basket made of bark'; Vogul / Mansi *kuri*, *huri* 'sack, bag, pouch'; Ostyak / Xanty *kyrəg*, (North Kazym) *hyr* 'sack'; Yurak Samoyed / Nenets *hoor* 'keg, receptacle, bucket', *täekuseä koor* 'bucket made of birch bark'; Tavgi Samoyed / Nganasan *kur* 'vat, tub', *koare* 'box'; Selkup Samoyed *koromǯe* 'basket made of birch bark'. Collinder 1955:28 and 1977:49; Rédei 1986—1988:219 **kurɜ* (**korɜ*); Décsy 1990:101 **kura* 'basket, barrel made of bark'; Janhunen 1977b:74 **kor*. Note: The Uralic forms are phonologically ambiguous — they may either belong here or with Proto-Nostratic **kʷʰir-* (~ **kʷʰer-*) 'to twist or twine together, to tie together, to bind, to fasten'.

D. (?) Proto-Altaic **gŭrʸi-* ‘to tie, to bind, to plait, to twine’: Proto-Tungus **gurē-* ‘(vb.) to unfasten; to tie (a band); (n.) string, cord’ > Manchu *ɢūran* ‘cord for tying a bundle’; Evenki *gurē-* ‘to unfasten’, *gurewu-* ‘to tie (a band)’, *guren* ‘string, cord’; Lamut / Even *gurelge-* ‘to unfasten’, *ɡuɾъn* ‘string, cord’; Ulch *gure-li-* ‘to unfasten’; Orok *gure-li-* ‘to unfasten’; Nanay / Gold *gure-li-* ‘to unfasten’, *gorĩ* ‘string, cord’; Oroch *guǯe* ‘string, cord’; Udihe *gue-* ‘to tie (a band)’. Proto-Mongolian **görü-*, **gürü-* ‘to plait, to spin’ > Mongolian *gürü-* ‘to braid, to twine, to weave’, *gürüge* ‘wickerwork’, *gürümel* ‘braided, woven, plaited’; Khalkha *görö-* ‘to plait, to spin’; Buriat *güre-* ‘to plait, to spin’; Kalmyk *gür-* ‘to plait, to spin’; Ordos *gürü-* ‘to plait, to spin’; Monguor *guru-*, *gurə-* ‘to plait, to spin’. Proto-Turkic **gürʸ-* ‘(vb.) to lace, to bind; (n.) part of a loom’ > Turkmenian *göze-* ‘to lace, to bind’; Kirghiz *küzük-* ‘part of a loom’; Oyrot (Mountain Altai, Northern dialect) *küzüg* ‘part of a loom’; Chuvash *kəʷrəʷ* ‘part of a loom’. Poppe 1960:25, 107, and 126; Street 1974:13 **göre-* ‘to weave, to twist’; Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:575 **gŭŕi* ‘to unfasten, to (un)tie’.

Sumerian *gur* ‘to bend (tr.)’, *gur* ‘to wind up, to roll up, to turn, to twist’, *gur* ‘basket’, *gúr* ‘ring, circle’, *gúr* ‘to bend, to bow (intr.)’, gur_4 ‘to wriggle, to writhe’, *gurum* ‘to bend, to bow (intr.); to bend (tr.)’.

Buck 1949:10.12 turn (vb.); 10.13 turn around (vb.); 10.14 wind, wrap; 10.15 roll (vb.). Bomhard—Kerns 1994:401—402, no. 239.

511. Proto-Nostratic root **gʷir-* (~ **gʷer-*):
(vb.) **gʷir-* ‘to be or become hot, to warm’;
(n.) **gʷir-a* ‘heat, fire’

A. Proto-Afrasian (?) **gʷir-* ‘(vb.) to be or become hot, to warm; (n.) fire’: Proto-Semitic **gar-ar-* ‘(vb.) to be or become hot, to warm; (n.) fire’ > Akkadian *girru* ‘fire’, (adv.) *girrāniš* ‘like fire’; Amharic *gärrärä* ‘to be scorching (sun)’; Gurage (Chaha) *g'irg'ir *balä*, (Endegeñ) *gərgər barä* ‘to blaze, to flicker, to burn in a bright and wavy way, *to burn easily (dry wood)’. D. Cohen 1970— :191—192; Leslau 1979:310. Egyptian (**gir-* > **gʸir-* > **dʸir-* >) *d͡ʒ* ‘fire-drill’, *d͡ʒf* (Demotic *df*) ‘to heat, to cook, to burn’, *d͡ʒf* ‘scorched meat’; Coptic *ǧuf* [**ϫογϥ**] ‘to burn, to scorch’, (reduplicated) *ǧofǧf* [**ϫοϥϫϥ**] ‘to burn, to cook’. Hannig 1995:992 and 993—994; Faulkner 1962:318 and 319; Erman—Grapow 1921:218 and 1926—1963.5:511, 5:522; Gardiner 1957:603; Vycichl 1983:333; Černý 1976:322. Saho-Afar **gir-* ‘fire’ > Saho *gira* ‘fire’; Afar *giraa* ‘fire’. Highland East Cushitic **gir-* ‘fire’ > Burji *jiir-a* ‘fire’, *jiiranta arraaba* ‘flame’; Sidamo *giir-a* ‘fire’, *giir-* ‘to burn (tr.)’, *girr-am-* ‘to burn (intr.)’; Hadiyya *giir-a* ‘fire’, *giir-* ‘to burn (tr.)’, *girr-am-* ‘to burn (intr.)’;

Kambata *giira(ta)* ‘fire’, *giir k’as-aancu* ‘torch’; Gedeo / Darasa *giir-a* ‘fire’. Sasse 1982:110; Hudson 1989:64. Proto-Chadic (reduplicated) **gir-gir-* ‘hot’ > Maha *girgir* ‘hot’; Dera *gərgət* (< **gərgər*) ‘hot’; Tera *gərgər* ‘hot’; Bura *gərgər* ‘hot’. Hausa *guura* ‘to set fire’. Orël—Stolbova 1995:210, no. 930, **gir-* ‘fire’ and 210, no. 931, **gir-* ‘to be hot’.

B. Elamo-Dravidian: Middle Elamite *ku-ra-* ‘to singe, to scorch; to grill, to roast’, *ku-ra-am-ma* ‘in the kiln’, *ku-ra-na* ‘with the kiln’. Dravidian: Parji *kerj-* ‘to warm oneself by the fire’, *kercip-* (*kercit-*) ‘to warm somebody else’; Koṇḍa *rēs-* (with loss of initial *k*) ‘to warm by the fire’; Kui *grehpa* (*greht-*) ‘(vb.) to warm, to warm by the fire, to broil, to foment; (n.) act of warming by the fire, fomentation’; Kuwi *kēṛnjali* ‘to warm oneself in the sun’, *krenj-* (*-it-*) ‘to warm oneself’, *kreh-* (*krest-*) ‘to warm another’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:179, no. 1967.

C. Proto-Indo-European **gʷʰer-*/**gʷʰr̥-* (secondary *o*-grade form: **gʷʰor-*) ‘(vb.) to burn, to be hot; (n.) heat, fire’: Sanskrit *gharmá-ḥ* ‘heat, warmth, sunshine’, *jigharti* ‘to shine, to burn’, *ghṛṇá-ḥ* ‘heat, ardor, sunshine’, *háras-* ‘flame, fire’; Hindi *ghām* ‘heat, sunshine, sweat’; Avestan *garəma-* ‘heat’; Greek θέρμη ‘heat, feverish heat’, θερμός ‘hot, warm’, θέρος ‘summer, summertime’, θέρω ‘to heat, to make hot’; Armenian *jerm* ‘warm, hot’; Albanian *zjarm*, *zjarr* ‘fire’; Latin *formus* ‘warm’, *fornāx* ‘furnace, oven’, *furnus* ‘oven, bake-house’; Old Irish *gorim* ‘to make warm’; Old Prussian *gorme* ‘heat’, *goro* ‘fire-place’; Old Church Slavic *gorěti* ‘to burn’; Russian *gorét'* [гореть] ‘to burn’, *gret'* [греть] ‘to give out warmth, to warm (up), to heat (up)’, *žar* [жар] ‘heat’; Serbo-Croatian *gòreti* ‘to burn’. Rix 1998a:196—197 **gu̯ʰer-* ‘to heat, to make hot’; Pokorny 1959:493—495 **gu̯her-* ‘hot, warm’; Walde 1927—1932.I:687—689 **gu̯her-*; Mann 1984—1987:380—381 **gu̯hermos* (**gu̯hermn̥*, **gu̯hermi̯ə*) ‘warm, hot; heat’, 381 **gu̯heros* ‘hot; heat’, 383 **gu̯horei̯ō* ‘to warm, to heat’, 383 **gu̯hormos* ‘hot, warm’, 383 **gu̯horos*, *-is* ‘heat, warmth; hot place, burn’, 383 **gu̯hrēi̯ō* ‘to heat, to warm; to get hot’, 386 **gu̯hr̥nos* ‘ashpit, firepit, clay oven, earthen pot, crucible’; Watkins 1985:25 **gʷher-* and 2000:35 **gʷher-* ‘to heat, to warm’; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.I:91, I:176, II:708 **g[ʰ]ºer-*, II:683 **g[ʰ]ºer-mo-* and 1995.I:79, I:151, I:613 **gʰºer-* ‘heat, warmth’, I:590 **gʰºer-mo-* ‘hot’; Mallory—Adams 1997:263 **gʷhermós* ‘warm’, **gʷhrensós* ‘warm’; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.I:357—358 and I:360; Boisacq 1950:341 **g̑u̯her-*, **g̑u̯hormo-*, **g̑u̯heres-*; Hofmann 1966:113—114 **gu̯her-*; Frisk 1970—1973.I:664—665 **g̑u̯hermo-*, **g̑u̯hormo-*; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:431—432 **gʰʷer-*; Beekes 2010.I:541—542 **gʷʰer-mo-*; Orël 1998:524—525; De Vaan 2008:235; Ernout—Meillet 1979:248; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:532—534 **gu̯her-*, **gu̯hermo-*; Derksen 2008:178—179 **gʷʰor-* and 534; Wodtko—Irslinger—Schneider 2008:196—199 **gu̯ʰer-*.

D. Altaic: Manchu *guru-* ‘to redden, to become inflamed’.

Buck 1949:1.81 fire; 1.85 burn (vb.); 15.85 hot, warm. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:468—469, no. 314; Illič-Svityč 1971—1984.I:239, no. 95, **gUrʌ* ‘hot coals’.

22.25. PROTO-NOSTRATIC *k^{wh}

				Eurasiatic			
Proto-Nostratic	Proto-Afrasian	Proto-Dravid.	Proto-Kartvel.	Proto-IE	Proto-Uralic	Proto-Altaic	Proto-Eskimo
k^{wh}-	k^{w}-	k-	kw/u-	k^{wh}-	k-	k^{h}-	k- q-
-k^{wh}-	-k^{w}-	-k(k)-	-kw/u-	-k^{wh}-	-k(k)-	-k^{h}-	-k(k)- -q(q)-

512. Proto-Nostratic post-positional intensifying and conjoining particle *$k^{wh}a$- (~ *$k^{wh}ə$-):

A. Elamo-Dravidian: Elamite coordinating conjunction: Neo-Elamite *ku-da*, Royal Achaemenid Elamite *ku-ud-da*, *ku-ut-te* ‘and’, assuming that it is a compound form composed of the elements **ku*- ‘and’ plus *da* ‘also’.

B. Proto-Kartvelian **kwe* intensifying and affirming particle: Middle Georgian *kue*, Georgian Dialects: (Xevsuruli, Rač’uli) *-kve*, (Imeruli) *-ke*; Mingrelian *ko*; Laz *ko*. Klimov 1964:198 **kwe*- and 1998:216 **kwe* affirmative particle; Fähnrich 2007:464 **kwe*-; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:376—377 **kwe*-. Fähnrich—Sardshweladse also include Svan *ču* (< **čwe*).

C. Proto-Indo-European *$k^{wh}e$ intensifying and conjoining particle: ‘moreover, and, also, etc.’: Sanskrit *ca* ‘and, both, also, moreover, as well as’, *ca…ca* ‘though…yet’; Pāḷi *ca* ‘and, then, now’; Avestan *-ča* ‘and’, *-ča…-ča* ‘both…and’; Old Persian *-čā* ‘and’, *-čā…-čā* ‘both…and’; Hittite *-k(k)u* enclitic particle: ‘now, even, and’, *-k(k)u…-k(k)u* ‘(both…) and; if…if; whether…or’, (?) *kuišku* ‘someone’ (if not a scribal error for *kuiški*); Palaic *-ku* ‘and’; Luwian *-ku(-wa)* ‘also, furthermore’ (cf. Melchert 1993b:105); (?) Lydian *-k* ‘and, also’; Greek τε ‘and’, τε…τε ‘both…and’, καί τε ‘and also’; Latin *-que* enclitic conjoining particle: ‘and’, *-que…-que* ‘both…and, and so’; *-que*, *-c* enclitic intensifying particle in *quis-que* ‘each, every, everyone, everybody, everything’, *ne-que*, *ne-c* ‘not, and not’, etc.; Oscan *ni-p*, *ne-p* ‘and not’; Umbrian *nei-p*, *ni-p* ‘and not’; Old Irish *-ch* enclitic particle in *na-ch* ‘any’; Gothic *-h* enclitic particle in *-uh* ‘and’, *ni-h* ‘not’, *ƕa-h* ‘each, every’, etc. Pokorny 1959:635—636 *$k^{u}e$ (enclitic) ‘and, somehow’; Walde 1927—1932.I:507—508 *$q^{u}e$; Mann 1984—1987:1021 *$q\underline{u}e$ (*$q\underline{u}ə$, *$q\underline{u}$-) ‘and’ (enclitic); ‘if, or’; Watkins 1985:33 *$k^{w}e$ and 2000:44 *$k^{w}e$ ‘and’ (enclitic); Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.I:353—354, I:365, I:366 *-$k[^{h}]^{o}e$ and 1995.I:188 *-$k^{h o}e$ ‘and’ (coordinating pronominal particle); Mallory—Adams 1997:20 *-$k^{w}e$ ‘and’; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.I:365; Puhvel 1984— .4:173—174 *-$k^{w}e$ and 4:203—205 *-$k^{w}e$; Beekes 2010.II:1457 *-$k^{w}e$; Boisacq 1950:946—947 *$q^{u}e$; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:1098 *$k^{w}e$; Hofmann 1966:355 *$q^{u}e$; De

Vaan 2008:506 *-*kʷe* ‘and, -ever’; Frisk 1970—1973.II:862—863 **qᵘe*; Ernout—Meillet 1979:555 **kʷe*; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.II:401—402 **qᵘe*; Feist 1939:514 **kᵘe*; Lehmann 1986:374 **kʷe*; Brugmann 1904:621—622, no. 853, **qᵘe*; Kloekhorst 2008b:483—484.

D. Proto-Uralic *-*ka*/*-*kä* intensifying and conjoining particle: Finnish *-ka*/*-kä* in: *ei-kä* ‘and…not, nor’ (*ei…eikä* ‘neither…nor’), *jo-ka* (indefinite pronoun) ‘who?’; Lapp / Saami (Norwegian) *juo-kke* ~ *juo-kkĕ* ‘each, every’; Vogul / Mansi *ää-k*, *ää-ki* (in combination with a finite verb in the indicative mood) ‘not’. Proto-Yukaghir **k* predicative. Nikolaeva 2006:81.

E. Altaic: Evenki *-ka*/*-kä*/*-kö* intensifying particle.

F. Etruscan *-c* ‘and’.

G. (?) Proto-Chukchi-Kamchatkan **qu(n)* emphatic particle: Chukchi *qun* ‘well’ (also emphatic enclitic); Kerek *qun* ‘well’, *qʔun*, *qʔin* strengthening or questioning particle; Koryak *qun* (emphatic particle) ‘and’; Alyutor *qun*, *qon* ‘well, all right, and so’; Kamchadal / Itelmen *qu* ‘hallo!, halloo!’, *qunix* ‘after all’. Fortescue 2005:339—340.

Illič-Svityč 1971—1984.I:325—326, no. 201, **ḳ/o/* post-positional intensifying and conjoining particle; Bomhard—Kerns 1994:480—481, no. 326.

513. Proto-Nostratic root **kʷʰal-* (~ **kʷʰəl-*):
(vb.) **kʷʰal-* ‘to go, to walk, to move about’;
(n.) **kʷʰal-a* ‘walking, walk, wandering, roaming’
Probably identical to:
(vb.) **kʷʰal-* ‘to revolve, to go around, to roll’;
(n.) **kʷʰal-a* ‘circle, circuit’

A. Proto-Afrasian **kʷal-* ‘to go, to walk, to move about’: Berber: Tuareg *əkəl* ‘to go, to spend the hours in the middle of the day at, to spend the day at home’, *sikəl* ‘to travel, to go on foot (animal)’; Siwa *ukel-* ‘to go, to walk’, *tikli* ‘step, footstep’; Wargla *kəl* ‘to spend the middle of the day’, *sikəl* ‘to go on foot, to walk along’, *tikli* ‘walk, gait, going’; Mzab *çəl* ‘to spend the middle of the day, to spend the day’; Tamazight *kəl*, *cəl* ‘to spend the day, to spend the day doing something; to take place, to happen’, *akəl*, *acəl* ‘to step on, to stamp (one’s foot), to trample’; Kabyle *tikliwin* ‘walking, pace; conduct; walk’. Cushitic: Saho-Afar **kalah-* ‘to travel’ > Saho *kalaah-*, *kalaaħ-* ‘to travel’. Central Chadic **kal-* ‘to run, to go (quickly)’ > Mbara *kal-* ‘to run, to go (quickly)’; Mafa *kəl-* ‘to run, to go (quickly)’; Gisiga *kal-* ‘to run, to go (quickly)’. East Chadic **kVl-* ‘to enter’ > Kera *kele-* ‘to enter’. Orël—Stolbova 1995:310, no. 1418, **kal-* ‘go’ and 310, no. 1420, **kalah-* ‘go’.

B. Dravidian: Tamil *kulavu* (*kulavi-*) ‘to walk, to move about’; Toda *kwal-* (*kwaḏ-*) ‘to go round and round (millet in a mortar pit, buffaloes in a pen),

to frisk about, to run about wasting time'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:163, no. 1803.

C. Proto-Indo-European *k^{wh}*el-*/*k^{wh}*ol-*/*k^{wh}*l̥-* 'to go, to walk, to move about': Sanskrit *cárati*, *calati* 'to move one's self, to go, to walk, to move, to stir, to roam about, to wander'; Avestan *carāiti* 'to go, to move'; Greek πολέω 'to go about, to range over', πολεύω 'to turn about, to go about'. Rix 1998a:345—347 *$k^{u}elh_1$*- 'to twist, to turn, to turn round'; Pokorny 1959:639—640 *$k^{u}el$*-, *$k^{u}elə$*- 'to turn'; Walde 1927—1932.I:514—516 *$q^{u}el$*-; Mann 1984—1987:1024 *$q^{u}elō$* 'to turn, to move, to go'; Watkins 1985:33 *$k^{w}el$*- and 2000:45 *$k^{w}el$*- (also *$k^{w}elə$*-) 'to revolve, to move around, to sojourn, to dwell'; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.I:220 *$k[^{h}]^{o}el$*- and 1995.I:190, I:225, I:622 *$k^{h^{o}}el$*- 'to rotate, to move'; Mallory—Adams 1997:606—607 *$k^{w}el$*- 'to turn'; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.I:376; Hofmann 1966:260—261 *$q^{u}elō$*; Beekes 2010.II:1168—1169 *$k^{w}lh_1$*-; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:877—878 *$k^{w}elō$*; Boisacq 1950:764 *$q^{u}el$*-; Frisk 1970—1973.II:500—501 *$q^{u}elō$*, *$q^{u}oleiō$*.

D. Proto-Uralic **kulke*- 'to ramble about, to move about, to roam or wander about': Finnish *kulke-*/*kulje*- 'to go, to walk, to travel, to stroll, to ramble'; Estonian *kulg* 'course, process, run, motion, going', *kulgema*- 'to proceed, to take one's course, to run, to pass'; Lapp / Saami *gol'gâ*- 'to float (with the current), to run; to shower down; to leak very much; to ramble, to roam, to wander about'; Mordvin *kolge*- 'to drip, to run; to leak, to be leaky'; Ostyak / Xanty *kogəl*- 'to walk, to stride'; Zyrian / Komi *kylal*- 'to float, to drift (on water); to flood; to swim; to travel or drift downstream', *kylt*- 'to drift or swim with the current'; Hungarian *halad*- 'to depart, to proceed, to move forward'; Yurak Samoyed / Nenets *huuly*- 'to swim; to move by ship; to travel downstream'. Rédei 1986—1988:198 **kulke*-; Décsy 1990:101 **kulka* 'to go, to progress'; Sammallahti 1988:544 Proto-Finno-Ugrian **kulki*- 'to run'; Collinder 1955:26—27 and 1977:46.

E. Proto-Chukchi-Kamchatkan **(ðə)kələæ*- 'to follow or chase': Chukchi *kəle*- 'to follow, to chase, to catch, to copy', *ɣe-rkəle-lin* 'followed', *kəle-lʾetə-tku*-, *keelʾe-tku*- 'to chase', *kəla-jo-lqəl* 'pattern (to follow)'; Kerek *kəla-lʁa(a)t*- 'to chase', *klaa-ju-lXəl* 'pattern'; Koryak *kəle*- 'to follow', *kəlelʁet*- 'to chase'; Alyutor *(t)kəla*-, *kəla-lʾat*- 'to follow'; Kamchadal / Itelmen (Western) *kalkaz* 'to follow'. Fortescue 2005:144.

Buck 1949:10.45 walk; 10.52 follow; 10.53 pursue. Bomhard—Kerns 1994: 471—473, no. 317.

514. Proto-Nostratic root *$k^{wh}al$*- (~ *$k^{wh}əl$*-):
(vb.) *$k^{wh}al$*- 'to revolve, to go around, to roll';
(n.) *$k^{wh}al$*-*a* 'circle, circuit'
Probably identical to:
(vb.) *$k^{wh}al$*- 'to go, to walk, to move about';

(n.) *$k^{wh}al$-*a* ‘walking, walk, wandering, roaming’
Derivative:
(n.) *$k^{wh}al$-*a* ‘that which turns, rolls, revolves, or goes round and round’ (> ‘wheel’ in the daughter languages)

A. Proto-Afrasian *$k^{w}al$- ‘to revolve, to go around, to roll’: Proto-Semitic *kal-al- ‘to revolve, to go around, to surround’ > Geez / Ethiopic *kallala* [ከለለ] ‘to surround, to surround for protection, to cover over, to protect, to encompass, to encircle, to fence in, to crown’; Tigre *källa* ‘to go around’, *kälkäla* ‘to encircle’, *kəlal* ‘circuit’; Tigrinya *k^{w}älläla* ‘to go around’; Amharic *källälä* ‘to surround, to crown, to guard, to protect’. Note: the words for ‘crown’ associated with this root are considered to be of Aramaic origin. Leslau 1987:283. Proto-Semitic *kal-al- ‘to roll’ > Geez / Ethiopic *$kolala$, *$k^{w}alala$, *ʔankolala* [አንኮለለ], *ʔank^{w}alala* [አንኰለለ] ‘to roll (intr.), to roll down (tears), fall (fruit, tears), to be or become giddy, to be tossed about, to turn (one’s head)’, *ʔakolala* [አኮለለ] ‘to be dizzy’; Tigre *ʔankoläla* ‘to turn’; Tigrinya *kolälä*, *k^{w}älälä* ‘to go around’, *ʔənkəliliw* ‘round’; Amharic *(tän)k^{w}allälä* ‘to roll, to make turn’, *(an)k^{w}allälä*, *k^{w}äläll alä* ‘to roll, to make turn’; Harari *kulul bāya* ‘to roll’; Gurage *(at)kulāle* ‘to roll (tr.)’. Leslau 1963:82, 1979:342, and 1987:283—284; Militarëv 2012:91 Proto-Semitic *$k^{w}VlVl$-. Cushitic: Beja / Beḍawye *k^{w}alál* ‘round; ball’; Galla / Oromo *konkolaḍḍ-* ‘to roll, to roll downhill’; Hadiyya *kulill-*, *kullul-* ‘to turn (around)’; Saho *kulel* ‘circle’; Bilin *kalăl-* ‘to surround’. According to Leslau (1987:283), the Saho and Bilin forms are loans from Ethiopian Semitic. [Orël—Stolbova 1995:322, no. 1474, *kol- ‘to return, to go around’.] Militarëv 2012:91 Proto-Afrasian *$k^{w}Vl$-.
B. Dravidian: Tamil *kulavu* (*kulavi-*) ‘(vb.) to bend, to curve; (n.) bend, curve’; Kuṛux *xolkhnā*, *xol^{o}xnā* ‘to cause to bend the head’, *xolkhrnā*, *xolxrnā* ‘to bend the head, to stoop’; Kui *klōnga* (*klōngi-*) ‘to be contracted, drawn in, bent up’, *klōpka* (< *$klōk$-p-; *klōkt-*) ‘to contract, to draw up, to depress’; Malto *qolgru* ‘below, beneath, underneath’, *kolge* ‘to curve, to bend’, *kolgro* ‘bent, curved’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:192, no. 2136.
C. Proto-Indo-European *$k^{wh}el$-/*$k^{wh}ol$-/*$k^{wh}l̥$- ‘to revolve, to go around, to roll’: Greek πέλω, πέλομαι ‘to be’ (originally ‘to be in motion’), πόλος ‘pivot, hinge, axis’, πολέω ‘to revolve’, πολεῖν ‘to turn up the earth with a plow’; Latin *colō* ‘to cultivate, to till, to tend; to dwell (in a place), to inhabit’; Albanian *sjell* ‘to turn’; Tocharian B *klutk-* ‘to turn’, *klautk-* ‘to turn, to become’. Rix 1998a:345—347 *$k^{u}elh_{1}$- ‘to twist, to turn, to turn round’; Pokorny 1959:639—640 *$k^{u}el$-, *$k^{u}elə$- ‘to turn’; Walde 1927—1932.I:514—516 *$q^{u}el$-; Mann 1984—1987:1023 *$qu̯ēl$-, 1923 *$qu̯el$-$ēnom$ ‘turning, bend, knee’, 1023 *$qu̯elətrom$ (*$qu̯eləstr$-) ‘turn, change, exchange, requital’, 1023—1024 *$qu̯elmn$- ‘turn, roll; roller, cylinder’, 1024 *$qu̯elṇt$- (*$qu̯elṇd$-) ‘entourage, family circle; turning, environment’, 1024 *$qu̯elō$ ‘to turn, to move, to go’, 1024 *$qu̯elos$, -es- ‘turn, turning’,

1024—1025 **qu̯elpō* ‘to bend, to curve’, 1036 **qu̯lēmn-*, **qu̯lēn-*, 1036—1037 **qu̯l̥-* (**qu̯los*, *-ā*; **qu̯l̥n-*), 1037 **qu̯l̥pos*, *-ā* ‘bend, turn, twist’, 1041 **qu̯oleu̯ō* ‘to turn’, 1042 **qu̯olesi-*, 1042 **qu̯olesno-* ‘turning-point’, 1042 **qu̯oleu-*, **qu̯oleu̯-*, 1042 **qu̯olis* ‘turning’, 1042 **qu̯olmn-* ‘turned; turning; turn, bend, twist; pole, post, trunk, column’, 1042—1043 **qu̯olos*, *-es-* ‘turning, turn, wheel, axis, center, community’, 1043 **qu̯olpos* ‘hollow, bend, vault, arch’, 1043 **qu̯olt-* (**qu̯elt-*, **qu̯olət-*) ‘turn, bend, curve’; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.I:220 **k[ʰ]ºel-* and 1995.I:190, I:225, I:622 **k^{h}ºel-* ‘to rotate, to move’; Mallory—Adams 1997:606—607 **k^{w}el-* ‘to turn’; Watkins 1985:33 **k^{w}el-* and 2000:45 **k^{w}el-* (also **k^{w}elə-*) ‘to revolve, to move around, to sojourn, to dwell’; Boisacq 1950:764 **q^{u}el-*; Beekes 2010.II:1168—1169 **k^{w}lh$_{1}$-*; Frisk 1970—1973.II:500—501 **q^{u}elō*, **q^{u}oleu̯ō*; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:877—878 **k^{w}elō*; Hofmann 1966:260—261 **q^{u}elō*; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:245—247 **q^{u}el-*; Ernout—Meillet 1979:132—133; De Vaan 2008:125; Orël 1998:397; Adams 1999:225—226; Van Windekens 1976—1982.I:267.

D. Proto-Altaic **k^{h}ulo-* ‘to roll, to turn’: Proto-Tungus **χul-*, **χol-* ‘(vb.) to dance; to climb down, to climb out; to walk around, to turn around; (n.) bend (in a river)’ > Evenki *olo-nmū-* ‘to dance’, *uli-sin* ‘bend (in a river)’; Lamut / Even *u̯l̥ina* ‘bend (in a river)’; Ulch *χōlį-* ‘to walk around, to turn around’, *χolon-o-* ‘to climb down, to climb out (from a vehicle or boat)’; Negidal *olį-sį̄n-* ‘to walk around, to turn around’; Orok *χu̯lon-* ‘to climb down, to climb out (from a vehicle or boat)’, *χōlį-* ‘to walk around, to turn around’; Nanay / Gold *χulun-* ‘to climb down, to climb out (from a vehicle or boat)’, *χōlį-* ‘to walk around, to turn around’; Oroch *χolon-o-* ‘to climb down, to climb out (from a vehicle or boat)’ (Orok loan), *uli-* ‘to walk around, to walk about’; Udihe *χoli-* ‘to walk around, to turn around’ (Nanay loan). Proto-Mongolian **kol-ki-* ‘to be restless, to go round and round’ > Written Mongolian *qolkida-* ‘to move loosely, to move to and fro’; Khalkha *χolχi-* ‘to be restless, to go round and round’, *χolχi* ‘loose, loosened’; Buriat *χolχi* ‘shaky, wobbly’; Kalmyk *χolǵədə-* ‘to be restless, to go round and round’; Ordos *golχido-* ‘to be restless, to go round and round’. Proto-Turkic **Kol-* ‘(vb.) to roll (down), to fall; (adj.) round’ > Uzbek *qulä-* ‘to roll (down), to fall’; Uighur *qula-*, *γula-* ‘to roll (down), to fall’; Bashkir *qola-* ‘to roll (down), to fall’; Kirghiz *qula-* ‘to roll (down), to fall’; Kazakh *qula-* ‘to roll (down), to fall’; Oyrot (Mountain Altai) *qula-* ‘to roll (down), to fall’; Salar *gulïlüχ* ‘round’. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:850 **k‘ulo* ‘to roll, to turn’.

Buck 1949:9.14 bend (vb. tr.); 10.12 turn (vb.); 10.13 turn around; 10.15 roll (vb.). Bomhard—Kerns 1994:471—473, no. 317.

515. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **k^{wh}al-a* ‘that which turns, rolls, revolves, or goes round and round’ (> ‘wheel’ in the daughter languages):

Derivative of:
(vb.) *$k^{wh}al$- ‘to revolve, to go around, to roll’;
(n.) *$k^{wh}al$-*a* ‘circle, circuit’

A. Afrasian: Semitic: Tigre *ʔənkəlolo*, *ʿənkəlolo* ‘hoop, wheel’. Littmann—Höfner 1962:473.
B. Dravidian: Tamil *kāl* ‘wheel, cart’; Kannaḍa *gāli* ‘wheel’; Tuḷu *gāli* ‘wheel’; Telugu *kalu* ‘a carriage wheel’, *gānu*, *gālu* ‘wheel’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:138, no. 1483.
C. Proto-Indo-European *$k^{wh}elo$-, *$k^{wh}olo$-, (reduplicated) *$k^{wh}e$-$k^{wh}lo$-, *$k^{wh}o$-$k^{wh}lo$- ‘wheel’: Sanskrit *cakrá-ḥ* ‘wheel’; Pāḷi *cakka*- ‘wheel’; Hindi *cāk* ‘any kind of wheel, millstone’; Avestan *caxra*- ‘wheel’; Greek κύκλος ‘a ring, circle; round; a wheel’, (adv.) κύκλῳ ‘in a circle or ring, round about’; Latin *colus* ‘spinning wheel’; Old Icelandic *hvel* ‘wheel’, *hjól*, *hvél* ‘wheel’; Faroese *hjól* ‘wheel’; Norwegian *hjul* ‘wheel’; Swedish *hjul* ‘wheel’; Danish *hjul* ‘wheel’; Old English *hwēol* ‘wheel’; Middle Low German *wēl* ‘wheel’; Dutch *wiel* ‘wheel’; Tocharian A *kukäl*, B *kokale* ‘cart, wagon, chariot’; Old Church Slavic *kolo* ‘wheel’; Russian *kolesó* [колесо] ‘wheel’; Czech *kolo* ‘wheel’; Serbo-Croatian *kȍlo* ‘wheel, circle’. Pokorny 1959:640 *$k^{u}ek^{u}lo$-, *$k^{u}ok^{u}lo$- (?) ‘wheel’; Walde 1927—1932.I: 514—516 *$q^{u}elo$-*s*, *$q^{u}olo$-*s*, *$q^{u}e$-$q^{u}lo$-*s* ‘wheel’; Mann 1957:40 *$q\underline{u}elos$ and 1984—1987:1027 *$q\underline{u}eq\underline{u}olos$ (*$q\underline{u}eq\underline{u}$*əlos*, *$q\underline{u}q\underline{u}los$, -*ā*, -*om*) ‘turning, wheel, rim’; Watkins 1985:33 *$k^{w}(e)$-$k^{w}l$-*o*- ‘circle’ and 2000:45 *$k^{w}(e)$-$k^{w}l$-*o*- ‘wheel, circle’; Mallory—Adams 1997:640 *$k^{w}ek^{w}lóm$ ‘wheel’; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.I:220, II:718 *$k[^{h}]^{o}ek[^{h}]^{o}lo$- and 1995.I:190, I:622 *$k^{h^{o}}ek^{h^{o}}lo$- ‘circle, wheel, wheeled carriage/cart’; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:597 *$k^{w}e$-$k^{w}l$-*o*-, *$k^{w}elo$-*m*; Boisacq 1950:531 *$q^{u}eq^{u}lo$-*s*; Frisk 1970—1973.II:44—45 *$q^{u}e$-$q^{u}lo$-, *$q^{u}o$-$q^{u}lo$-, *$q^{u}élo$-*m*; Hofmann 1966:164—165 *$q^{u}e$-$q^{u}los$, *$q^{u}el$-; Beekes 2010.I:798—799 *$k^{w}e$-$k^{w}l$-*o*-; De Vaan 2008:125 and 127; Ernout—Meillet 1979:134—135; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:250 *$q^{u}olos$, *$q^{u}elos$; Orël 2003:199—200 Proto-Germanic *$xwe\gamma wlan$ ~ *$xwexwlan$; Kroonen 2013:264—265 Proto-Germanic *$hwehla$- ~ *$hweula$- ‘wheel’; De Vries 1977:232—233 and 270 *$k^{u}el$-; Falk—Torp 1903—1906.I:294—295; Klein 1971:825 *$q^{w}e$-$q^{w}los$; Onions 1966:1001 *$q^{w}eq^{w}lo$-; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.I:366; Van Windekens 1976—1982.I:239—240 *$q^{u}eq^{u}lo$-; Adams 1999:200 *$k^{w}ek^{w}ló$-; Derksen 2008:229—230.

Buck 1949:10.76 wheel.

516. Proto-Nostratic root *$k^{wh}al$- (~ *k^{wh}*əl*-):
(vb.) *$k^{wh}al$- ‘to end, to come to an end; to bring to an end, to complete, to finish’;
(n.) *$k^{wh}al$-*a* ‘end, finish, completion, fulfillment’

A. Proto-Afrasian (?) *$k^{w}al$- ‘to end, to bring to an end, to complete, to finish’, (?) *$k^{w}al$- ~ *$k^{w}ul$- ‘all, whole, entire’: Proto-Semitic *kal- (*kal-al-, *kal-ay-) ‘to end, to bring to an end; to complete, to finish’, *$kull$- ‘all, whole, entire’ > Akkadian *kalu*, *kulu* ‘whole, entirety, all’, *kullatu* ‘all, totality’, *kalū* ‘to finish, to bring to an end, to stop’, *kalama* ‘all, everything’, *kališ* ‘everywhere, anywhere’; Hebrew *kālāh* [כָּלָה] ‘to come to an end; to be complete, at an end, finished, accomplished’, *kālal* [כָּלַל] ‘to complete, to perfect’, *kōl* [כֹּל] ‘(n.) the whole, totality; (adj.); all whole’; Phoenician *kly* ‘to end, to be complete’, *kl* ‘all’; Aramaic *kullā* ‘totality, the whole, all’; Ugaritic *kl* ‘every, all’, *kly*: (reciprocal/passive) *nkly* ‘to be spent’, (factitive active) *ykly*, *tkly*, *tkl* ‘to finish with, to annihilate’, *klkl* ‘everything’, *kll* ‘whole’; Mandaic *kul* ‘all’; Arabic *kull* ‘whole, entire, all’; Sabaean *kll* ‘to bring to completion’, *kll* ‘all, every, all of, the whole (of)’; Śḥeri / Jibbāli *kell* ‘to be fed up, bored’, *kɔ(h)l*, *kɛl*-, *kal*- ‘all’; Ḥarsūsi *kal*, *kāl*, *kall* ‘all’; Soqoṭri *kal*, *kol* ‘all’; Mehri *kāl*, *kali*- ‘all’; Geez / Ethiopic *k^{w}əll*- [ኵሉ-] ‘all, whole, every’, *k^{w}əllo* [ኵሎ] ‘altogether, completely’, *k^{w}əllu* [ኵሉ] ‘everything, everybody, anything, all’; Tigrinya *k^{w}əll-u* ‘all’; Tigre *kəl* ‘all’; Gurage *kull-əm* ‘all, whole, every, everything’; Amharic *hullu* ‘all, every, everybody’; Harari *kullu* ‘all’; Gafat *əl-əm* ‘all’. Murtonen 1989:231; Klein 1987:276, 277, and 278; Leslau 1963:92, 1979:341—342, and 1987:281; Militarëv 2010:46 Proto-Semitic *$k^{w}all$-*u*, Proto-Afrasian *$k^{w}al$- ‘all, each, much’; Zammit 2002: 358. (?) Egyptian *ṯnw*, *ṯrw* (*ṯlw*) ‘each, every’ (distinct from *ṯnw* ‘number; counting, numbering’ [cf. Vycichl 1983:175]). Hannig 1995:956; Erman—Grapow 1921:209 and 1926—1963.5:377—379; Faulkner 1962:305; Gardiner 1957:601. (?) Berber: Kabyle *akk^{w}* ‘all’; Tamazight *akk^{w}* ‘all’; Ghadames *ikk*, *akk* ‘each’; Wargla *akk* ‘everything, entirety’; Nefusa *ak* ‘each’; Mzab *acc* ‘each, all’; Tuareg *ak* ‘each’; Chaouia *akk* ‘each’. South Omotic: Dime *kull* ‘all’. Ehret 1995:197, no. 317, *kal-/*kul- ‘all’.

B. Proto-Indo-European *$k^{wh}el$-/*$k^{wh}ol$-/*$k^{wh}l̥$- ‘to bring to an end’: Greek τέλος (< *$k^{wh}elo$-s) ‘the fulfillment or completion of anything, that is, its consummation, issue, result, end; the end (of life), death’, τέλειος ‘having reached its end, finished, complete; (of animals) full-grown, (of persons) absolute, complete, accomplished, perfect’, τελέω ‘to complete, to fulfill, to accomplish’, τελέως ‘at last’, τελήεις ‘perfect, complete’, τελευταῖος ‘last’, τελευτάω ‘to complete, to finish, to accomplish’, τελευτή ‘finishing, completion, accomplishment; a termination, end; the end, extremity (of anything)’; Luwian *ku(wa)lana*- ‘course, (life)time’, (1st sg. pres. act.) *ku-la-ni-wi* ‘to bring to an end’. Pokorny 1959:640 *$k^{u}el$*- ‘swarm, crowd’; Walde 1927—1932.I:517 *$q^{u}el$*-; Chantraine (1968—1980.II:1101—1103), Beekes (2010.II:1463—1464), and Lejeune (1972:29, fn. 36-1) argue against deriving the Greek forms from *$k^{wh}el$*-, but cf. Boisacq 1950:952, Hofmann 1966:358, Rix 1992:88 (Greek τέλος < *$k^{u}el̥os$*), and Frisk

1970—1973.II:871—873 (Greek τέλος < *$q^{u}el$-); Puhvel 1984— .4:237—238 Luwian *ku(wa)lana-* < *$k^{w}élono$-.

C. Uralic: Proto-Finno-Ugrian *kul_{3}- ‘to come to an end, to be worn (away), to pass (by)’ > Finnish *kulu-a* ‘to be worn, to wear (away), to pass, to go by, to elapse, to be used up’, *kulu-ttaa* ‘to consume, to use, to spend’, *kuluttua* ‘after, later’, *kulunut* ‘worn, shabby’, *kulutus* ‘consumption, use’; Estonian *kuluma* ‘to be spent, expended; to wear out; to be worn out’, *kulu* ‘cost, expenditure’, *kulunud* ‘worn out’; Lapp / Saami *gollâ-/golâ-* ‘to go, to pass, to pass by (of time), to decrease, to become exhausted through being used, to get used up’; Zyrian / Komi *gylal-* ‘to fall off or out or disperse (intr.) little by little (of leaves, hair, etc.)’; Vogul / Mansi *hol-* ‘to be worn, to disappear, to pass away’; Ostyak / Xanty *kŏl-* ‘to come to an end, to pass away’. Collinder 1955:92 and 1977:108; Rédei 1986—1988:199—200 *kul_{3}-; Sammallahti 1988:544 *kuli-* ‘to wear’.

Buck 1949:13.13 whole; 14.26 end (sb., temporal); 14.27 finish (vb.). Bomhard—Kerns 1994:470—471, no. 315; Hakola 2000:80, no. 329.

517. Proto-Nostratic (Eurasiatic only) (adv.) (?) *$k^{w}hal$- ‘far off, far away, distant’:

A. Proto-Indo-European *$k^{w}hel$- ‘far off, far away, distant’: Sanskrit *caramá-ḥ* ‘outermost, last, ultimate, final’, *cirá-ḥ* ‘long, lasting a long time’; Greek τῆλε, τηλοῦ ‘far off, far away’; Welsh *pell* ‘far’, *pell-af* ‘farthest’. Pokorny 1959:640 *$k^{u}el$- ‘far’; Walde 1927—1932.I:517 *$q^{u}el$-; Mann 1984—1987:1023 *$q^{u}\breve{e}le$- ‘far’; Watkins 1985:33 *$k^{w}el$- and 2000:45 *$k^{w}el$- ‘far’; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.I:377 and I:390 *$q^{w}el$- ‘far’; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:851 and II:1113—1114 *$k^{w}el$-; Boisacq 1950:740 and 966 *$q^{u}\bar{e}l$-; Hofmann 1966:250 and 364; Frisk 1970—1973.II:465 *$q^{u}el$- and II:891—892 *$q^{u}\bar{e}l$-; Beekes 2010.II:1477—1478 *$k^{w}el$-; Falileyev 2000:128—129 *$k^{u}el$-*s*-*o*-, *$k^{u}el$-.

B. Proto-Altaic *$k^{h}i̯olo$ (~ *k*-; -l^{y}-, -$i̯u$-) ‘far off, distant’: Proto-Mongolian *kolo* ‘far off, distant’ > Written Mongolian *qola* ‘far, distant, remote’; Dagur *χolo*, *χol* ‘far’; Khalkha *χol* ‘far, distant’; Buriat *χolo* ‘far, distant’; Kalmyk *χolə* ‘far off, far away, distant’; Ordos *χolo* ‘far’; Monguor *χulo* ‘far’; Moghol *qolō* ‘far’. Poppe 1955:29, 53, 88, and 131. Poppe 1960:18 and 98; Street 1974:17 *kola* ‘far, distant’; Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:695—696 *$k̯i̯olo$ (~ *k‘*-; -*ĺ*-, -$i̯u$-) ‘long, far’.

Buck 1949:12.44 far (adv.). Koskinen 1980:19, no. 15; Bomhard—Kerns 1994:471, no. 316.

518. Proto-Nostratic (n.) *$k^{w}hal$-*a* ‘a large fish’:

A. Afrasian: East Cushitic: Somali *kalluun* ‘fish’.

B. Dravidian: Tuḷu *kalkorè* ‘a kind of fish’; Kuṛux *xalxō* ‘a kind of fish’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:123, no. 1314.

C. Proto-Indo-European **kʷʰalo-* ‘large fish’: Avestan *kara-* ‘a mythological fish’; (?) Latin *squalus* ‘a kind of fish’; Old Icelandic *hvalr* ‘whale’; Faroese *hvalur* ‘whale’; Swedish *val* ‘whale’; Danish *hval* ‘whale’; Old English *hwæl* ‘whale’; Old Saxon *hwal* ‘whale’; Dutch *walvis* ‘whale’; Old High German *(h)wal*, *walfisc* (rare) ‘whale’ (New High German *Wal*, *Walfisch*); Old Prussian *kalis* ‘shad’. Pokorny 1959:635 **kᵘalos* and 958 **(s)kᵘalos* ‘a rather large kind of fish’; Walde 1927—1932.II:541 **(s)qᵘalos*; Mann 1984—1987:1018 **qu̯alos*, *-is* ‘sea-monster’; Watkins 1985:61 **(s)kʷalo-* and 2000:79 **(s)kʷalo-* ‘big fish’; Mallory—Adams 1997:510 **(s)kʷálos* ‘sheatfish’; Ernout—Meillet 1979:645; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.II:581—582; De Vaan 2008:584; Orël 2003:197 Proto-Germanic **xwalaz* (partly **xwaliz*); Kroonen 2013:262 Proto-Germanic **hwali-* ‘whale’; De Vries 1977:268—269; Falk—Torp 1903—1906.I:311; Vercoullie 1898:318; Onions 1966:1000—1001 Common Germanic **χwalis*; Klein 1971:825; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:834; Kluge—Seebold 1989:774.

D. Proto-Uralic **kala* ‘fish’: Finnish *kala* ‘fish’; Lapp / Saami *guolle*/*guole-* ‘fish’; Mordvin *kal* ‘fish’; Cheremis / Mari *kol* ‘fish’; Vogul / Mansi *kul*, *huul* ‘fish’; Ostyak / Xanty *kul* ‘fish’; Hungarian *hal* ‘fish’; Yurak Samoyed / Nenets *haale* ‘fish’; Tavgi Samoyed / Nganasan *kole* ‘fish’; Selkup Samoyed *qəəly* ‘fish’; Kamassian *kola* ‘fish’. Collinder 1955:21, 1965:138, and 1977:42; Rédei 1986—1988:119 **kala*; Joki 1973:266 **kala*; Décsy 1990:99 **kala* ‘fish’; Sammallahti 1988:538 **kålå* ‘fish’; Janhunen 1977b:59 **kålä*. (?) Yukaghir (Northern / Tundra) *qal-dawe* ‘(tree) bark, fish scales’. Nikolaeva 2006:375.

E. Proto-Altaic **kʰula* ‘a kind of big fish’: Proto-Tungus **χol-sa* ‘fish; boiled fish’ > Evenki *ollo* ‘fish’; Lamut / Even *olrъ* ‘fish’; Negidal *olo* ‘fish’; Ulch *χolto(n)* ‘boiled fish’; Orok *χolto* ‘boiled fish’; Nanay / Gold *χolto* ‘boiled fish’; Oroch *okto* ‘boiled fish’; Udihe *oloho* ‘boiled fish’. Proto-Mongolian **kalimu* ‘whale’ > Written Mongolian *qalimu* ‘whale’; Khalkha *χalim* ‘whale’; Buriat *χalim* ‘whale’; Kalmyk *χalim* ‘whale’. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:848 **kʻula* ‘a kind of big fish’.

F. Chukchi-Kamchatkan: Proto-Chukotian **kalal(e)* ‘humpback salmon’ > Chukchi *kalal* ‘humpback salmon’; Kerek *ka(a)lal* ‘humpback salmon’; Koryak *kalal(e)* ‘humpback salmon’. Note also Kamchadal / Itelmen *kajluzic* ‘a kind of salmon’. Fortescue 2005:126—127.

Buck 1949:3.65 fish. Illič-Svityč 1971—1984.I:288—289, no. 155, **kalʌ* ‘fish’; Bomhard—Kerns 1994:483—484, no. 330; Hakola 2000:49, no. 172.

519. Proto-Nostratic root **kʷʰar-* (~ **kʷʰər-*):
(vb.) **kʷʰar-* ‘to cut’;

(n.) *$k^{wh}ar$-*a* ‘piece cut off; knife’
Derivatives:
(vb.) *$k^{wh}ar$- ‘to cut a groove, to hollow out, to dig’;
(n.) *$k^{wh}ar$-*a* ‘cut, hole, hollow, digging, excavation, pit, groove, trench’
(vb.) *$k^{wh}ar$- ‘to cut short, to reduce, to decrease, to diminish, to lessen’;
(n.) *$k^{wh}ar$-*a* ‘shortness’; (adj.) ‘short’

A. Proto-Afrasian (?) *$k^{w}ar$- ~ *$k^{w}ur$- ‘to cut’: East Chadic *kur- ‘knife’ > Somray *kura* ‘knife’. West Chadic: Ngizim *kàrmú* ‘to chop, to cut down, to chop off’. Proto-Southern Cushitic *kur- ‘to mince’ > K’wadza *kulunso* ‘mortar’; Dahalo *kur- ‘to mince’. Ehret 1980:247. Orël—Stolbova 1995:328, no. 1503, *kur- ‘knife’; Ehret 1995:200, no. 330, *kur-/*kar- ‘to cut up’.
B. Dravidian: Tamil *kuṟai* ‘(vb.) to cut, to reap; (n.) piece, section’, *kuṟu* (*kuṟuv-*, *kuṟṟ-*) ‘to pluck’; Malayalam *kuṟekka* ‘to cut off’; Koḍagu *korv-* (*kort-*) ‘to make a fallen branch into a club’; Toda *kwaṟ-* (*kwaṟt-*) ‘to cut’; Kannaḍa *koṟe*, *koṟi* ‘to cut, to break through, to bore, to pierce’, *koṟi* ‘a large branch cut off from a thorn-bush’, *koṟe* ‘cutting, cut-off piece’, *koṟeyuvike* ‘cutting, etc.’, *koṟeta*, *koṟata* ‘act of cutting, etc.; the piercing of cold’, *korcu*, *koccu* ‘to cut away, to cut up, to cut to pieces’; Tuḷu *kudupuni* ‘to cut, to reap’, *kudè* ‘a piece of wood’, *kujimbu*, *kujumbu* ‘a chip, fragment’; Telugu *kōṟa* ‘a cut-off portion’; Kui *krāpa* (*krāt-*) ‘(vb.) to cut, to saw; (n.) the act of sawing’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:169—170, no. 1859. Tamil *kūṟu* ‘section, division, part, share’; Telugu *kōru* ‘a share, the king’s or government’s portion’; Malayalam *kūṟu*, *kūr* ‘part, share, division of time, party, partnership’, *kūrrān* ‘partner’; Kota *ku·r* (obl. *ku·t-*) ‘share’; Toda *ku·ṟ* ‘share, share inherited from father’; Kannaḍa *kōṟu* ‘part, portion, share in cultivation’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:174—175, no. 1924.
C. Proto-Indo-European *$k^{wh}er$-/*$k^{wh}or$-/*$k^{wh}r̥$- ‘to cut’: Hittite (3rd sg. pres. act.) *ku-e-ir-zi* ‘to cut, to cut up, to cut off’, (3rd pl. pres. act.) *ku-ra-an-zi*, (instr. sg.) *ku-ru-uz-zi-it* ‘cutter’, (1st sg. pret. act.) *ku-e-ir-šu-un* ‘to cut (off)’, (acc. sg.) *ku-ra-an-na-an* ‘section, area’, (nom. sg.) *ku-e-ra-aš*, *ku-ra-aš* ‘field, parcel, territory, (land) area, precinct, subdivision’; Luwian (3rd sg. pres. act.) *ku-wa-ar-ti* ‘to cut’ (?), *kursawar* ‘cut (off)’; Hieroglyphic Luwian *kura/i-* ‘to cut’; Welsh *pryd* (< *$k^{wh}r̥$-$t^{h}u$-) ‘time’; Oscan *-pert* in *petiro-pert* ‘four times’; Sanskrit *-kṛt* ‘…time(s)’ in *sa-kṛ́t* ‘once’. Rix 1998a:350—351 *$k^{u}er$- ‘to cut, to carve’; Mann 1984—1987:1027 *$q^{u}er$- ‘to cut, to detach, to strip, to scrape’; Mallory—Adams 1997:144 *$k^{w}er$- ‘to cut’; Bomhard 1984:114; Kronasser 1956:65, §81; Puhvel 1984— .4:212—218; Kloekhorst 2008b:486—487 *$k^{w}er$-/*$k^{w}r$-. Note: Forms meaning ‘to do, to make’ are often included here, but a more plausible derivation is from Proto-Nostratic *$k^{wh}ir$- (~ *$k^{wh}er$-) ‘to twist or twine together, to tie together, to bind, to fasten’ (see below).

D. Proto-Uralic **kurɜ* ‘knife’: Finnish *kuras*/*kurakse*- ‘club, saber, broadsword, knife’; Vote *kuras* ‘knife’; Estonian *kuurask* ‘knife’; Lapp / Saami (Southern) *korr* ‘small knife, common knife’; Forest Yurak Samoyed / Forest Nenets *kar* ‘knife, dagger’; Yenisei Samoyed / Enets *kooru* ‘knife’; Motor *kuro* ‘knife’. Collinder 1955:29 and 1977:48; Rédei 1986—1988:218—219 **kurɜ*; Décsy 1990:101 **kura* ‘knife’; Sammallahti 1988:537 **kurå* ‘knife’; Janhunen 1977b:54 **kârâ*.

Sumerian *kur*$_5$ ‘to cut, to cut off, to cut through, to separate, to divide’.

Buck 1949:15.78 sharp. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:481—482, no. 328; Hakola 2000:83, no. 344.

520. Proto-Nostratic root **k^{wh}ar-* (~ **k^{wh}ər-*):
(vb.) **k^{wh}ar-* ‘to cut a groove, to hollow out, to dig’;
(n.) **k^{wh}ar-a* ‘cut, hole, hollow, digging, excavation, pit, groove, trench’
Derivative of:
(vb.) **k^{wh}ar-* ‘to cut’;
(n.) **k^{wh}ar-a* ‘piece cut off; knife’

A. Proto-Afrasian (?) **k^{w}ar-* ~ **k^{w}ur-* ‘to cut a groove, to hollow out, to dig’: Proto-Semitic **kar-aw/y-* ‘to dig’ > Hebrew *kārāh* [כָּרָה] ‘to dig (a well)’; Aramaic *kərā* ‘to dig’; Punic *kr*ʔ ‘to dig’; Ugaritic *kry* ‘to dig’; Mandaic *kra* ‘to dig’; Arabic *karā* ‘to dig, to dig out earth, to dig a canal’; Geez / Ethiopic *karaya* [**ከረየ**] ‘to dig (a well, in the ground), to make cuts or incisions, to make holes, to excavate’, *makrit* [**መከሪት**] ‘shovel, spade’, *makrəy* [**መከርይ**] ‘instrument for digging, pickaxe, spade’, *kəryat* [**ከርየት**] ‘digging, excavation, hole, pit’; Tigre *kära* ‘to cut off (by digging)’; Gurage (Selṭi) *käre* ‘to dig a hole’; Harari *xara* ‘to dig a hole’, *mäxra* ‘pick’; Amharic *käräyyä* ‘to dig, to till the earth’. Murtonen 1989:239; Klein 1987:285; Leslau 1963:97, 1979:347, and 1987:294—295; Jean—Hoftijzer 1965:127. Egyptian *ȝkr* name of the Earth-god; Coptic *črē* [**ϭⲣⲏ**] ‘to dig’ (Černý considers this to be a loan from Semitic). Hannig 1995:16; Faulkner 1962:6; Gardiner 1957:550; Erman—Grapow 1921:4 and 1926—1963.1:22; Vycichl 1983:346; Černý 1976:335. Berber: Ghadames *krəz*, *crəz* ‘to sow, to cultivate, to till’; Nefusa *əkrəz* ‘to plow, to be plowed’, *tagursa* ‘plowshare’; Chaouia *tigərsiwin* ‘plowshare’; Kabyle *əkrəz* ‘to plow’. Proto-Southern Cushitic **kur-* or **kuur-* ‘to cultivate’ > Iraqw *kurumo* ‘hoe’; Alagwa *kurumo* ‘hoe’; Asa *kurim-* ‘to cultivate’; Ma’a *-kúru* ‘to cultivate’, *ukurumé* ‘cultivation’, *mkurumé* ‘cultivator, farmer’. Ehret 1980:247. Ehret 1995:200, no. 329, **kur-* ‘to dig out’.

B. (?) Dravidian: Kannaḍa *gūṟu* ‘to turn or uproot the earth with horns or tusks’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:174, no. 1922.

C. Proto-Indo-European *k^{wh}er-/*k^{wh}or-/*k^{wh}r̥- ‘(vb.) to draw or make furrows, to plow; (n.) furrow’: Sanskrit *kárṣati*, *kṛṣáti* ‘to draw, to drag, to pull, to drag or tear away; to draw or make furrows, to plow’, *karṣú-ḥ* ‘furrow, trench’, *kṛṣí-ḥ* ‘plowing, cultivation of the soil, agriculture’; Avestan *karša-* ‘furrow’, *karšū-* ‘field’; Czech *čára* ‘line’, *čarati* ‘to draw a line’; Old Sorbian *čara* ‘furrow, line’. Walde 1927—1932.I:429 **qers-* ‘(vb.) to draw, to drag; (n.) furrow’; Mann 1984—1987:492 (**qu̯ers-*, **qu̯ors-* ‘to cut’); Mayrhofer 1956—1980.I:176, I:177, and I:263.

D. Uralic: Proto-Finno-Ugrian **kurɜ-* (or **kara-*) ‘to dig, to plow’ > Mordvin *kara-* ‘to dig, to plow, to make an opening, to hollow out, to excavate’; Cheremis / Mari *kare-*, *kore-* ‘to flute, to channel (grooves); to furrow, to trace furrows’, *karem*, *korem* ‘hollow ravine, small stream’; Votyak / Udmurt *kyrem* ‘ditch, drain, conduit’; Zyrian / Komi *kyr-* ‘to dig up, to break up, to dig all around, to draw a ditch’, *kyrõm* ‘new riverbed dug out by water, point of a bank where water has broken through’. Collinder 1955:85 and 1977:102; Rédei 1986—1988:221—222 **kurɜ-* (or **kara-*). Proto-Finno-Ugrian **kurnʸa* ‘groove, furrow’ > Finnish *kuurna*, *kurna* ‘groove, furrow, trough, gutter’; Karelian *kuurna* ‘groove, furrow, trough, gutter’; Estonian *kurn* ‘strainer, sieve’; Cheremis / Mari *korno* ‘furrow, way, path’; Hungarian (dial.) *horny*, *horony* ‘furrow’, *hornyol-* ‘to cut a groove, to notch’. Collinder 1955:93 and 1977:109; Rédei 1986—1988:216 **kurńa*.

Buck 1949:8.21 plow; 8.212 furrow; 8.22 dig; 9.33 draw, pull; 12.84 line. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:476—477, no. 322; Hakola 2000:87, no. 362.

521. Proto-Nostratic root *k^{wh}ar- (~ *k^{wh}ər-):
(vb.) *k^{wh}ar- ‘to cut short, to reduce, to decrease, to diminish, to lessen’;
(n.) *k^{wh}ar-a ‘shortness’; (adj.) ‘short’
Derivative of:
(vb.) *k^{wh}ar- ‘to cut’;
(n.) *k^{wh}ar-a ‘piece cut off; knife’

A. Proto-Afrasian (?) *k^{w}ar- ~ *k^{w}ur- ‘to cut short, to shorten’: Semitic: Akkadian *karū* ‘to become short (said of time); to be short, shrunken (said of parts of the body); to be short (said of breath, temper)’, *kurrū* ‘to make shorter, to cut short, to cause hardship, to reduce in size or number’, *šukrū* ‘to cut short’, *kurrū* ‘short’, *kurū*, (f.) *kurītu* ‘short (in time or size); short person’; Śḥeri / Jibbāli *kérɔ́s* ‘to take up, to shorten (clothes)’, *kɔ́rtəs* ‘(clothes) to be taken up, to be shortened’.

B. Dravidian: Tamil *kuṟu* ‘short, dwarfish, defective’, *kuṟu* ‘to become short, to contract; to shrink’, *kuṟumai* ‘shortness, dwarfishness, defectiveness’, *kuṟuku* (*kuṟuki-*) ‘to grow short, stumpy, dwarfish; to shrink, to be reduced, to decrease’, *kuṟukkam* ‘shortness, abbreviation’, *kuṟukkal* ‘reduction,

contraction', *kuṟukku* (*kuṟukki-*) 'to shorten, to reduce, to abbreviate', *kuṟaivu* 'lack, deficiency', *kuṟai* (*-v-*, *-nt-*) 'to diminish, to dwindle, to be reduced, to prove insufficient, to be defective, to droop in affliction, to languish from worries, to loose courage, to suffer defeat', *kuṟai* (*-pp-*, *-tt-*) 'to lessen, to shorten'; Malayalam *kuṟu* 'short, little, brief', *kuṟukkuka* 'to shorten, to diminish, to boil down, to contract, to pull in', *kuṟuppam* 'shortness', *kuṟayuka* 'to dwindle, to sink in price; to be deficient, short, little', *kuṟaccal* 'want, scarcity', *kuṟavu* 'deficiency, disgrace', *kuṟekka* 'to diminish, to lower, to disgrace', *kuṟaḷ* 'shortness', *kuṟalan* 'dwarf'; Kota *kurg-* (*kurgy-*) 'to become small, diminished', *kurk-* (*kurky-*) 'to make small, to diminish', *korv-* (*kord-*) 'to be reduced in size or number, (voice) to become hoarse'; Toda *kuṟx-* (*kuṟxy-*) 'to be short', *kuṟk-* (*kuṟky-*) 'to shorten', *kwaṟ-* (*kwaṟθ-*) 'to be reduced in size or esteem', *kwaṟ* 'defective in physique, character, status'; Kannaḍa *kuṟu* 'smallness', *koṟe* 'smallness, shortness, deficiency, defect, remainder', *koṟe* 'to grow little or less or short; to diminish'; Koḍagu *korate* 'diminishing', *koru*, *koravu* 'defect, deficiency'; Tuḷu *kuru* 'little, small', *kora* 'brief, short', *korati*, *koratè* 'defect, want, need'; Telugu *kuṟucca*, *kuṟu-* 'short, dwarfish, small', *kuradā* 'deficiency', *koṟa* 'defect, want', *koṟāta* 'deficiency, want, incompleteness', *kruyyu* 'to grow lean, to diminish, to droop, to sink'; Gondi *kurrā* 'short of stature'; Konḍa *kuṟi* 'short, shortness'; (?) Kui *krōpka-* (< **krōkp-*; *krōkt-*) 'to lower, to reduce', *krōpka* 'reduction'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:168—169, no. 1851; Krishnamurti 2003:192 Proto-South Dravidian **kuṟay* 'to be reduced in size'.

C. Proto-Altaic **k^{h}oru-* '(vb.) to diminish, to lessen; (adj.) short': Proto-Tungus **χurumü-* 'short' > Evenki *urumkūn* 'short'; Lamut / Even *urumkun* 'short'; Negidal *uyumkūn* 'short'; Ulch *χurmi* 'short'; Orok *χurdumi* 'short'; Nanay / Gold *χurm'i* 'short'; Oroch *ūmi* 'short'; Solon *urūŋkũ* 'short'. Proto-Mongolian **koru-* 'to diminish' > Mongolian *qoru-* 'to diminish, to decrease, to become depleted, to wane, to lessen, to die', *qoruγa-* 'to diminish, to lessen, to decrease, to retrench, to abridge, to destroy, to annihilate, to assassinate', *qoruγdal* 'decrease, reduction, diminution, loss', *qorul* 'decreasing, diminution, loss, harm', *qorulta* 'decrease, waning, diminution, lessening, depletion', *qorumǯi* 'diminution, loss, detriment'; Khalkha *χoro-* 'to diminish'; Buriat *χoro-* 'to diminish'; Kalmyk *χor-* 'to diminish'; Ordos *χoro-* 'to diminish'. Proto-Turkic **Kor(a)-* '(vb.) to diminish, to decrease; (n.) harm, loss' > Old Turkic (Old Uighur) *qor* 'harm, loss', *qora-* 'to diminish, to decrease'; Karakhanide Turkic *qora-* 'to diminish, to decrease', *qor* 'harm, loss'; Kirghiz *qoro-* 'to diminish, to decrease'; Oyrot (Mountain Altai) *qoro-* 'to diminish, to decrease', *qor* 'harm, loss'; Tuva *χor* 'harm, loss'; Chuvash *χor* 'insult, offense, grief'; Yakut *qoron-* 'to diminish, to decrease', *qor* 'harm, loss'. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:843—844 **k'oru* 'short; to diminish, to grow less'.

Buck 1949:12.59 short. Illič-Svityč 1971—1984.I:367—368, no. 244, *Ḳurʌ ‘short’; Bomhard—Kerns 1994:482—483, no. 329; Hakola 2000:83, no. 344.

522. Proto-Nostratic (n.) *k^{wh}*ar-a* ‘vessel, pot’:

A. Afrasian: Semitic: Akkadian *karpu*, *karpatu* ‘pot, vase, jug’; Ugaritic *krpn* ‘cup, goblet’.
B. Dravidian: Gondi *karvi* ‘narrow-mouthed earthen vessel for oil or liquor’; Koḍagu *karava* ‘clay pot with narrow neck’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:118, no. 1273(a). Telugu *gurigi* ‘a very small earthen pot’; Gondi *kurvi* ‘earthen cooking pot’, *kurvī* ‘earthen jar’, *kuṛvī* ‘pitcher (black, for cooking)’; Kui *kui* ‘pot’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:162, no. 1797; Krishnamurti 2003:8 **kur-Vwi* ‘small pot’.
C. Proto-Indo-European *k^{wh}*er-*/*k^{wh}*or-* ‘vessel, pot’: Sanskrit *carú-ḥ* ‘vessel, pot’; Old Icelandic *hverr* ‘kettle, cauldron’; Old English *hwer* ‘pot, bowl, kettle, cauldron’; Old High German *(h)wer* ‘cauldron’; Old Irish *co(i)re* ‘cauldron’; Middle Welsh *peir* ‘cauldron’. Pokorny 1959:642 *k^{u}*er-* ‘dish’; Walde 1927—1932.I:518 *q^{u}*er-*; Mann 1984—1987:1028 **qu̯ernā*, *-is* (**qu̯erən-*) ‘pot, shell, skull’, 1028 **qu̯eros*, *-is*, *-us* ‘pot, pan, vessel, cauldron’; Watkins 1985:34 *k^{w}*er-* ‘something shaped like a dish or shell’; Mallory—Adams 1997:443 *k^{w}*erus* ‘large cooking pot, cauldron’; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.I:377; Orël 2003:200 Proto-Germanic **xweraz*; Kroonen 2013:265 Proto-Germanic **hwera-* ‘kettle’; De Vries 1977:272.
D. Proto-Altaic *k^{h}*ure* ‘basket, vessel’: Proto-Tungus **χurid-* ‘a vessel for berries’ > Evenki *uridīk* ‘a vessel for berries’; Nanay / Gold *χordaχĩ* ‘a vessel for berries’. Proto-Turkic **Küri-* ‘a measure of capacity; a kind of basket for vegetables’ > Old Turkic (Old Uighur) *küri* ‘a measure of capacity, a peck (2½ bushels)’; Karakhanide Turkic *kürin* ‘a kind of basket for vegetables’; Uighur *kürɛ* ‘a measure of capacity’; Sary-Uighur *k^{h}*o̯r* ‘a measure of capacity’. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:854 **k‘ure* ‘basket’.

Buck 1949:5.26 pot; 5.27 kettle; 5.34 pitcher, jug; 5.35 cup. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:481, no. 327.

523. Proto-Nostratic root *k^{wh}*ar-* (~ *k^{wh}*ər-*):
(vb.) *k^{wh}*ar-* ‘to procure’;
(n.) *k^{wh}*ar-a* ‘payment, procurement’

A. Afrasian: Proto-Semitic **kar-ay-* ‘to rent, to buy’ > Hebrew *kārāh* [כָּרָה] ‘to buy’; Arabic *kariya* ‘to rent, to lease, to let, to let out, to farm out, to hire out’, *kirāʔ* ‘rent, hire, hiring; lease; rental; wages, pay’; Sabaean *kry* ‘rent’; Ḥarsūsi *kerē* ‘fare’; Śḥeri / Jibbāli *ekóri* ‘to rent, to lease’, *kéréʔ*

'rent'; Mehri *kōri* 'to take fare from someone', *škēri* 'to hire, to rent (a house, camel)', *kīrēʔ* 'rent, hire'. Klein 1987:285. Berber: Tuareg *əkrəz* 'to acquire, to have'; Tawlemmet *əkrəz* 'to acquire', *akruz* 'acquisition'. Cushitic: Gedeo / Darasa *karra* 'property, wealth'. Hudson 1989:249.

B. Proto-Indo-European **k^{wh}rey(H)-/*k^{wh}roy(H)-/*k^{wh}ri(H)-* (> **k^{wh}rī-*) 'to buy, to purchase': Greek πρίαμαι 'to buy, to rent'; Sanskrit *krīṇā́ti* 'to buy, to purchase', *krayá-ḥ* 'purchase, purchase-price', *kreya-ḥ* 'purchasable'; Old Irish *crenaid* 'to buy'; Old Welsh *prynaf* 'to buy'; Old Russian *krenuti* [кренути] 'to buy'; Tocharian A *kuryar* 'commerce', Tocharian B *käry-* 'to buy', *käryorttau* 'trader, merchant', *karyor* 'buying, business, negotiation'. Rix 1998a:354—355 **k^{u}reu̯ih$_2$-* 'to barter, to exchange'; Pokorny 1959:648 **k^{u}rei-* 'to buy'; Walde 1927—1932.I:523—524 **q^{u}rei-*; Mann 1984—1987:1050 **qu̯rĭnō*, *-i̯ō* (variant **qu̯riu̯ə-*) 'to buy'; Mallory—Adams 1997:185 **k^{w}rei(h$_a$)-* 'to pay'; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.I:277 and I:279; Hofmann 1966:283 **q^{u}riə-* : **q^{u}rĭ-*; Boisacq 1950:813 **q^{u}ri-*; Frisk 1970—1973.II:594—595; Beekes 2010.II:1233 **k^{w}reih$_2$-*; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:938; Adams 1999:165 **k^{w}reih$_a$-* 'to buy'; Van Windekens 1976—1982.I:209—210 **q^{u}riu̯ā-* and I:246 **q^{u}rei-*, **q^{u}riu̯ə$_1$-*; Falileyev 2000:133 **k^{u}rei-*.

C. Chukchi-Kamchatkan: Proto-Chukotian **(ðə)kur-* 'to buy' > Chukchi *kur-* 'to buy'; Kerek *kuj-* 'to buy, to pay'; Koryak *kuj-* 'to buy, to pay for'; Alyutor *ina-tkur-ɣərŋən* 'price'. Fortescue 2005:142.

Buck 1949:11.81 buy. Möller 1911:141—142; Bomhard—Kerns 1994:475—476, no. 321.

524. Proto-Nostratic root **k^{wh}at^{h}-* (~ **k^{wh}ət^{h}-*):
(vb.) **k^{wh}at^{h}-* 'to move rapidly, to shake';
(n.) **k^{wh}at^{h}-a* 'rapid movement, shaking'

A. Afrasian: Egyptian *ktkt* 'to shake, to quiver'. Hannig 1995:890; Faulkner 1962:287; Erman—Grapow 1921:197 and 1926—1963.5:146. (?) Proto-Southern Cushitic **k^{w}aat-* 'to make with the hands' > Iraqw *kwatit-* 'to touch'; Ma'a *-kwa* 'to build'. Ehret 1980:265.

B. Dravidian: Tamil *kuti* '(vb.) to jump, to leap, to bound, to frolic, to escape from, to splash (as water), to spurt out; (n.) jump, leap', *kutippu* 'leaping'; Malayalam *kuti* 'leap, gallop', *kutikka* 'to jump, to skip, to boil, to bubble up', *kutukkuka* 'to take a spring in order to leap'; Kannaḍa *gudi* 'to jump, to stamp, to make a noise with the feet', *kuduku* '(vb.) to trot; (n.) trotting', *gudiku* 'to jump'; Tuḷu *guttu* 'a leap, jump; a stride'; Telugu *kudupu* '(vb.) to shake (tr.), to agitate, to jolt; (n.) shaking, jolting', *kudulu* 'to be shaken, to jolt; to shake while walking, to flutter in agony', *kudilincu* 'to shake (tr.)', *kudilika* 'shaking, agitation, jolting'; Konḍa *gudlis-* 'to shake violently'; Kuṛux *kuddnā* 'to move about', *kudābaʔānā* 'to make run',

kudākudī ‘in hot haste’, *kuduṛ-kuduṛ* ‘at a trot’. Krishnamurti 2003:12 **kut-i* ‘to jump’; Burrow—Emeneau 1964:156, no. 1705.

C. Proto-Kartvelian **kwet-* ‘to move, to shake, to swing’: Mingrelian *kvat-* ‘to swing, to sway, to shake’; Svan *kwt-* ‘to shake, to move something’. Fähnrich 2007:464—465 **kwet-*.

D. Proto-Indo-European **k*^{wh}*at*^{h}- ‘to move, to shake’: Latin *quatiō* ‘to shake; to agitate, to move, to touch, to affect, to excite’; Middle Irish *caithim* ‘to throw, to hurl, to fling, to cast’; Old Czech *kot* ‘throw, dash, rush’. Rix 1998a:510—511 **(s)ku̯eh*$_1$*t-* ‘to shake thoroughly, to shake up’; Pokorny 1959:632 **ku̯ēt-* : **ku̯ət-* : **kŭt-* ‘to shake, to sift’; Walde 1927—1932.I:511 **q*^{u}*ēt-*, **q*^{u}*ət-*; Mann 1984—1987:1020—1021 **qu̯atiō* ‘’to move, to shake, to rattle, to impel, to throw, to roll’; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.II:399—400 **squ̯ət-* (according to Persson); Ernout—Meillet 1979:552—553; De Vaan 2008:504—505.

Buck 1949:10.25 throw (vb.); 10.26 shake (vb. tr.); 10:43 jump, leap (vb.); 15.71 touch (vb.); 15.72 feel (vb.), feel of; 15.73 touch (sb. — act or sense of touch).

525. Proto-Nostratic (particle) **k*^{wh}*ay-* ‘when, as, though, also’:
Possibly derived from:
Relative pronoun stem **k*^{wh}*i-*; interrogative pronoun stem **k*^{wh}*a-*

A. Proto-Afrasian (?) **k*^{w}*ay-* ‘when, as, though, also’: Proto-Semitic **kay-* ‘in order that, for, when, so that’ > Akkadian *kī* ‘according to, concerning’; Hebrew *kī* [כִּי] ‘that, for, when’; Syriac *kay* ‘therefore’; Ugaritic *k*, *ky* ‘for, because, when, if, that’; Arabic *kay* ‘in order that, so that’; Sabaean *ky* ‘when’. Klein 1987:275; Zammit 2002:361. Egyptian non-enclitic particle *kȝ* ‘so, then’. Hannig 1995:871; Erman—Grapow 1921:194 and 1926—1963.5:84—85; Faulkner 1962:283; Gardiner 1957:597.

B. Proto-Indo-European **k*^{wh}*ay-* ‘when, as, though, also’: Lithuanian *kaĩ* ‘when, as’; Old Prussian *kai* ‘how; as; so that’; Latvian (dial.) *kaî* ‘so’; Old Church Slavic *cě* ‘as, as also’. Pokorny 1959:519 **kai* ‘and’ (?); Walde 1927—1932.I:327 **qai* (?); Mann 1984—1987:1039 **qu̯oi* (**qu̯oi̯-*) ‘when, where; that; any-’; Endzelins 1971:262, §431d. Greek καί, καὶ ‘and; also, even’ does not belong here (cf. Palmaitis 1986b:309).

Brunner 1969:38, no. 157; Bomhard—Kerns 1994:479—480, no. 325.

526. Proto-Nostratic root **k*^{wh}*ey-*:
(vb.) **k*^{wh}*ey-* ‘to repay in kind, to return an equal measure’;
(n.) **k*^{wh}*ey-a* ‘payment, repayment’

A. Afrasian: Proto-Semitic **kay-al-* ‘to measure out, to repay in kind, to return an equal measure’ > Syriac *kayl* ‘a measure’; Arabic *kāla* ‘to measure, to weigh; to measure out, to mete out, to allot, to apportion; to return like for like, to repay in kind’, *mikyāl* ‘measure; dry measure for grain’; Sabaean *kyl* ‘measurement’; Śḥeri / Jibbāli *kél* ‘to give a measure of something’; Ḥarsūsi *keyōl* ‘to give a measure, to give (someone) his deserts’; Geez / Ethiopic *maklit* [መክሊት] ‘talent (of silver)’; Tigre *käyyälä* ‘to measure’ (Arabic loan); Amharic *mäklit* ‘talent (of silver)’ (Geez loan). Leslau 1987:339.

B. Proto-Indo-European **k^{wh}ey-*/**k^{wh}oy-*/**k^{wh}i-* ‘(vb.) to repay in kind, to return like for like; (n.) payment, repayment’: Sanskrit *cáyate* ‘to revenge, to punish’, *citi-ḥ* ‘retaliation’; Avestan *čikayaṯ* ‘to atone for’, *kaēnā* ‘punishment, revenge’; Greek τίνω ‘to requite, to atone for, to repay; to pay a price, to pay a penalty’, τίω ‘to pay honor to (a person), to honor’, ποινή ‘retribution, penalty’; Middle Irish *cin* ‘fault, liability’; Lithuanian *káina* ‘cost, price’; Old Church Slavic *cěna* ‘reward’. Rix 1998a:339—340 **k^{u}eḭ-* ‘to pay a penalty, to punish, to avenge’; Pokorny 1959:636—637 **k^{u}ei-(t-)* ‘to pay attention to, to regard with respect, to punish, to avenge’; Walde 1927—1932.I:508—509 **q^{u}ei-*; Mann 1984—1987:1022 **qu̯ĕḭ̯ō* (**qu̯iḭ̯-*) ‘to punish’, 1034 **qu̯īm-* ‘tax, payment’, 1040 **qu̯oinos*, *-ā* ‘equivalent, estimate, worth, cost, payment, price, prize’; Watkins 1985:33 **k^{w}ei-* and 2000:44—45 **k^{w}ei-* ‘to pay, to atone, to compensate’, (suffixed *o*-grade) **k^{w}oi-nā-*; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.II:809 **k[^{h}]^{o}e/oḭ̯-(nā-)* and 1995.I:710, fn. 18, **k$^{h o}$ei-* ‘to punish, to compensate, to pay a price, to avenge’ and I:709, I:710 **k$^{h o}$e/oi-(nā-)* ‘payment, compensation, vengeance’; Mallory—Adams 1997:123 **k^{w}oineh$_{a}$-* ‘compensation’, **k^{w}ei-* ‘to fine, to punish’; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.I:376 and II:387; Boisacq 1950:801 **q^{u}oinā* ‘vengeance, punishment’, **q^{u}ei-*, 971—972, and 973—974 **q^{u}ei-* ‘to repay; to punish, to avenge’; Frisk 1970—1973.II:573—574 **q^{u}oinā*, II:902—903, and II:906—907 **q^{u}ei-*, **q^{u}ĭ-*; Beekes 2010.II:1486—1487 **k^{w}ei-*; Hofmann 1966:279 **q^{u}oinā*, **q^{u}ei-*, 367, and 368 **q^{u}ei-*; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:925 **k^{w}ei-*, II:1120—1121, and II:1123; Smoczyński 2007.1:243 **k^{u}oḭ̯-neh$_{2}$-*, **k^{u}eḭ̯-*; Fraenkel 1962—1965.I:203; Derksen 2008:75 **k^{w}oi-neh$_{2}$* and 2015:217—218 **k^{w}oi-neh$_{2}$*.

C. Yukaghir (Southern / Kolyma) *kej-* ‘to give’, *kečiː-* ‘to bring’, (Northern / Tundra) *kii-* ‘to give’, *kečі-* ‘to bring’. Nikolaeva 2006:203.

Buck 1949:21.37 penalty, punishment. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:473—474, no. 318.

527. Proto-Nostratic root **k^{wh}ey-*:
(vb.) **k^{wh}ey-* ‘to do, to make, to create; to form, to fashion’;
(n.) **k^{wh}ey-a* ‘act, deed, creation’

A. Afrasian: Semitic: Arabic *kayyafa* ‘to form, to shape, to fashion, to mold, to fit, to adjust, to adapt’.

B. Proto-Dravidian **key-* ‘to do, to make’: Tamil *cey* ‘to do, to make, to create, to cause’; Kota *gey-* (*gec-*), *key-* (*kec-*) ‘to do, to make’; Malayalam *ceyka* ‘to do, to act’; Kannaḍa *key*, *kai*, *gey* ‘to perform, to do, to make, to work’; Toda *kïy-* (*kïs-*) ‘to do, to make’; Koḍagu *key-* (*keyyuv-*, *kejj-*) ‘to work’; Telugu *cēyu* ‘to do, to perform, to make, to create’; Gadba *key-* (*ked-*, *ken-*) ‘to do’; Konḍa *ki-* ‘to do, to make’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:178, no. 1957; Krishnamurti 2003:128 **key-* ‘to do, to make, to create’.

C. Proto-Indo-European **k^{wh}ey-*/**k^{wh}i-* (secondary *o*-grade form: **k^{wh}oy-*) ‘to do, to make, to create; to form, to fashion’: Sanskrit *cinóti*, *cáyati* ‘to arrange in order, to heap up, to construct, to gather, to collect’; Punjabi *ciṇṇā* ‘to pile up, to lay (bricks), to gather (clothes), to arrange’, *cuṇṇā* ‘to build up in layers, to plait’; Gujarati *ciṇvũ*, *cuṇvũ* ‘to fold into long strips’, *caṇvũ* ‘to build, to make, to erect’; Marathi *ċuṇṇē* ‘to pile up orderly, to fold, to plait’; Greek ποιέω ‘to make, to produce; to create, to bring into existence; to make ready, to prepare, to do’; Old Church Slavic *činiti* ‘to arrange, to construct’, *činъ* ‘row, order, rank, rule’; Czech *činiti* ‘to do, to make, to carry out, to act’; Russian *činít′* [чинить] ‘to make; to administer, to execute; to commit, to perpetrate; to mend, to repair’, *čin* [чин] ‘rank, dignity, grade’. Rix 1998a:338—339 **k$^{u̯}$ei̯-* ‘to gather, to collect, to arrange’; Pokorny 1959:637—638 **k$^{u̯}$ei-* ‘to pile up, to build, to make’; Walde 1927—1932.I:509—510 **q$^{u̯}$ei-*; Mann 1984—1987:1040 **qu̯oiu̯ei̯ō* ‘to shape, to stylize’; Watkins 1985:33 **k^{w}ei-* and 2000:45 **k^{w}ei-* ‘to pile up, to build, to make’; Mallory—Adams 1997:87 **k^{w}ei-* ‘to pile up, to build’; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.I:388; Beekes 2010.II:1216 **k^{w}i-eu-*, **k^{w}ei-u-*; Boisacq 1950:799—800 **q$^{u̯}$oi-*; Frisk 1970—1973.II:570—572 **q$^{u̯}$ei-*; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:922—923 **k^{w}ei-*; Hofmann 1966:278 **q$^{u̯}$ei-*; Derksen 2008:89 **k^{w}ei-n-*, **k^{w}ei-no-*.

D. Proto-Altaic **k^{h}i-* (~ *k-*) ‘to do, to make’: Proto-Mongolian **ki-* ‘to do, to make’ > Written Mongolian *ki-* ‘to do, to act, to perform’; Khalkha *χiy-* ‘to do, to make’; Buriat *χe-* ‘to do, to make’; Kalmyk *ke-* ‘to do, to make’; Ordos *kī-* ‘to do, to make’; Moghol *ki-* ‘to do, to make’; Dagur *χī-*, *kī-* ‘to do, to make’; Monguor *gi-*, *gə-* ‘to do, to make’. Poppe 1955:36, 74, and 142. Proto-Turkic **Kïl-* ‘to do, to make’ > Old Turkic (Old Uighur) *qïl-* ‘to do, to make’; Karakhanide Turkic *qïl-* ‘to do, to make’; Turkish *kıl-* ‘to do, to perform’; Azerbaijani *ɢïl-* ‘to do, to make’; Turkmenian *qïl-* ‘to do, to make’; Uzbek *qil-* ‘to do, to make’; Uighur *qil-* ‘to do, to make’; Karaim *qïl-* ‘to do, to make’; Tatar *qïl-* ‘to do, to make’; Bashkir *qïl-* ‘to do, to make’; Kirghiz *qïl-* ‘to do, to make’; Kazakh *qïl-* ‘to do, to make’; Noghay *qïl-* ‘to do, to make’; Oyrot (Mountain Altai) *qïl-* ‘to do, to make’; Tuva *qïl-* ‘to do, to make’; Yakut *kïn-* ‘to do, to make’; Dolgan *gïn-* ‘to do, to

make'. Poppe 1960:19 and 114; Street 1974:17 **kï-* 'to do, to make'; Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:675—676 **ki* (~ **k'i*) 'to do, to make'.

Buck 1949:9.11 do, make. Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 1949, **ġoyV* 'to heap up, to build, to make'; Bomhard—Kerns 1994:474—475, no. 320.

528. Proto-Nostratic relative pronoun stem **k^{wh}i-* (~ **k^{wh}e-*); interrogative pronoun stem **k^{wh}a-* (~ **k^{wh}ə-*):

A. Proto-Afrasian **k^{w}a-* interrogative stem: This stem is not widespread in Afrasian. It is preserved in relic forms in several Semitic languages: Proto-Semitic **ka-m* 'how much?, how many?' > Arabic *kam* 'how much?, how many'; Ḥarsūsi *kem* 'how much?, how many?'; Mehri *kəm* 'how much?'; Soqoṭri *kəm* 'how much?'. Zammit 2002:358—359. It also occurs in Cushitic: Rendille interrogative suffix *-koh* 'which?'; Arbore *kaakó* 'how much?, how many?'; Galla / Oromo interrogative pronoun *kam(i)* 'which?' (cf. Ali—Zaborski 1990:139; Praetorius 1893:96—97). Finally, it occurs in the Kefoid branch of Omotic (cf. *kon(n)e*, *koonni*, *ko* 'who?') and in the Dizoid branch as well (cf. *yiki* 'who?'). Bender 2000:209 and 226.

B. Proto-Indo-European **k^{wh}e-/*k^{wh}o-*, **k^{wh}i-* stem of interrogative and relative pronouns: Sanskrit *ká-ḥ*, *kā́* 'who?', *káti* 'how many?', *kím* 'what?', *kútra* 'where?', *cid* 'even, also'; Avestan interrogative-indefinite pronoun stem *ka-* 'who', *čaiti* 'how many?'; Old Persian interrogative-indefinite pronoun stem *ka-* 'who'; Latin *quis* 'who?', *quid* 'what?', *quod* 'that, wherefore, why', *quot* 'how many?', *quisquis* 'whoever, whichever, whatever'; Greek τίς 'who?', τί 'what?', ποῦ 'where?', πόσος 'of what quantity?, how much?, how many?'; Armenian *k^{h}ani* 'how many?'; Old Irish *cía* 'who?'; Welsh *pwy* 'who?'; Cornish *pyw* 'who?'; Breton *piou* 'who?'; Gothic *hvas* 'who?', *hvō* 'what?', *hvan* 'when?', *hvar* 'where?', *hvarjis* 'which?', *hvaþ* 'whereto?'; Old Icelandic *hverr* 'who?, which?, what?', *hvé* 'how?', *hvat* 'what?'; Old Swedish *ho* 'who?'; Old Danish *hwa* 'who?'; Old English *hwā* 'who?', *hwæt* 'what'; Old Frisian *hwā* 'who?'; Old Saxon *hwē*, *hwie* 'who?'; Old High German *(h)wer* 'who?' (New High German *wer*), *(h)waz* 'what?' (New High German *was*); Lithuanian *kàs* 'who?, what?', *kur*̃ 'where?, whither?'; Old Church Slavic *kъto* 'who?'; Hittite interrogative pronoun (nom. sg.) *ku-iš* 'who?' (acc. *ku-in*), (neuter) *ku-it* 'what?', *ku-(u-)wa-at* 'why?', *ku-wa-(at-)tin* 'where?, whither?', *ku-wa-(a-)pí* 'where?, whither?, when?'; Palaic interrogative and relative pronoun *kuiš*; Luwian *ku-(i-)iš* 'who?', interrogative adverb *ku-wa-(a-)ti(-in)* 'how?', relative adverb *ku-wa-at-ti* 'where, whence'; Lycian interrogative and relative stem *ti*; Lydian relative pronoun *qis*; Tocharian A interrogative stem (nom.) *kus* (acc. *kuc*) 'who?, which?, what?', relative stem (nom.) *kusne* (acc. *kucne*) 'who, which', B interrogative and relative stem (nom.) *k$_{u}$se* 'who(?), whoever, no matter

who; the one who, those who', (acc.) *$k_u$ce* 'whom?, what?, which?; whom, what, which', also used as a conjunction: 'because; (so) that'. Pokorny 1959:644—648 **kᵘo-*, **kᵘe-* interrogative and relative particle; Walde 1927—1932.I:519—523 **qᵘo-*, **qᵘe-*; Mann 1984—1987:1017 **qu̯ā* 'by what, by which, how', 1019 **qu̯am*, **qu̯an*, 1019 **qu̯am-de*, *-dō*, 1021 **qu̯-dhē̆*, *-dho*, *-dhə*, *-dh* 'where, whither, whence', 1021—1022 **qu̯ei* (**qu̯ēi*) 'how, why', 1030—1031 **qu̯ə* 'what', 1031 **qu̯i*, (enclitic) **-qu̯i* 'any, not-, -soever', 1031—1032 **qu̯id* 'what, something', 1032 **qu̯iu̯ā* (**qu̯iu̯ə*, **qu̯ī*, **qu̯i*) 'how, why; as if, or, since, as though', 1035—1036 **qu̯is* 'who, which', 1036 **qu̯isqu̯is*, 1037—1038 **qu̯o*, **qu̯ō* 'in what, by what, where', 1038 **qu̯od* 'what, that', 1039 **qu̯odŏ* 'when', 1039 **qu̯odqu̯id* 'whatever, anything', 1039 **qu̯o-dhen* (**-dhən-*, **-dhə*) 'by, in what; to, from, what, where', 1039 **qu̯o-dhi*, **qu̯-dhi* 'where, there', 1039 **qu̯oi* (**qu̯oi-*) 'when, where; that; any-', 1040—1041 **qu̯oi̯os* (**qu̯oiu̯os*) 'of whom, whose', 1043—1044 **qu̯om*, 1045 **qu̯ŏ-qu̯e* (**-qu̯ə*), 1048 **qu̯os* 'who', 1048 **qu̯osis*, **qu̯osi̯os*; Watkins 1985:34 **kʷo-*, also **kʷi-* and 2000:46 **kʷo-*, also **kʷi-* stem of relative and interrogative pronouns; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.I:117 **k[ʰ]ºis* and 1995.I:100 **kʰºis* 'who'; Mallory—Adams 1997:456—457 **kʷós* 'who', **kʷóm* 'whom', **kʷód* 'what', **kʷíd* 'what, what one', **kʷóteros* 'which (of two)', **kʷóm* 'when', **kʷodéh$_a$* 'when', **kʷór* 'where', **kʷu-* ~ **kʷū́* 'where', **kʷóti* ~ **kʷéti* 'how much, how many', **kʷeh$_a$li* 'of what sort, of what size', (?) **kʷeh$_a$k-* 'of what sort', **kʷoih$_x$os* 'pertaining to whom/what'; Brugmann 1904:402 **qᵘo-*, **qᵘi-*, **qᵘu-*; Szemerényi 1996:208—211 **kʷi-*, **kʷe-/*kʷo-*; Watkins 1998:67 **kʷís*, **kʷíd*, **kʷo(s)*, **kʷod*; Beekes 1995:203—207 **kʷe-/*kʷi-*, (adj.) **kʷo-* and 2010.II:1215 **kʷo-*, II:1487 **kʷi-*; Meillet 1964:328 **kʷe-*, **kʷo-*, **kʷei-*; Fortson 2004:130 **kʷo-*; Meier—Brügger 2003:227—228 **kʷi-*, **kʷo-*; Adrados 1975.II:823—824 **kᵘi-*, **kᵘo-*; Schmitt-Brandt 1998:223—228 **kᵘi-*, **kᵘe/o-*; **kᵘis*, **kᵘid*; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.I:148 **qʷoti*, **qʷeti*, I:192, I:209—210 **qʷi-*, I:228, and I:387 **qʷi-s*; Puhvel 1984— .4:218—232; Boisacq 1950:806—807 **qᵘoti* and 972 **qᵘi-s*, **qᵘi-d*; **qᵘi-m*; Frisk 1970—1973.II:585 **qᵘóti* and II:903—904 **qᵘi-s*, **qᵘi-d*; **qᵘe-so*; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:921—922 **kʷo-*, **kʷi-* and II:1121; Hofmann 1966:281 **qᵘoti* and 367 **qᵘis*, **qᵘid*; **qᵘim*; Ernout—Meillet 1979:556 **kʷo-*, 559—560 **kʷo-*, **kʷi-*, and 561 **kʷotyo-*; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.II:404—405, II:410 **qᵘi-*, **qᵘo-*, II:411—412, and II:412—413 **qᵘoti*; De Vaan 2008:507—508 and 510—511; Orël 2003:198 Proto-Germanic **xwan(n)ai*, 198 **xwar* ~ **xwēr*, 199 **xwat*, 199 **xwaþe*, 199 **xwaz* ~ **xwez*, 201 **xwē*, 201 **xwī*; Kroonen 2013:261 Proto-Germanic **hwa-* 'who?, what?' and 264 **hwaþera-* 'who of two?'; Feist 1939:281—282, 282 **kᵘo-*, **kᵘei̯-*, 282—283, 283, and 284; Lehmann 1986:198 **kʷo-* and 198—199 **kʷo-*, **kʷi-*; De Vries 1977:269, 270, and 271; Falk—Torp 1903—1906.I:312, I:313. I:314, I:314—315; Klein 1971:825 and 827 **qʷo-*, **qʷe-*; Onions 1966:

1001 **qʷod* and 1004 **qʷos*, **qʷes*; **qʷi-*; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:853; Kluge—Seebold 1989:778 **qu̯od* and 787 **qu̯i-*/**qu̯o-*; Van Windekens 1976—1982.I:246 **qu̯u-*; Adams 1999:181—182 and 187—188 **kʷusó*; Burrow 1973:273—274; Buck 1933:226—228 **qʷo-*, **qʷi-*, **qʷu-* (in adverbs); Rix 1992:186—188 **ku̯í-*/**ku̯éi̯-*; **ku̯é-*/**ku̯ó-*; **ku̯ú-* (in adverbs); Sihler 1995:397—401 **kʷi-*/**kʷe-*; Lindsay 1894:443—452 **qu̯o-* (with **qu̯i-*, **qu̯u-*); Palmer 1954:257—258 and 1980:286—287 **qʷis*/**qʷid*; Mendeloff 1969:62—81; Prokosch 1939:278—279; Streitberg 1963:267; Krause 1968:199—200 **qu̯e-* : **qu̯o-*, **qu̯ā-*; **qu̯o-s*, **qu̯i-s*, **qu̯o-d*; Hirt 1931—1934.II:76—78 **kʷe-*, **kʷo-*, **kʷi-* and II:80; Wright—Wright 1925:248—249 **qʷos*, **qʷod*, **qʷis*; Endzelins 1971:195—200; Stang 1966:236—237 **kʷo-*; Smoczyński 2007.1:262 and 1:326; Fraenkel 1962—1965.I:199; Derksen 2008:264 **kʷo-* and 2015:230 **kʷo-*; Meillet 1965a:442—445 **kʷo-*, **kʷi-*; Sturtevant 1933:202—203 and 1951:115; Kronasser 1956:148; Kimball 1999:266; Luraghi 1997:26; J. Friedrich 1960.I:68—69; Kloekhorst 2008b:488—491; Held—Schmalstieg—Gertz 1988:33; Carruba 1970:60; Laroche 1959:55; Meriggi 1980:325—327. Note: Derivatives of this stem are abundantly represented in the Indo-European daughter languages — only a small sampling is given here. For more information, the references cited above should be consulted.

C. Proto-Uralic **ki-* ~ **ke-* relative pronoun stem: Finnish *ken*/*kene-*/*ke-* ‘who’; Estonian *kes* ‘who’; Lapp / Saami *gi*/*gæ-* ‘who, which, what’; Mordvin *ki* ‘who, somebody’; Cheremis / Mari *ke*, *kö*, *kü* ‘who’; Votyak / Udmurt *kin* ‘who’; Zyrian / Komi *kin* ‘who’; Hungarian *ki* ‘who, who?’; Kamassian *giˀiˀ* ‘which (of two)’, *giˀgeˀ* ‘what sort of’, *giˀin*, *kijen*, *gin* ‘where’, *gildi* ‘how much, how many’. Collinder 1955:24, 1965:138—139, and 1977:44; Joki 1973:268; Rédei 1986—1988:140—141 **ke* (**ki*); Décsy 1990:100 **ke* ‘who’. Proto-Uralic **ku-* ~ **ko-* interrogative pronoun stem: Finnish *kuka*/*ku-* ‘who?’, *kussa* ‘where?’, *koska* ‘when?’; Lapp / Saami *gutti* ‘who?’, *gost* ‘where?, from where?’, *gokˈtĕ* ‘how?’; Mordvin *kodamo* ‘which?, what kind of?’, *kona* ‘which?’, *koso* ‘where?’, *koda* ‘how?’; Cheremis / Mari *kudõ* ‘who?, which?’, *kuštõ* ‘where?’, *kuze* ‘how?’; Votyak / Udmurt *kudiz* ‘which?’, *ku* ‘when?’; Zyrian / Komi *kod* ‘which?’, *ko* ‘when?’; Vogul / Mansi *hoo*, *kon* ‘who?’, *hoot* ‘where?’, *kun* ‘when?’; Ostyak / Xanty *koji* ‘who?’, *kŏti* ‘what?’; Hungarian *hol* ‘where?’, *hova* ‘whither?’, *hogy* ‘how?’; Yurak Samoyed / Nenets *hu* ‘who?’, *huńaŋy* ‘which?’, *huna*, *huńana* ‘where?’, *hańaˀ* ‘whither?’; Tavgi Samoyed / Nganasan *kua*, *kunie* ‘which?’, *kuninu* ‘where?’, *kuniˀaaŋ* ‘how?’; Yenisei Samoyed / Enets *huju* ‘one of two, either’, *kuu* ‘whither?’, *kune*, *kunne* ‘when?’, *kunnoˀ* ‘how?’; Selkup Samoyed *kutte*, *kudö* ‘who?’, *kun* ‘where?, from where?’, *ku* ‘whither?’, *kutar* ‘how?’; Kamassian *kojət* ‘what kind of?’, *kammõn* ‘when?’, *kõdaˀ* ‘how?’. Collinder 1955:26, 1965:139, and 1977:46; Rédei 1986—1988:191—192 **ku-* (**ko-*); Décsy 1990:100 **ko* ‘who?’; Janhunen 1977b:75 **ku-*. Yukaghir (Southern /

Kolyma) *kin* ‘who’, *kil'l'ə* ‘whose’, *qadi* ‘which?’, *qanin* ‘when?’, *qondet* ‘from where?, whence?’, *qaŋide* ‘where to?, whither?’, *qadungə* ‘where?’, *qam-* ‘how much?, how many?’, *qamlo:-* ‘how much?, how many?’, *qaml'id'ə* ‘how many times?’, *qo-* ‘where’, *qodo*, *qode* ‘how’, *qod-a:-* (interrogative verb) ‘to do what?’, *qodime:-* ‘what kind of’, *qododə* ‘somehow, in every possible way’, *qodit* ‘why’; (Northern / Tundra) *kin* ‘who’, *kinid'eŋ* ‘to nobody’, *kinolelk* ‘nobody, somebody’, *qaduŋ* ‘which?’, *qanin* ‘when?’, *qaduŋdet* ‘where?’, *qawde* ‘what kind of?, how?’, *qadaa* ‘where?’, *qabun* ‘how much?, how many?’, *qamla-* ‘how much, how many?’, *qamlid'e* ‘how many times?’, *quode-* ‘how’, *quodede* ‘somehow, in every possible way’, *qodiet* ‘why’. Nikolaeva 2006:211—212, 373, 376, and 382.

D. Proto-Altaic **k^{h}a(y)* interrogative pronoun: ‘who?, what?’: Proto-Tungus **χia* (**χai*) ‘who?, what?’ > Manchu *ai*, *ya* ‘who?, what?, which?’; Evenki *ê̄* ‘who?’, *ê̄kūn* ‘what?’; Lamut / Even *ā̄q* ‘what?’; Negidal *ê̄χun*, *ê̄kun* ‘who?, what?’, *ê̄wa* ‘what?’; Ulch *χay* ‘what?’; Orok *χai* ‘what?’; Nanay / Gold *χaị* ‘what?’; Solon *ī* ‘what?’. Proto-Mongolian **ken*, **ka-* ‘who?, which?’ > Written Mongolian *ken* ‘who?, which?’; Khalkha *χen* ‘who?, which?’; Buriat *χen* ‘who?, which?’; Kalmyk *ken* ‘who?, which?’; Ordos *ken* ‘who?, which?’; Moghol *ken* ‘who?, which?’; Dagur *ken*, *χen* ‘who?, which?’, *χā-*, *hā-* ‘where?’; Monguor *ken* ‘who?, which?’. Poppe 1955:45 and 229. Proto-Turkic **kem-*, **ka-* ‘who?, which?’ > Old Turkic (Old Uighur) *kem* ‘who?’, *qayu*, *qanu* ‘which?’; Karakhanide Turkic *kem*, *kim* ‘who?’, *qayu* ‘which?’; Turkish *kim* ‘who?’; Gagauz *kim* ‘who?’; Azerbaijani *kim* ‘who?’; Turkmenian *kim* ‘who?’, *qay* ‘which?’; Uzbek *kim* ‘who?’, *qay* ‘which?’; Uighur *kim* (dial. *kem*) ‘who?’, *qay* ‘which?’; Karaim *kïm* ‘who?’; Tatar *kem* ‘who?’, *qay* ‘which?’; Bashkir *kem* ‘who?’, (dial.) *qay* ‘which?’; Kirghiz *kim* ‘who?’, *qay* ‘which?’; Kazakh *kim* ‘who?’, *qay* ‘which?’; Noghay *kim* ‘who?’; Oyrot (Mountain Altai) *kem* ‘who?’, *qay* ‘which?’; Tuva *qïm* ‘who?’, *qayï* ‘which?’; Chuvash *kam* ‘who?’; Yakut *kim* ‘who?’, *χaya* ‘which?’; Dolgan *kim* ‘who?’, *kaya* ‘which?’. Menges 1968b:134—135. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:754 **k‘a(j)* interrogative pronoun: ‘who’.

E. Proto-Eskimo **ki(na)* ‘who’: Alutiiq Alaskan Yupik *kinaq* ‘who’; Central Alaskan Yupik *kina* ‘who’; Naukan Siberian Yupik *kina* ‘who’; Central Siberian Yupik *kina* ‘who’; Sirenik *kin* ‘who’; Seward Peninsula Inuit *kina* ‘who’; North Alaskan Inuit *kin^{y}a* ‘who’; Western Canadian Inuit *kina* ‘who’; Eastern Canadian Inuit *kina* ‘who’; Greenlandic Inuit *kina* ‘who’. Aleut *kiin* ‘who’. Fortescue—Jacobson—Kaplan 1994:173—174. Proto-Eskimo **kitu* ‘who’ or ‘which’: Alutiiq Alaskan Yupik *kitu-* ‘who’; Central Alaskan Yupik *kitu-* ‘who’; Naukan Siberian Yupik *kitu-* ‘who’; Central Siberian Yupik *kitu-* ‘who’; Seward Peninsula Inuit *kitu* ‘which’; North Alaskan Inuit *kisu* ‘which’; Eastern Canadian Inuit *kituuna* ‘who is that’; Greenlandic Inuit (North Greenlandic / Polar Eskimo) *kihu* ‘what’.

Fortescue—Jacobson—Kaplan 1994:174. Proto-Inuit *_qanuq_ ‘how’ > Seward Peninsula Inuit _qanuq_ ‘how’; North Alaskan Inuit _qanuq_ ‘how’; Western Canadian Inuit _qanuq_ ‘how’; Eastern Canadian Inuit _qanuq_ ‘how’; Greenlandic Inuit _qanuq_ ‘how’. Fortescue—Jacobson—Kaplan 1994:284. Proto-Eskimo *_qaŋa_ ‘when (in past)’: Sirenik _qaŋən_ ‘when (in past?)’; Seward Peninsula Inuit _qaŋa_ ‘when (in past)’; North Alaskan Inuit _qaŋa_ ‘when (in past)’; Western Canadian Inuit _qaŋa_ ‘when (in past)’; Eastern Canadian Inuit _qaŋa_ ‘when’; Greenlandic Inuit _qaŋa_ ‘when (in past)’. Aleut _qana-_ ‘which, where’, _qanayaam_ ‘when’, _qanaaŋ_ ‘how many’. Fortescue—Jacobson—Kaplan 1994:284. Proto-Eskimo *_qaku_ ‘when (in future)’: Alutiiq Alaskan Yupik _qaku_ ‘when (in future)’; Central Alaskan Yupik _qaku_ ‘when (in future)’; Naukan Siberian Yupik _qaku_ ‘when’; Central Siberian Yupik _qakun_ ‘when (in future)’; Sirenik _qaku_ ‘when’; Seward Peninsula Yupik _qaɣu(n)_, _qaɣuʁun_ ‘when (in future)’; North Alaskan Inuit _qakuɣu_ ‘when (in future)’; Western Canadian Inuit (Siglit) _qaku(ɣu)_ ‘when (in future)’; Eastern Canadian Inuit _qaku_ ‘when (at last, after lengthy waiting)’; Greenlandic Inuit _qaquɣu_ ‘when (in future)’. Fortescue—Jacobson—Kaplan 1994:278. Proto-Yupik-Sirenik *_qayu(q)_ ‘how’ > Alutiiq Alaskan Yupik _qayu_ ‘how’; Central Alaskan Yupik _qayumi_ ‘indeed, as expected’; Naukan Siberian Yupik _qay_ ‘I wonder, is that so?’, _qaywa_ ‘really?, is that so?’; Central Siberian Yupik _qayuq_ ‘how’; Sirenik _qayŋun_ ‘really?’. Fortescue—Jacobson—Kaplan 1994:293.

Illič-Svityč 1971—1984.I:355—356, no. 232, *_Ķo_ ‘who’; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 981, *_Ķo_ ‘who’; Koskinen 1980:22; Bomhard—Kerns 1994:478—479, no. 324; Möller 1911:125; Hakola 2000:64, no. 251; Fortescue 1998:153 and 154.

529. Proto-Nostratic root *_k^{wh}ir-_ (~ *_k^{wh}er-_):
(vb.) *_k^{wh}ir-_ ‘to twist or twine together, to tie together, to bind, to fasten’;
(n.) *_k^{wh}ir-a_ ‘twist, tie, bundle, rope; the act of twisting or twining together: work, craft, act, action’

A. Proto-Afrasian *_k^{w}ir-_ ‘to twist or twine together, to tie together, to bind, to fasten’: Proto-Semitic *_kar-as-_ ‘to tie, to fasten’ > Akkadian _karāsu_ ‘to tie, to fasten’, _kurussu_ (_kursū_) ‘strap (of leather or metal)’. Proto-Semitic *_kar-ab-_ ‘to twist or twine together’ > Arabic _karaba_ ‘to tighten one’s bonds, to twist a rope’; Ḥarsūsi _kerōb_ ‘to screw, to screw up’; Mehri _kərūb_ ‘to screw, to screw a rifle butt tight through the muzzle’; Śḥeri / Jibbāli _kórɔ́b_ ‘to screw, to screw a rifle butt tight (through the muzzle)’; Geez / Ethiopic _karabo_ [ከረቦ] ‘woven basket, pouch’; Tigrinya _karibbo_ ‘small skin used as a bag’; Amharic _käräbo_ ‘basket’. Leslau 1987:290. Proto-Semitic *_kar-ak-_ ‘to twist or twine together, to tie together, to bind, to fasten’ > Hebrew _kāraχ_ [כָּרַךְ] ‘to encircle, to twine around, to embrace, to wrap’, _kereχ_ [כֶּרֶךְ] ‘twining; scroll, volume; bundle’; Aramaic _kəraχ_ ‘to

enwrap, to surround', *kərīχā* 'bundle; scroll'; Akkadian *karāku* 'to intertwine; to obstruct, to dam; to immerse, to soak; to do promptly (?)'; Geez / Ethiopic *kʷarkʷada* [ቀርከዳ] 'to embrace, to take in one's arms'; Amharic *kʷärkkʷädä* 'to tie up, to shackle'. Klein 1987:287; Leslau 1987:291; Murtonen 1989:239. Egyptian *kɜ-t* 'work, construction; craft, profession', *kɜwty* 'workman, laborer, artisan, craftsman, *weaver'. Hannig 1995:874—875 and 875; Gardiner 1957:597; Faulkner 1962:283; Erman—Grapow 1921:193 and 1926—1963.5:98—101, 5:102. Berber: Tuareg *kurət* 'to wind or wrap several times (as a turban around the head)', *takārut* 'turban'; Ghadames *akraru* 'stick used to stir sauces'; Wargla *sskur* 'to wind into a ball, to wrap', *akur* ' large ball, ball of wool', *takurt* 'ball'; Mzab *sseçur* 'to wind into a ball', *açur* 'ball', *taçrart* 'skein'; Tamazight *kur* 'to be wrapped, to be wound into a ball', *tikurin* 'ball, spool of thread'; Riff *skur* 'to wind into a ball', *takurt* 'ball (of thread, wool)'; Kabyle *kʷər* 'to be wound into a ball', *akur* 'large ball'; Zenaga *kurer* 'to be round, circular; to walk in a circle'. Proto-Southern Cushitic **kʷirih-*, **kʷiriih-* 'to turn (intr.)' > Ma'a *-kiríʔi* 'to come back', *-kiríti* 'to turn (something); to give back; to ask'; Iraqw *kwirihis-* 'to twist (something)'. Ehret 1980:266. Ehret 1995:207, no. 346, **kʷir-* 'to turn'.

B. Proto-Indo-European **kʷʰer-*/**kʷʰr̥-* (secondary *o*-grade form: **kʷʰor-*) 'to do, to make, to build': Sanskrit *karóti*, *kr̥ṇóti* 'to do, to make, to perform, to cause, to accomplish, to effect, to prepare, to undertake; to execute, to carry out; to manufacture, to work at, to elaborate, to build; to form or construct one thing out of another; to employ, to use, to make use of', *kr̥tá-ḥ* 'done, made, accomplished, performed, prepared, made ready; obtained, gained, acquired, placed at hand', *kará-ḥ* 'doing, making', *kárman-* 'act, action, performance, business', *kr̥tyā́* 'act, action, deed, performance, achievement; enchantment, magic'; Avestan *kərənaoiti* 'to do, to make'; Old Persian *kar-* 'to do, to make, to build'; Lithuanian *kuriù*, *kùrti* 'to make, to create, to build'. Rix 1998a:350—351 **kʷer-* 'to cut, to carve'; Pokorny 1959:641—642 **kʷer-* 'to make, to form'; Walde 1927—1932.I:517—518 **qʷer-*; Mann 1984—1987:1027 **qu̯er-* 'to do, to make, to perform, to act', 1046 **qu̯oros* 'doer, maker', 1051 **qu̯r̥ō*, *-i̯ō*, 1051 **qu̯r̥os* 'set, putting, act, fact', 1052 **qu̯r̥t-* 'made, making, formation, form; maker, wright'; Watkins 1985:34 **kʷer-* and 2000:45 **kʷer-* 'to make'; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.I:176, I:178, II:706 **k[ʰ]ºer-* and 1995.I:151, I:153, I:611 **kʰºer-* 'to do, to make; to connect; to make by hand'; Mallory—Adams 1997:362 **kʷer-* 'to do, to make, to build'; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.I:166, I:169 **qʷer-eu-*, **qʷr̥r-u-*, I:176, I:258, and I:259; Fraenkel 1962—1965.I:319; Smoczyński 2007.1:327—328 **kʷer-*.

C. Proto-Uralic **kure-* 'to twist, to turn, to plait, to tie (together), to twine together, to braid': Finnish *kuro-* 'to fold, to plait, to crease, to pull together, to tie shut; to baste (sew), to patch up, to stitch together'; Lapp / Saami *gorrâ-*/*gorâ-* 'to tie together without actually making a knot, to tie

shut, to fasten'; (?) Zyrian / Komi *kõr-* 'to plait, to gather'; Yurak Samoyed / Nenets *hura-* 'to tie up'; Selkup Samoyed *kura-* 'to plait, to twist together'; Kamassian *kür-* 'to plait, to braid, to twist'. Collinder 1955:29 and 1977:49; Rédei 1986—1988:215—216 **kure-*; Décsy 1990:101 **kura* 'to bind'; Janhunen 1977b:55 **kârå* ~ **kârâ*. Proto-Uralic **kurɜ* 'basket': Votyak / Udmurt *kür* 'basket made of the inner bark of the linden'; Cheremis / Mari (Eastern) *kurukš* 'basket made of bark'; Vogul / Mansi *kuri*, *huri* 'sack, bag, pouch'; Ostyak / Xanty *kyrəg*, (North Kazym) *hyr* 'sack'; Yurak Samoyed / Nenets *hoor* 'keg, receptacle, bucket', *täekuseä koor* 'bucket made of birch bark'; Tavgi Samoyed / Nganasan *kur* 'vat, tub', *koare* 'box'; Selkup Samoyed *koromǯe* 'basket made of birch bark'. Collinder 1955:28 and 1977:49; Rédei 1986—1988:219 **kurɜ* (**korɜ*); Décsy 1990:101 **kura* 'basket, barrel made of bark'. Note: The Uralic forms are phonologically ambiguous — they may either belong here or with Proto-Nostratic **g^{w}ar-* (~ **g^{w}ər-*) 'to turn, to twist, to wind, to wrap, to roll'. (?) Yukaghir (Southern / Kolyma) *kur-* 'to clutch'. Nikolaeva 2006:228.

Sumerian *kur$_4$* 'to tie, to bind'.

Buck 1949:9.11 do, make; 9.15 fold (vb. tr.); 9.16 bind (vb. tr.); 9.44 build. Illič-Svityč 1971—1984.I:359—360, no. 236, **Ḳurʌ* 'to plait, to tie, to bind'; Bomhard—Kerns 1994:484—485, no. 331.

530. Proto-Nostratic (n.) (?) **k^{wh}ur-a* 'body, belly':

A. Afrasian: Proto-Semitic **kart̬-*, **kirt̬-* 'body, belly' > Akkadian *karšu* 'body, belly, womb, stomach'; Hebrew *kārēš* [כָּרֵשׁ] 'belly'; Aramaic *karsā* 'belly'; Ugaritic *krs* 'belly' (?); Mandaic *karsa* 'belly'; Arabic *kariš*, *kirš* 'stomach, paunch, belly'; Ḥarsūsi *kēreś* 'stomach'; Śḥeri / Jibbāli (dim.) *kérśɔ́t* 'belly'; Mehri *kīrəś* 'belly, (dim.) tummy'; Geez / Ethiopic *karš* [ከርሥ] 'belly, stomach, womb, abdomen, interior'; Tigrinya *kärsi* 'belly'; Tigre *kärəs*, *käršät* 'belly, stomach, interior'; Amharic *kärs* 'belly'; Gurage (Soddo) *kärs* 'abdomen, belly, stomach'; Harari *kärsi* 'abdomen, belly'; Argobba *kärs* 'belly'; Gafat *ərsä* (*k* > *h* > *Ø*) 'belly'. Murtonen 1989:239—240; Klein 1987:288; Leslau 1963:94, 1979:351, and 1987:294; Militarëv 2010:49 Proto-Semitic **kar(i)ŝ-*.

B. Proto-Indo-European **k^{wh}rep^{h}-*/**k^{wh}r̥p^{h}-* 'body, belly': Sanskrit (instr. sg.) *kṛpā́* 'shape, beautiful appearance'; Avestan *kəhrp-* 'body, corpse'; Latin *corpus* 'body'; Old Irish *crí* 'body, shape, frame'; Old English *hrif* 'womb, stomach', also *-(h)rif* in *mid(h)rif* 'diaphragm, entrails'; Old Frisian *href*, *hrif* 'stomach', also *-ref* in *midref* 'diaphragm'; Old High German *href* 'belly, womb, abdomen'. Pokorny 1959:620 **krep-*, **kr̥p-* (or **k^{u}erp-* ?) 'body, abdomen, belly, shape'; Walde 1927—1932.I:486—487 **qrep-*,

*qɻp- (or *q^{u}erp- ?); Mann 1984—1987:1051—1052 *qu̯ɻp- ‘turn, shape, form, body’; Watkins 1985:34 *k^{w}rep- and 2000:46 *k^{w}rep- ‘body, form, appearance’; Mallory—Adams 1997:76 *kréps ‘body’; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.I:260; Ernout—Meillet 1979:144 *kɻp-; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:277—278 *q^{u}rep-, *q^{u}ɻp-; De Vaan 2008:137—138; Orël 2003:185 Proto-Germanic *xrefaz; Kroonen 2013:244 Proto-Germanic *hrefiz- ‘stomach’; Onions 1966:575; Klein 1971:168 *q^{w}rep-, *q^{w}ɻp- and 464.

C. Proto-Uralic *kurɜ ‘body, form, figure’: Lapp / Saami *gorod* ‘body, especially the carcass of a slaughtered animal’; Vogul / Mansi *qwar* ‘form, figure’; Ostyak / Xanty *kŏr* ‘form, figure’. Collinder 1955:13 and 1977:34; Rédei 1986—1988:216—217 *kurɜ; Décsy 1990:101 *kura/*kerä ‘body’.

Buck 1949:4.11 body; 4.46 belly, stomach. Möller 1911:138—139; Bomhard—Kerns 1994:477—478, no. 323.

531. Proto-Nostratic (n.) *k^{wh}ur-a ‘worm, grub, maggot, insect’:

A. Dravidian: Malayalam *kūṟa*, *kūṟān* ‘insect, moth, cockroach’; Kannaḍa *kūṟe* ‘a kind of cloth-louse’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:175, no. 1926.

B. Proto-Indo-European *k^{wh}ɻ-mi- ‘worm’: Sanskrit *kṛ́mi-ḥ* ‘worm, insect’; Sindhi *kĩõ* ‘worm, maggot, snail’, *kĩãṛi* ‘worms, moths’, *kĩă̆ro* ‘maggoty’; Sinhalese *kimiyā* ‘worm, insect’; Farsi *kirm* ‘worm’; Albanian *krimb* ‘worm’; Old Irish *cruim* ‘worm’; Welsh *pryf* ‘worm’; Old Prussian *girmis* (for *kirmis*) ‘maggot’; Old Lithuanian *kirmìs* ‘worm, grub’ (= Modern Lithuanian *kirmėlẽ* ‘worm’). Proto-Indo-European *k^{wh}ɻ-wi- ‘worm’: Old Church Slavic *črъvь* ‘worm’; Czech *červ* ‘worm’; Polish *czerw* ‘grub, maggot’; Macedonian *crv* ‘worm’; Bulgarian *čérvej* ‘worm’; Russian *červ′* [червь] ‘worm’. Pokorny 1959:649 *k^{u}ɻmi- ‘worm, maggot’; Walde 1927—1932.I:523 *q^{u}ɻmi-; Mann 1984—1987:1051 *qu̯ɻmis ‘worm, grub’, 1053 *qu̯ɻu̯is ‘worm’; Watkins 1985:34 *k^{w}ɻmi- ‘mite, worm’ and 2000:46 *k^{w}ɻmi- ‘worm’; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.II:533 *k[^{h}]^{o}ɻmi- and 1995.I:451 *k^{ho}ɻmi- ‘worm’; Mallory—Adams 1997:649 *k^{w}ɻmis ‘worm, insect’; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.I:261—262; Orël 1998:197; Huld 1984:82 *k^{w}ɻmi-; Shevelov 1964:475 and 478; Derksen 2008:93—94; Fraenkel 1962—1965.I:257; Smoczyński 2007.1:288—289 *k^{u}ɻmi-.

C. Proto-Altaic *k^{h}i̯ōro ‘worm, gadfly’: Proto-Tungus *χirga- ‘gadfly’ > Manchu *iǯa* ‘gadfly’; Evenki *irgakta* ‘gadfly’; Lamut / Even *i̯rgɤ̄t* ‘gadfly’; Negidal *i̯ygakta* ‘gadfly’; Ulch *si̯ǯaqta* ‘gadfly’; Orok *si̯ǯiqta* ‘gadfly’; Nanay / Gold *si̯ɢaqta* ‘gadfly’; Udihe *iga* ‘gadfly’. Proto-Mongolian *koro-kai ‘worm, insect’ > Written Mongolian *qoruqai* ‘insects and worms in general’; Khalkha *χorχoy* ‘worm, insect’; Buriat *χorχoy* ‘worm, insect’; Kalmyk *χorχə̄* ‘worm, insect’; Ordos *χoroχō̄* ‘worm, insect’; Dagur *χorgō* ‘worm, insect’; Monguor *χorɢwī*, *χorɢui*, *χurɢoi* ‘worm, insect’. Proto-Turkic *Kūrt ‘worm’ > Old Turkish (Old Uighur) *qurt* ‘worm’;

Karakhanide Turkish *qurt* ‘worm’; Turkish *kurt* ‘worm, maggot’; Gagauz *qurt* ‘worm’; Azerbaijani *ɑurd* ‘worm’; Turkmenian *ɑūrt* ‘worm’; Uzbek *qurt* ‘worm’; Uighur *qurut* ‘worm’; Karaim *qurt* ‘worm’; Tatar *qort* ‘worm’; Kirghiz *qurt* ‘worm’; Kazakh *qu̲rt* ‘worm’; Tuva *qu'rt* ‘worm’; Chuvash *χort* ‘worm’; Yakut *kurǯaγa* ‘small parasites’. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:807—808 **k‘i̯ōro* ‘worm, gad-fly’.

Buck 1949:3.84 worm. Illič-Svityč 1971—1984.I:358, no. 234, **Ḳorʌ* ‘to gnaw; worm’; Bomhard—Kerns 1994:485—486, no. 332.

22.26. PROTO-NOSTRATIC *k'^{w}

				Eurasiatic			
Proto-Nostratic	Proto-Afrasian	Proto-Dravid.	Proto-Kartvel.	Proto-IE	Proto-Uralic	Proto-Altaic	Proto-Eskimo
k'^{w}-	k'^{w}-	k-	k'w/u-	k'^{w}-	k-	k-	k- q-
-k'^{w}-	-k'^{w}-	-k(k)-	-k'w/u-	-k'^{w}-	-k-	-k-	-k- -q-

532. Proto-Nostratic root *$k'^{w}ad$- (~ *$k'^{w}əd$-):
(vb.) *$k'^{w}ad$- 'to strike, to beat, to smash, to pound';
(n.) *$k'^{w}ad$-*a* 'knock, stroke, thrust'
Note also:
(vb.) *$k'^{w}ed$- 'to destroy, to damage, to ruin; to decay, to rot, to spoil';
(n.) *$k'^{w}ed$-*a* 'death, destruction, damage, ruin, decay'

A. Dravidian: [Tamil *kuṭṭu* (*kuṭṭi*-) 'to cuff, to strike with the knuckles on the head or temple'; Malayalam *kuṭṭuka* 'to pound, to cuff'; Kota *kuṭ*- (*kuc*-) 'to pound'; Toda *kuṭ*- (*kuṭy*-) 'to knock, to pound'; Kannaḍa *kuṭṭu* '(vb.) to beat, to strike, to pound, to bruise; (n.) a blow, a pulverized substance', *kuṭṭuvike*, *kuṭṭuha* 'beating'; Koḍagu *kuṭṭ*- (*kuṭṭi*-) 'to pound'; Tuḷu *kuṭṭuni* 'to thump, to give a blow, to strike with the fist, to pound, to bruise'; Kolami *kuḍk*- (*kuḍukt*-) 'to pound grain', *kuḍkeng* 'to knock on the door'; Naikṛi *kuṛk*- 'to pound, to knock'; Parji *kuṭip*- (*kuṭit*-) 'to punch, to knock (door)'; Konḍa *guṭ*- 'to knock with the fist'; Kui *guṭ*- 'fist'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:153, no. 1671. Tamil *koṭṭu* (*koṭṭi*-) '(vb.) to beat (as a drum, tambourine), to hammer, to beat (as a brazier), to clap, to strike with the palms, to pound (as paddy); (n.) beat, stroke, drumbeat, time-measure', *koṭṭān̲*, *koṭṭan̲* 'mallet', *koṭu* 'to thrash, to abuse roundly', *koṭai* 'blows, round abuse'; Malayalam *koṭṭuka* 'to beat so as to produce a sound (a drum, metals, bells), to clap hands', *koṭṭu* 'beating a drum, clapping hands, buffet, knocking of knees against each other', *koṭṭi* 'mallet', *koṭukka* 'to flog'; Kota *koṭk*- (*koṭky*-) 'to strike (with small hammer), to knock on (door), to strike tipcat in hole in ground'; Toda *kwïṭk*- (*kwïṭky*-) 'to tap (on door, something with stick)', *kwïṭ fiḷ* 'woodpecker'; Kannaḍa *koḍati*, *koḍanti* 'a wooden hammer', *koṭṭaṇa* 'beating the husk from paddy', *koṭṭuha* 'beating', *kuḍu* 'to beat'; Koḍagu *koṭṭ*- (*koṭṭi*-) 'to tap, to beat (drum)'; Tuḷu *koḍapuni* 'to forge, to hammer'; Telugu *koṭṭu* '(vb.) to beat, to strike, to knock; to strike (as a clock); (n.) a blow, stroke'; Parji *koṭṭ*- 'to strike with an axe'; Gadba (Ollari) *koṭ*- 'to strike with an axe'; Gondi *koṭ*- 'to cut with an axe', *koṭela* 'mallet'; Pengo *koṭ*- 'to thresh with flail'; Kuwi *koṭoli* 'mallet'; Kuṛux *xoṭṭnā* (*xoṭṭyas*) 'to break, to smash, to pierce, to break open'; Malto *qoṭe* 'to break, to knock, to strike', *qoṭure* 'to knock

against'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:187, no. 2063.] Either here or with **k'ud-* (~ **k'od-*) '(vb.) to strike; (n.) stroke, blow, knock, cuff, thump'.

B. Proto-Indo-European **k'ʷedʰ-/*k'ʷodʰ-* 'to strike, to beat, to smash': Middle High German *quetzen*, *quetschen* 'to bruise, to mash, to crush' (New High German *quetschen*); Middle Low German *quetsen*, *quessen*, *quetten* 'to crush, to squeeze'; Dutch *kwetsen* 'to injure, to wound'; Swedish *kvadda* 'to smash to pieces'. Pokorny 1959:466—467 **gᵘedh-* 'to thrust, to injure'; Walde 1927—1932.I:672—673 **gᵘedh-*; Mann 1984—1987:351 **gu̯ādhs-* 'to squeeze; tight, close'; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:574—575 **gᵘedh-*; Kluge—Seebold 1989:575; Rietz 1867.I:368; Vercoullie 1898:160; Schiller—Lübben 1875—1881:3:404 and 3:406.

C. Proto-Eskimo **kaðuɣ-* 'to strike (with an instrument)': Alutiiq Alaskan Yupik *kauɣ-* 'to strike with an object'; Central Alaskan Yupik *kauɣ-* 'to strike with an object'; Naukan Siberian Yupik *kaaw-* 'to strike with a hammer'; Central Siberian Yupik *kaaw-* 'to strike with a hammer'; Seward Peninsula Inuit *kauk-* 'to strike with a hammer'; North Alaskan Inuit *kažuk-* 'to hit on the head', *kauk-* 'hammer'; Western Canadian Inuit *kauk-* 'hammer'; Eastern Canadian Inuit *kauk-* 'to hit with an object'; Greenlandic Inuit *kaat-* 'hammer'. Fortescue—Jacobson—Kaplan 1994:151. Proto-Eskimo **kað(ð)uɣun* and **kaðuɣutaʁ* 'hammer': Alutiiq Alaskan Yupik *kau<ɣ>utaq* 'club'; Central Alaskan Yupik *kauɣun* 'hammer'; Central Siberian Yupik *kaaɣusiq* 'hammer'; Seward Peninsula Inuit *kažžuun*, *kažžuutaq* 'hammer'; North Alaskan Inuit *kautaq* 'hammer', *kažžuutaq* 'stone hammer'; Western Canadian Inuit *kautaq* 'hammer'; Eastern Canadian Inuit *kautaq* 'hammer'; Greenlandic Inuit *kaataq* 'hammer'. Fortescue—Jacobson—Kaplan 1994:151. Proto-Inuit **kauɣaq-* 'to pound' > Seward Peninsula Inuit *kauɣa(q)-* 'to knock at the door'; Western Canadian Inuit *kauɣaq-* 'to beat blubber, etc.'; Eastern Canadian Inuit *kauɣaq-* 'to beat frozen blubber or peat for runners'; Greenlandic Inuit *kauɣaʁ-* 'to beat frozen blubber'. Fortescue—Jacobson—Kaplan 1994:151.

Buck 1949:9.21 strike (hit, beat); 9.49 hammer (sb.). Bomhard—Kerns 1994:495—496, no. 342.

533. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **k'ʷad-a* 'hind part, end, tail':

A. Afrasian: Highland East Cushitic: Burji *k'ud-ee* (adv.) 'in back of, behind' (< 'hind-part, back, end'). Sasse 1982:128; Hudson 1989:208.

B. (?) Dravidian: Tamil *kūti* 'pudendum muliebre'; Malayalam *kūti* 'posteriors, membrum muliebre'; Toda *ku·θy* 'anus, region of the buttocks in general'; Tuḷu *kūdi* 'anus, posteriors, membrum muliebre'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:172, no. 1888.

C. Proto-Kartvelian **k'wad-* 'tail': Georgian *k'ud-* 'tail, end'; Mingrelian *k'ud-el-* 'tail'; Laz *k'ud-el-* 'tail'; Svan *ha-k'wäd*, *hä-k'ed*, *a-ḳwed*, *a-ḳwaṭ* 'tail'. Klimov 1964:117 **ḳud-* and 1998:103 **ḳud-* (**ḳwed-*) 'tail'; Schmidt 1962:120 **ḳod-*; Fähnrich 1994:222 and 2007:232 **ḳwad-*; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:192 **ḳwad-*.

Sumerian *gu-di*, *gu-du*, *gú-du*, *gudu*$_5$ 'hind-quarters, backside, buttock'.

Buck 1949:4.18 tail. Illič-Svityč 1971—1984.I:327—328, no. 203, **ḳudi* 'tail'; Bomhard 1996a:232, no. 650.

534. Proto-Nostratic root **k'^{w}aħ-* (~ **k'^{w}əħ-*):
(vb.) **k'^{w}aħ-* 'to hit, to strike, to beat, to pound; to push or press in';
(n.) **k'^{w}aħ-a* 'club, cudgel'; (adj.) 'hit, beaten, pounded, pushed or pressed together, crammed, filled'

A. Proto-Afrasian **k'^{w}aħ-* 'to hit, to strike, to beat, to pound; to push or press in': Proto-Semitic **k'aħ-* (**k'aħ-am-*, **k'aħ-at'-*, **k'aħ-ap-*, **k'aħ-aʒ-*) 'to hit, to strike, to beat, to pound; to push or press in' > Arabic *ḳaḥama* 'to push, to drag (someone into something), to involve; to introduce forcibly, to cram (something into); to plunge, to rush, to hurtle (into something); to jump, leap, or dive into something', *ḳaḥaṭa* 'to beat violently', *ḳaḥafa* 'to beat on the skull, to break one's skull, to wound at the head', *ḳaḥaza* 'to cudgel', *ḳaḥzala* 'to throw down and cudgel', *ḳaḥzana* 'to cudgel one so as to make him drop down'; Śḥeri / Jibbāli *ḳaḥám* 'to jump'. Zammit 2002: 333—334. Egyptian *qḥqḥw* 'metal workers', *qḥqḥ* 'to hew stones, to beat metal, to drive'; Coptic *kahkh* [ⲕⲁϩⲕϩ] 'to hew out, to smooth'. Hannig 1995:865; Faulkner 1962:281; Erman—Grapow 1921:192 and 1926—1963.5:67; Vycichl 1983:92; Černý 1976:68. Proto-Southern Cushitic **k'^{w}aaħ-* or **k'ooħ-* 'to throw down and club' > Iraqw *kwaḥ-* 'to throw'; Burunge *kwaḥ-* 'to throw'; Alagwa *kwaḥ-* 'to throw'; Dahalo *k'ook'oḥ-* 'to club'. Ehret 1980:269 **k'^{w}aaḥ-* or **k'ooḥ-* 'to wield, to swing'. Ehret 1995:244, no. 441, **k'^{w}aḥ-* 'to pound'.

B. Proto-Kartvelian **k'wex-* 'to push in, to fill in': Georgian *k'vex-* 'to push in, to fill in'; Mingrelian *k'vax-* 'to push in, to fill in'. Klimov 1998:94 **ḳwex-* 'to push, to fill in'; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:201 **ḳwex-*; Fähnrich 2007:242 **ḳwex-*.

C. Proto-Indo-European **k'^{w}e$\underset{\smile}{ħ}$-d^{h}-* [**k'^{w}a$\underset{\smile}{ħ}$-d^{h}-*] (> **k'^{w}ād^{h}-*) 'to push or press in, to dive or plunge into': Sanskrit *gā́hate* 'to dive into, to bathe in, to plunge into; to penetrate, to enter deeply into', *gāḍha-ḥ* 'pressed together, close, fast, strong, thick, firm'; Prakrit *gāhadi* 'to dive into, to seek'; Sindhi *gāhaṇu* 'to tread out grain'; Punjabi *gāhṇā* 'to tread out, to tread under foot, to travel about'; Hindi *gāhnā* 'to tread out, to caulk'; Serbo-Croatian *gȁziti* 'to wade, to tread', *gaz* 'ford'. Mann 1984—

1987:351 *gu̯ādh- 'deep; depth; to plunge, to immerse', 351 *gu̯ādhs- 'to squeeze; tight, close'; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.I:333 and I:334—335.

Buck 1949:10.65 drive (vb. tr.); 10.67 push, shove (vb.).

535. Proto-Nostratic root *k'ʷal- (~ *k'ʷəl-):
(vb.) *k'ʷal- 'to go: to go away from, to go after or behind';
(n.) *k'ʷal-a 'track, way'

A. Afrasian: Proto-Southern Cushitic *k'ʷaal- 'to come from' > Iraqw *qwal-* 'to come along'; K'wadza *k'walas-* 'to send (person)'; Ma'a *kwa* 'from'. Ehret 1980:268.
B. Proto-Kartvelian *k'wal- 'track, trace': Old Georgian *k'ualad* 'then, again', *k'ualta* 'after, following'; Georgian *k'val-* 'track, trace', *k'val-da-k'val* 'right behind'; Mingrelian [*k'ul-*] in *u-k'ul-i* 'after, then'; Laz [*k'ul-*] in *o-k'ul-e* 'after', (postposition) *-k'ule* 'after'. Klimov 1998:90—91 *ḳ̇wal- 'track, footprint'; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:193 *ḳ̇wal-; Fähnrich 2007:232 *ḳ̇wal-.
C. Indo-European: Tocharian A *kälk-*, *kalk-* used to form the non-present tenses of *i-* 'to go', B *kālak-* 'to follow'. Assuming development from Proto-Indo-European *k'ʷel-/*k'ʷol-/*k'ʷl̥- 'to go, to follow', attested only in Tocharian (cf. Adams 1999:147 and 2013:155—156). Van Windekens (1976—1982.I:625—626), on the other hand, assumes that the Tocharian forms are loans from Uralic. However, this proposal is rejected by Adams.

Buck 1949:10.49 go away, depart; 10.52 follow; 10.63 send.

536. Proto-Nostratic root *k'ʷalʸ- (~ *k'ʷəlʸ-):
(vb.) *k'ʷalʸ- 'to gush forth, to overflow; to flow, to leak, to ooze, to drip, to trickle';
(n.) *k'ʷalʸ-a 'gush, flow, drip, trickle; river, stream, spring'

A. Dravidian: Kolami *ku·l-* (*ku·ṭ-*) '(water) to run from a punctured vessel or tap', *ku·lp-* (*ku·lupt-*) 'to puncture (vessel) so that water runs out'; Naikṛi *kūḷ-* 'to leak'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:174, no. 1919. Perhaps also: Tamil *kuḷi* '(vb.) to bathe, to wash one's body up to the neck, to take purificatory bath after menstruation, to dive for pearls; (n.) bath, ablution, diving', *kuḷippu*, *kuḷiyal* 'washing, bathing'; Malayalam *kuḷi* 'bathing, ablution', *kuḷikka* 'to wash, to bathe, to plunge into water'; Koḍagu *kuḷi* (*kuḷip-*, *kuḷic-*) 'to take bath', *kuḷipëkï* 'menstruation' (literally, 'need to bathe'), *kuḷi mane* 'menstrual hut', *kuḷip* 'bathing', *kuḷiyame* 'pregnancy' (literally, 'need not to bathe'); Tuḷu *kuḷuṅkuni* 'to wet, to moisten', *koḷambè* 'bath'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:166, no. 1832. For the semantics, cf. Greek βαλανεῖον 'bath, bathing-room' cited below.

B. Proto-Indo-European **k'ʷel(H)-/*k'ʷol(H)-/*k'ʷl̥(H)-* 'to gush forth, to overflow; to flow, to leak, to ooze, to drip, to trickle': Sanskrit *gálati* 'to drip, to drop, to ooze, to trickle, to distill', *gāla-ḥ* 'flowing, liquefying', *galana-ḥ* 'dropping, flowing'; Greek βλύω, βλύζω (future βλύσω) 'to bubble up, to gush forth', βλύσις 'a bubbling up', (?) βαλανεῖον 'bath, bathing-room'; Old Danish *kval* 'steam, vapor, mist, haze'; Old English *collen-* in *collen-fer(h)þ* 'proud, elated, bold' (< **cwellan* 'to swell') and *collen-ferhtan* 'to embolden', *cwylla* 'well, spring'; Old Saxon *quella* 'well, spring'; Old High German *quellan* 'to gush (forth), to well (up); to issue, to flow, to spring (from)' (New High German *quellen*), *quella* 'spring, source, fountain, well' (New High German *Quelle*). Rix 1998a:185 **gᵘelH-* 'to gush (forth), to well (up)'; Pokorny 1959:471—472 **gᵘel-*, **gᵘelə-*, **gᵘlē-* 'to drip, to drop, to trickle; to gush (forth), to well (up); to issue, to flow, to spring (from)'; Walde 1927—1932.I:690—692 **gᵘel-*, **gᵘelē(i)-*; Mallory—Adams 1997:207 **gʷel(s)-* 'to well up, to flow' and 2006:393, 394 **gʷel(s)-* 'to well up, to flow'; Boisacq 1950:113 **g̲ᵘelē-* and 124; Hofmann 1966:31 and 36; Beekes 2010.I:195 and I:222—223 — Beekes rejects the comparison of Greek βλύω, βλύζω 'to bubble up, to gush forth' with Sanskrit *gálati* 'to drip, to drop, to ooze, to trickle, to distill' and Old High German *quellan* 'to gush (forth), to well (up); to issue, to flow, to spring (from)'; Frisk 1970—1973.I:212 and I:246; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:159—160 and I:182; Orël 2003:227 Proto-Germanic **kwellanan*; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:574 **gᵘel-*; Kluge—Seebold 1989:575; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.I:329.

C. (?) Chukchi-Kamchatkan: Proto-Chukotian **kujul* 'narrow river' (?) > Chukchi *kuul(kuul)* 'small, deep river'; Koryak *kujul* 'small bay, creek'. Fortescue 2005:140.

Sumerian *gul* 'to flow, to stream'.

Buck 1949:1.36 river; stream; brook; 9.36 wash; 10.32 flow (vb.). Bomhard—Kerns 1994:513—514, no. 362; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 877a, **kulV* 'to flow, to gush, to leak'.

537. Proto-Nostratic root **k'ʷam-* (~ **k'ʷəm-*):
(vb.) **k'ʷam-* 'to burn slowly, to smolder; to be hot, to be red-hot, to be glowing; to smoke';
(n.) **k'ʷam-a* 'embers, ashes; heat; smoke'

A. Afrasian: Semitic: Akkadian *ḳamū* 'to burn, to consume by fire'.

B. Dravidian: Tamil *kumpu* (*kumpi-*) 'to become charred (as food when boiled with insufficient fire)', *kumai* 'to be hot, sultry'; Malayalam *kumpal* 'inward heat', *kummu* expression descriptive of heat, *kumuṟuka*, *kumiṟuka* 'to be hot, close', *kumuṟal* 'oppressive heat'; Kannaḍa *kome* 'to begin to

burn (as fire or anger)'; Tuḷu *gumulu* 'fire burning in embers', *gumuluni* 'to be hot, to feel hot (as in a fit or fever)'; Telugu *kummu* 'smoldering ashes', *kumulu* 'to smolder, to burn slowly underneath without a flame, to be consumed inwardly, to grieve, to pine'; Gondi *kum* 'smoke'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:159—160, no. 1752.

C. Proto-Kartvelian **k'wam-/*k'wm-* 'to smoke': Georgian *k'm-* 'to smoke' (Old Georgian *k'um-* 'to smoke', *k'umeva-* 'to burn [incense]', *sak'umevel-* 'fragrance, perfume'); Mingrelian *k'um-* 'to smoke', *k'um-a* 'smoke', *o-k'umap-u* 'censer'; Laz *(m)k'om-* 'to smoke', *k'om-a* 'smoke'; Svan *k'wām-* 'to smoke'. Klimov 1964:108—109 **ḳwam-/*ḳwm-* and 1998:91 **ḳwam-/*ḳwm-* 'to smoke'; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:193—194 **ḳwam-*; Fähnrich 2007:233—234 **ḳwam-*; Schmidt 1962:119. Proto-Kartvelian **k'wam-l̥-* 'smoke': Georgian *k'vaml-* 'smoke'; Svan *k'wäm* 'smoke, smut'. Klimov 1964:108 **ḳwaml̥-* and 1998:91 **ḳwam-l-* 'smoke'.

D. Uralic: Proto-Finno-Volgaic **kūma* 'hot, red-hot; fever' > Finnish *kuuma* 'hot', *kuume* 'fever', *kuumoitta-* 'to make hot, to heat', *kuumuus* 'heat'; Estonian *kuum* 'hot, red-hot', *kuuma-* 'to be red-hot, to glow', *kuumata-* 'to make red-hot'; Mordvin (Erza) *kumoka* 'fever'. Rédei 1986—1988:675—676 **kūma*.

Buck 1949:1.83 smoke (sb.); 1.85 burn (vb.). Bomhard 1996:213—214, no. 613; Hakola 2000:87, no. 360.

538. Proto-Nostratic root **k'ʷan-* (~ **k'ʷən-*):
(vb.) **k'ʷan-* 'to suckle, to nurse; to suck';
(n.) **k'ʷan-a* 'udder, bosom, breast'
Derivative:
(n.) **k'ʷan-a* 'woman, wife'

A. Proto-Afrasian **k'ʷan-* '(vb.) to suckle, to nurse; to suck; (n.) udder, bosom, breast': Proto-Semitic **k'an-aw/y-* 'to suckle, to nurse; to rear, to bring up' > Mehri *ḳənū* 'to rear, to look after; to suckle'; Soqoṭri *ḳáne* 'to suckle, to bring up', *ḳánhoh* 'baby animal'; Śḥeri / Jibbāli *ḳéní* 'to rear, to look after, to bring up; to suckle', *məḳəní* 'baby'; Ḥarsūsi *ḳenō* 'to bring up, to rear', *meḳnáyw* 'baby boy'. (?) Egyptian *qnỉ* '(vb.) to embrace; (n.) bosom, embrace', *qnỉw* 'embrace, bosom', *qnqn* 'to eat, to feed'; Demotic *qn* 'breast'; Coptic *kun(t)-* [ⲕⲟⲩⲛ(ⲧ)-] "bosom, breast', also sometimes 'genitals'. Hannig 1995:859 and 862; Faulkner 1962:280; Erman—Grapow 1921:190 and 1926—1963.5:50—51, 5:56; Gardiner 1957:596; Vycichl 1983:82; Černý 1976:59. East Cushitic: Kambata *k'an-* 'to suck (tr.), to nurse (intr.)', *k'an-s-* 'to nurse (tr.)'; Sidamo *k'an-* 'to suck (tr.), to nurse (intr.)', *k'an-s-* 'to nurse (tr.)'. Proto-East Cushitic **k'and̠ɪ-* 'udder' > Burji *k'ánʔ-i*, *k'ánd-i* 'clitoris'; Somali *qanj-iḍ* 'lymphatic gland'; Dasenech *ǧan-* 'udder'; Konso *qand-itta* 'udder; swollen or abnormally big "gland"';

Hadiyya *gan-ce* ‘udder’; Gollango *ǥan-te* ‘udder’. Sasse 1982:124; Hudson 1989:106 and 146.

B. Dravidian: Tamil *koṅkai* ‘woman’s breast, protuberance of a tree’; Malayalam *koṅka* ‘woman’s breast’, *koṅkacci*, *koṅkicci* ‘woman with full breasts’; Kui *kanguṛi* ‘nipple, teat’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:184, no. 2038.

Buck 1949:4.41 breast (of woman); 4.42 udder; 5.16 suck. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:498—499, no. 347.

539. Proto-Nostratic (Eurasiatic only) (n.) **k’ʷan-a* ‘woman, wife’:
Derivative of:
(vb.) **k’ʷan-* ‘to suckle, to nurse; to suck’;
(n.) **k’ʷan-a* ‘udder, bosom, breast’

Semantic development as in Latin *fēmina* ‘female, woman’ from the same root as in *fēlō* ‘to suck’, hence, ‘one who gives suck’.

A. Proto-Indo-European **k’ʷen-* ‘woman, wife, female’: Sanskrit *gnā́* ‘wife’, *jáni-ḥ* ‘woman, wife’, *jāni-ḥ* ‘wife’; Avestan *gənā*, *γnā* ‘woman, wife’, *ǰaini-* ‘wife’; Armenian *kin* ‘woman, wife’; Greek γυνή (Doric γυνά, Boeotian βανᾱ́) ‘woman, wife’, γύννις ‘a womanish man’; Albanian *zonjë* ‘wife, lady, mistress (of a house), house-keeper’; Old Irish *ben* ‘woman’; Gothic *qinō* ‘woman, female’, *qineins* (adj.) ‘female’, *qēns* ‘wife’; Old Icelandic *kona* ‘woman, wife’, *kvæn*, *kván* ‘wife’; Faroese *kona* ‘woman, wife’; Norwegian *kona* ‘woman, wife’, (dial.) *kvaan* ‘wife’; Swedish *kona* ‘woman, wife’; Danish *kone* ‘woman, wife’; Old English *cwene* ‘woman, female, serf; prostitute’, *cwēn* ‘queen, wife’; Old Saxon *cwena* ‘wife, woman’, *quān* ‘queen, wife’; Old High German *quena* ‘woman, wife’; Old Prussian *genno* ‘woman’; Old Church Slavic *žena* ‘woman, wife’; Russian *žená* [жена] ‘wife’; Tocharian A *śäṃ*, B *śana* ‘wife’; Hittite **ku(w)an(a)-* ‘woman’; Luwian (dat.-loc. sg.) *wa-a-ni* ‘woman’; Lydian *kãna-* ‘wife’. Pokorny 1959:473—474 **gᵘĕnā* ‘woman, wife’; Walde 1927—1932.I:681—682 **gᵘenā*; Mann 1984—1987:355—356 **gu̯enā*, **gu̯ənā*, **gu̯nā* ‘woman’, 356 **gu̯en-*, 356 **gu̯endhiu̯ā* (**gu̯endhiu̯-*) ‘woman, goddess’, 356 **gu̯ēnis*; Watkins 1985:25 **gʷen-* and 2000:34 **gʷen-* ‘woman’ (suffixed form **gʷen-ā-*); Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.I:92, II:758 **k’ºen-* and 1995.I:80 **k’ºen-* ‘woman; wife’, I:660—661; Mallory—Adams 1997:648 **gʷénh$_a$* ‘woman’ and 2006:204 **gʷénh$_a$* ‘woman’; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.I:351, I:416, and I:429; Boisacq 1950:158 **gᵘenā*; Beekes 2010.I:291—292 **gʷen-h$_2$*; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:242—243 **gʷen-*; Frisk 1970—1973.I:333—335 **gᵘen-*; Hofmann 1966:49 **gᵘenā*; Orël 2003:228 Proto-Germanic **kwenīnan*, 228 **kwenōn*; Kroonen 2013:316—317 Proto-Germanic **kwēni-* ‘wife’; Feist 1939:386

*$g^{u}enā$-, *$g^{u}eni$- and 388 *$g^{u}enā$; Lehmann 1986:275—276 *$g^{w}ĕnā$ 'woman, wife' and 277; De Vries 1977:325, 336, and 339; Falk—Torp 1903—1906.I:401; Onions 1966:731 *$gwen$-, *gwn-; Klein 1971:609 *$g^{w}enā$-, *$g^{w}ŭnā$ 'woman'; Puhvel 1984— .4:306—308 *$g^{w}on$-s or *$g^{w}en$-s; Kloekhorst 2008b:501—505; Adams 1999:621 *$g^{w}enh_a$-; Van Windekens 1976—1982.I:476—477 *$g^{u}enā$; Derksen 2008:558 *$g^{w}en$-eh_2 and 2015:558 *$g^{w}en$-eh_2; Huld 1983:136; Wodtko—Irslinger—Schneider 2008:177—185 *$g^{u}én$-, *$g^{u}on$-, *$g^{u}(e)n(a)h_2$-.

B. Proto-Altaic *$kune$ (~ *g-) 'one of several wives': Proto-Turkic *$güni$ '(n.) co-wife; envy, jealousy; jealous, envious person; (vb.) to be jealous, envious' > Old Turkic (Old Uighur) *küni* 'envy, jealousy'; Karakhanide Turkic *küni* 'co-wife'; Turkish *gönü* 'co-wife; envy, jealousy'; Azerbaijani *günü* 'co-wife'; Turkmenian *güni* 'co-wife'; Uzbek *kundaš* 'co-wife', *kunči* 'jealous, envious person'; Uighur *kündäš* 'co-wife', *kün-lü-* 'to be jealous, envious', *kün-či* 'jealous, envious person'; Tatar *köndäš* 'co-wife', *kön-če* 'jealous, envious person', (dial.) *kene* 'envy, jealousy'; Bashkir *köndäš* 'co-wife', *kön-lä-* 'to be jealous, envious', *könsö* 'jealous, envious person'; Karaim *kündeš* 'co-wife', *kün-le-*, *künü-le-*, *könü-le-* 'to be jealous, envious'; Kirghiz *künü*, *kündöš* 'co-wife', *künü-lö-* 'to be jealous (of women)'; Kazakh *kündes* 'co-wife', *kün-de-* 'to be jealous, envious'; Noghay *kündes* 'co-wife', *kün-le-* 'to be jealous, envious'; Oyrot (Mountain Altai) *künü* 'envy, jealousy'; Tuva *χün-ne-* 'to be jealous, envious'; Yakut *künǖ* 'envy, jealousy'. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:739—740 *$kune$ (~ *g-) 'one of several wives'.

Buck 1949:2.22 woman; 2.32 wife; 4.41 breast (of woman); 4.42 udder. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:498—499, no. 347; Illič-Svityč 1965:340 *$k/u/nʌ$ ['женщина'] 'woman' and 1971—1984.I:306—308, no. 178 *$küni$ 'woman'; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 896, *$koⁿī$ (or *$kunī$) 'woman, wife'; Greenberg 2002:187, no. 431.

540. Proto-Nostratic root *$k'^{w}ar$- (~ *$k'^{w}ər$-):
(vb.) *$k'^{w}ar$- 'to be cold';
(n.) *$k'^{w}ar$-a 'cold, coldness'

A. Proto-Afrasian *$k'^{w}ar$- (~ *$k'^{w}or$-) 'to be cold': Proto-Semitic *$k'ar$-ar- 'to be cold' > Hebrew *ḳārar* [קָרַר] 'to be cold', *ḳar* [קַר] 'cool', *ḳōr* [קֹר] 'cold', *ḳerer* [קֶרֶר] 'cold'; Aramaic *ḳərar* 'to be cold', *ḳārīrā* 'cold'; Syriac *ḳarīr* 'cold'; Arabic *ḳarra* 'to be cold, chilly, cool', *ḳurr* 'cold, coldness, chilliness, coldness', *ḳirra* 'cold, coldness, chilliness, coldness'; Mandaic *ḳarir(a)* 'cold'; Geez / Ethiopic *ḳʷarra* [ቋረ], *ḳʷarara* [ቋረረ] 'to be cold, cool; to cool down (anger), to subside (fire)', *ḳʷərr* [ቍር] 'cold, coldness', *ḳʷarir* [ቋሪር] 'cold, cool', *ḳorar* [ቆረር] 'ice'; Tigre *ḳärra* 'to become cool'; Tigrinya *ḳʷärrärä* 'to become cool' (Geez loan), *ḳʷərri*, *ḳurri* 'cold';

Amharic *ḳʷärrärä* ‘to be cold’, *ḳʷərr* ‘cold’; Gurage *ḳorra* ‘morning frost’. Murtonen 1989:384; Klein 1987:597; Leslau 1979:495 and 1987:443—444; Militarëv 2010:59 Proto-Semitic **ḳʷrr*; Zammit 2002:337. Proto-Semitic **k’ar-ax-* ‘(vb.) to freeze; (n.) frost, ice’ > Akkadian *ḳarḫu* ‘ice’, *ḳarāḫu* ‘to become iced up’; Hebrew *ḳeraḥ* [קֶרַח] ‘frost, ice’; Syriac *ḳarḥā* ‘frost, ice’. Murtonen 1989:386—387; Klein 1987:593. Arabic *ḳarisa* ‘to be severe, fierce, biting, grim (the cold); to freeze, to make torpid; to (be)numb; to nip (someone, something; of cold)’, *ḳāris* ‘severe, fierce, biting, grim (of the cold), very cold, bitterly cold, freezing, frozen’. Militarëv 2010:59 Proto-Semitic **ḳrš*. West Chadic **k’arar-* ‘cold (of water, weather)’ > Hausa *ƙararaa* ‘cold (of water, weather)’. Highland East Cushitic **k’or(r)-* ‘cold’ > Sidamo *k’orra* ‘frost’. Hudson 1989:381. Lowland East Cushitic **k’or(r)-* ‘intense cold’ > Galla / Oromo *k’orro* ‘intense cold’. Orël—Stolbova 1995:338, no. 1554, **ḳar-* ‘(to be) cold’, 346, no. 1591, **ḳor-* (n.) ‘cold’ (derived from **ḳar-* ‘to be cold’), and 353, no. 1627, **ḳVrVs-* ‘to freeze’.

B. Dravidian: Kannaḍa *kor̲e*, *kor̲i* ‘to pierce (as cold)’, *kor̲eta*, *kor̲ata* ‘the piercing of cold’; Kota *korv-* (*kord-*) ‘to be cold’, *kor*, *korv* ‘coldness’; Gondi *kharrā* ‘frost’, *karīng*, *koring* ‘cold’; Toda *kwar̲-* (*kwar̲θ-*) ‘to feel cold’, *kwar̲* ‘cold’, *kwar-* (*kwarθ-*) ‘to be cold (in songs)’; Kolami *korale* ‘cold’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:195, no. 2168; Krishnamurti 2003:110 **kor̲-ay* ‘to pierce’.

C. Kartvelian: Georgian (Lečxumian) *k’rux-wa* ‘cold’; Svan *k’warem* ‘ice’, *k’warmob* ‘frost, freezing’, *lik’wremi* ‘to freeze’.

Buck 1949:1.77 ice; 15.86 cold. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:492—493, no. 340.

541. Proto-Nostratic root **k’ʷar-* (~ **k’ʷər-*):
(vb.) **k’ʷar-* ‘to rest, to stay, to remain’;
(n.) **k’ʷar-a* ‘stillness, quietude, repose, rest, resting place’; (adj.) ‘still, quiet, at rest’

A. Proto-Afrasian (?) **k’ʷar-* ‘to stay, to remain, to rest, to settle down’: Proto-Semitic **k’ar-ar-* ‘to stay, to remain, to rest, to settle down’ > Moabite *ḳr* ‘town’; Ugaritic *ḳr* ‘dweller (?), dwelling (?)’; Arabic *ḳarra* ‘to settle down, to establish oneself, to become settled or sedentary, to take up one’s residence, to rest, to abide, to dwell, to reside, to remain, to stay, to linger’, *maḳarr* ‘abode, dwelling, habitation; residence; storage place; seat, center; site, place; station; position (at sea)’, *ḳarār* ‘fixedness, firmness, solidity; sedentariness, settledness, stationariness, sedentation; steadiness, constancy, continuance, permanency, stability; repose, rest, stillness, quietude; duration; abode, dwelling, habitation; residence, resting place’; Sabaean *ḳrr* ‘settlement’. Zammit 2002:337. Proto-Semitic **k’ar-ay-* ‘(vb.) to stay, to remain, to settle down; (n.) town, village, settled area’ > Arabic

ḳarya 'village, hamlet, small town, rural community'; Hebrew *ḳiryāh* [קִרְיָה] 'town, city'; Palmyrene *ḳry* 'settled area'; Tigrinya *ḳäräyä* 'to remain'; Amharic *ḳärrä* 'to be left, to remain, to be missing, to be absent; to stay away, to absent oneself'; Gurage (Muher) *ḳärrä*, (Gogot) *ḳerrä*, (Soddo) *ḳirrä* 'to be absent, to stay away, to remain behind, to disappear, to vanish, to be lost'. Murtonen 1989:385; Klein 1987:593—594; Leslau 1979:494. Berber: Tuareg *aɣrəm* 'town, village', *taɣrəmt* 'a small village, small castle'; Mzab *aɣrəm* 'city, town, village, town surrounded by ramparts'; Nefusa *aɣrəm* 'town'; Zenaga *irmi* 'village, settlement'; Tamazight *iɣrəm* 'village, fortified village, granary', *tiɣrəmt* 'fortified house'. Cushitic: Highland East Cushitic: Hadiyya *k'arar-* 'to settle (out)'; Kambata *k'arar-* 'to settle (out)'. Hudson 1989:288 and 328.

B. (?) Dravidian: Kannaḍa *kūr* 'to sit down', *kūrisu* 'to cause to sit'; Telugu *kūr(u)cuṇḍu* 'to sit, to be seated'; Pengo *kuc-* 'to sit'; Manḍa *kuh-* 'to sit'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:173, no. 1900.

C. Proto-Indo-European **k'ʷer-*/**k'ʷor-*/**k'ʷr̥-* 'gentle, mild, calm, at rest, still': Gothic *qairrus* 'friendly, gentle', *qairrei* 'gentleness'; Old Icelandic *kvirr*, *kyrr* 'still, quiet, at rest', *kyrra* (f.) 'calmness, calm', *kyrra* 'to calm, to still; to become calm'; Faroese *kyrrur* 'still, quiet', *kyrra* 'to domesticate, to tame'; Norwegian *kyrr*, *kjørr*, *kvar*, *kver* 'still, quiet', *kjørra* 'to domesticate, to tame'; Swedish *kvar* 'still, quiet'; Danish *kvær* 'still, quiet'; Middle Low German *querre* 'tame'; Middle High German *kürre* 'tame, docile, gentle, mild' (New High German *kirre*). Mann 1984—1987:357 **gu̯ersos* (**gu̯ors-*, **gu̯r̥s-*) 'sweet, soft, pleasant'; Orël 2003:229 Proto-Germanic **kwerruz*; Kroonen 2013:318 Proto-Germanic **kwerru-* 'quiet, still'; Feist 1939:386; Lehmann 1986:275; De Vries 1977:341; Falk—Torp 1903—1906.I:434 Germanic base **kwerru-*; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:371 **gᵘersu-*; Kluge—Seebold 1989:371 Proto-Germanic *kwerru-* 'quiet, tame'.

Buck 1949:12.16 remain, stay, wait; 12.19 quiet (adj.). Möller 1911:97; Bomhard—Kerns 1994:489—490, no. 337.

542. Proto-Nostratic root **k'ʷar-* (~ **k'ʷər-*):
(vb.) **k'ʷar-* 'to crush, to grind';
(n.) **k'ʷar-a* 'grinding pestle, grinding stone; stone, rock'

A. Dravidian: Tamil *kuṟavi* 'grinding pestle'; Malayalam *kuṟavi* 'small rolling stone to grind with'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:164, no. 1819. Tamil *kuṟu* (*kuṟuv-*, *kuṟṟ-*) 'to pound in a mortar, to husk', *kuṟṟu* (*kuṟṟi-*) 'to pound, to strike, to hit, to crush'; Kota *kur-* (*kuṯ-*) 'to pound (clay in preparation for making pots)'; Gadba *kurk-* (*kuruk-*) 'to beat like a carpet'; Gondi *kurkal* 'stone pestle'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:167, no. 1850a.

B. Proto-Kartvelian **k'werčx-* 'to break up, to split, to crush, to smash': Georgian *k'vercx-* 'to pile up'; Mingrelian [*k'vačx-*] 'to break to pieces'; Laz *k'ančx-* (< **k'vančx-* < **k'varčx-*) 'to smash, to crumble'. Klimov 1964:111 **ḳwerc$_1$x-* and 1998:93—94 **ḳwerc$_1$x-* 'to break up, to split, to crush, to smash'; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:199 **ḳwerc$_1$x-*; Fähnrich 2007:240 **ḳwerc$_1$x-*. Proto-Kartvelian **na-k'werčx-al-* 'fragment, splinter': Georgian *nak'vercxal-* 'spark'; Mingrelian *nak'vačxir-* 'charred log'; Laz *nok'ančxule-* 'charred log'. Klimov 1964:145 **na-ḳwerc$_1$x-al-* and 1998:137 **na-ḳwerc$_1$x-al-* 'fragment, splinter'.

C. Proto-Indo-European **k'^{w}erAn-*/**k'^{w}r̥An-*, **k'^{w}reAn-* [**k'^{w}raAn-*] (> **k'^{w}rān-*), **k'^{w}reAwn̥-* [**k'^{w}raAwn̥-*] (> **k'^{w}rāwn̥-*) 'mill, millstone': Sanskrit *grā́van-* 'stone for pressing out the Soma'; Armenian *erkan* (metathesized from **(e)kran*) 'millstone'; Old Irish *bráu*, *bró* 'mill'; Old Welsh *breuan* 'mill'; Cornish *brou* 'mill'; Breton *breo* 'mill'; Gothic *(asilu-)qairnus* '(donkey-)mill'; Old Icelandic *kvern* 'millstone, handmill'; Faroese *kvørn* 'millstone, handmill'; Norwegian *kvern* 'millstone, handmill'; Swedish *kvarn* 'millstone, handmill'; Danish *kvern* 'millstone, handmill'; Old English *cweorn* '(hand)mill'; Old Frisian *quern* 'handmill'; Old Saxon *quern* 'handmill'; Dutch *kweern* 'handmill'; Old High German *quirn*, *quirna* 'handmill'; Old Church Slavic *žrъnovъ* 'millstone', *žrъny* 'mill'; Lithuanian *gìrna* 'millstone'; Latvian *dzir̃navas* 'mill'; Tocharian B *kärweñe* 'stone, rock', *kärweñäṣṣe* 'stony'. Pokorny 1959:476—477 **g^{u}er-*, **g^{u}erə-*, **g^{u}erəu-*, **g^{u}erī-* 'heavy'; Walde 1927—1932.I:684—686 **g^{u}er-* 'heavy'; Mann 1984—1987:375 **gu̯r̥-nəu-* (analytical form of) **gu̯r̥nūs*, *-ā*; **gu̯r̥u̯nā*; **gu̯ernus*, *-ā*; **gu̯ernəu̯os*, etc., 370 **gu̯rāu̯n*, **gu̯rāu̯ən*, **gu̯rān-* 'heavy stone, millstone'; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.I:228 **k'^{o}er-H-*, **k'^{o}r-eH-*, II:693 **k'^{o}rāu̯-* and 1995.I:198 **k'^{o}er-H-*, **k'^{o}r-eH-* 'grindstone', I:599 **k'^{o}rāu-* 'millstone, mill'; Mallory—Adams 1997:474 **g^{w}erh$_a$-u̯-on-* ~ **g^{w}erh$_a$-n-u-s* 'quern'; Watkins 1985:25 **g^{w}erə-* 'heavy' (suffixed full-grade form **g^{w}erə-nā* 'millstone') and 2000:34 **g^{w}erə-* (oldest form **g^{w}erə̯$_2$-*) 'heavy' (suffixed full-grade form **g^{w}erə-nā* 'millstone'); Mayrhofer 1956—1980.I:353; Orël 2003:228 Proto-Germanic **kwernuz* ~ **kwernō*; Kroonen 2013:318 Proto-Germanic **kwernu-* 'mill; millstone'; Lehmann 1986:44—45 **g^{w}r̥nu-*, **g^{w}ernā-*; Feist 1939:59 **g^{u}r̥nu-*, **g^{u}ernā*; De Vries 1977:337 **g^{u}er-ə-*; Falk—Torp 1903—1906.I:431; Onions 1966:731; Klein 1971:609; Skeat 1898:484; Adams 1999:166 **g^{w}r̥h$_x$won-en-*, **g^{w}reh$_x$wen-*; Van Windekens 1976—1982.I:209 **g^{u}$_e$rə$_1$u̯on-*; Derksen 2008:566; Smoczyński 2007.1:183 **g^{u}r̥h$_2$-nuH-*; Fraenkel 1962—1965.I:153—154.

Sumerian *gur(-gur)* 'to rub off, to abrade, to rub down, to grind', *guru$_5$* 'to rub, to grate, to grind'.

Buck 1949:5.56 grind; 5.57 mill. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:497—498, no. 345.

543. Proto-Nostratic (n.) *k'ʷar-b-a 'the inside, the middle, interior, inward part':

A. Proto-Afrasian (?) *k'ʷarb- 'the inside, the middle, interior, inward part': Proto-Semitic *k'irb- (< *k'ʷərb-) 'midst, inward part' > Hebrew *ḳereβ* [קֶרֶב] 'inward part, midst'; Ugaritic *ḳrb* 'midst, female genitalia'; Akkadian *ḳerbu* 'midst'. Murtonen 1989:386; Klein 1987:591. Egyptian *qȝb* 'intestines, interior of the body, middle of anything'. Hannig 1995:849; Faulkner 1962:275; Erman—Grapow 1921:188 and 1926—1963.5:9; Gardiner 1957:596.
B. Dravidian: Tamil *karu* 'fetus, embryo, egg, germ, young of animal', *karuppai* 'womb', *karuvam* 'fetus, embryo'; Malayalam *karu* 'embryo, yolk'; Kota *karv* 'fetus of animal, larva of bees, pregnant (of animals)'; Telugu *karuvu* 'fetus', *kari* 'uterus of animals'; Parji *kerba* 'egg'; Gadba (Ollari) *karbe* 'egg'; Gondi *garba* 'egg'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:119, no. 1279.
C. Proto-Indo-European *k'ʷerbʰ-/*k'ʷorbʰ-/*k'ʷr̥bʰ-, *k'ʷrebʰ- 'the inside, the middle, interior, inward part': Sanskrit *gárbha-ḥ* 'womb, the inside, middle, interior'; Avestan *garəwō* 'womb', *gərəbuš* 'the young of an animal'; Greek βρέφος 'the babe in the womb, fetus'; Old Church Slavic *žrěbę*, *žrěbьcь* 'foal'. Mallory—Adams 1997:615 *gʷerbhen-, *gʷrebhos; Mann 1984—1987:370 *gu̯rebhnos, -es- (*gu̯rebhmn̥, -ōn) 'fetus, infant, animal'; Hofmann 1966:39; Frisk 1970—1973.I:266 *gu̯rebh-, *gu̯erbh-; Boisacq 1950:133 *gu̯rebh-os; Beekes 2010.I:238 *gʷerbʰ-/*gʷrebʰ-; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:195 *gʷer-bh-/*gʷr-ebh-; Prellwitz 1905:84. Mayrhofer (1956—1980.I:329), on the other hand, compares Sanskrit *gárbha-ḥ* with Greek δελφύς 'womb', as does Frisk (1970—1973.I:363), while Chantraine (1968—1980.I:195) notes that Sanskrit *gárbha-ḥ* can go with either Greek βρέφος or δελφύς.

Buck 1949:4.47 womb; 12.37 middle. Möller 1911:101; Bomhard—Kerns 1994:489, no. 336.

544. Proto-Nostratic root *k'ʷarʸ- (~ *k'ʷərʸ-):
(vb.) *k'ʷarʸ- 'to thunder, to rumble';
(n.) *k'ʷarʸ-a 'rain, storm, stormy weather, thunderstorm'

A. Proto-Afrasian *k'ʷar- 'rain, storm': Highland East Cushitic: Burji *k'áraar-i* 'rainy season'. Sasse 1982:124—125; Hudson 1989:207. Egyptian *qrỉ* 'storm, storm-cloud; thunder'. Hannig 1995:862; Faulkner 1962:280; Gardiner 1957:596; Erman—Grapow 1926—1963.5:58.
B. Dravidian: Tamil *kaṟaṟu* (*kaṟaṟi-*) 'to thunder'; Kolami *karadil-* (*karadilt-*) 'lightning strikes' (subject *abar* 'sky'); Naiki (of Chanda) *īj kaṛalil-* 'lightning strikes' (*īj* 'lightning' < Indo-Aryan). Burrow—Emeneau 1984:126, no. 1354.

C. (?) Proto-Kartvelian **k'urcx-* 'hail': Georgian *k'urcxal-* 'tears'; Mingrelian *k'ircx-*, *k'ərcx-* 'hail'; Laz *k'icx-* 'hail'; Svan *k'icx* 'fragment, scrap'. Klimov 1998:104—105 **ḳurcx-* 'hail'.

D. (?) Proto-Indo-European **k'^{w}er-/*k'^{w}or-/*k'^{w}r̥-* 'to thunder, to rumble, to roar': Sanskrit *gárjati* 'to thunder, to rumble, to roar', *garjana-ḥ* 'thundering, rumbling, roaring', *garjā-* 'roaring, thunder'; Prakrit *gajjaï* 'to thunder, to roar', *gajjaṇa-* 'thunder', *gajji-* 'thunder'; Hindi *gājnā* 'to thunder, to roar; to revel, to be pleased', *gājan* 'thundering', *gāj* 'thunderbolt, wrath'; Avestan *gram-* 'to rage, to be angry'; Greek βρέμω 'to roar (of a wave); to clash, to ring; to shout, to rave', βρόμος 'any loud noise: the crackling of a fire, the roaring of a storm; rage, fury', βροντάω 'to thunder', βροντή (< *βρομ-τᾱ) 'thunder', βρόντημα 'thunderclap'; Irish *breim* (pl. *breamanna*) 'rumbling of bowels'; Welsh *bref* 'bleat'; Old High German *queran* 'to moan, to sigh' (New High German *quarren*); Old Church Slavic *grьměti* 'to thunder', *gromъ* 'thunder'; Russian *gremét'* [греметь] 'to thunder', *gremúčij* [гремучий] 'thundering, roaring', *grom* [гром] 'thunder'. Mann 1984—1987:371 **gu̯remō*, **gu̯rēm-* 'to roar, to rumble'; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.I:327 onomatopoeic; Boisacq 1950:132 **mrem-* or **g^{u}rem-*; Frisk 1970—1973.I:264—265; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:194 etymology uncertain; Hofmann 1966:39 **bhrem-*; Beekes 2010.I:237 onomatopoeic; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:572—573 **ger-*; Kluge—Seebold 1989:574; Preobrazhensky 1951:157; Derksen 2008:195. Note: All of these forms present multiple difficulties, and, consequently, different etymologies have been proposed in the literature. No one explanation can be considered definitive. Hence, some, none, or all of these forms may belong here.

E. Proto-Altaic **kūr^{y}e* (~ *-i*) 'autumn; rain, storm': Proto-Tungus **kure-* "storm, whirlwind' > Evenki *kur-ge-kūn* 'storm, whirlwind'; Lamut / Even *qu̯rgi*, *kur* 'storm, whirlwind'; Ulch *kūre(n)* 'storm, whirlwind'; Nanay / Gold *kūre* 'storm, whirlwind'. Proto-Mongolian **kura* 'rain' > Written Mongolian *qura* 'rain'; Khalkha *χur* 'rain, precipitation'; Buriat *χura* 'rain'; Kalmyk *χur* 'rain'; Ordos *χura* 'rain'; Dagur *χuar* 'rain'; Dongxiang *ɢura* 'rain'; Shira-Yughur *χura* 'rain'; Monguor *χurā* 'rain'. Proto-Turkic **gūr^{y}-* 'autumn' > Old Turkic (Orkhon, Old Uighur) *küz* 'autumn'; Karakhanide Turkic *küz* 'autumn'; Turkish *güz* 'autumn'; Gagauz *güz* 'autumn'; Azerbaijani *güz-äm* 'autumn wool'; Turkmenian *gȳz* 'autumn'; Uzbek *kuz* 'autumn'; Uighur *küz* 'autumn'; Karaim *küz* 'autumn'; Tatar *köz* 'autumn'; Bashkir *köð* 'autumn'; Kirghiz *küz* 'autumn'; Kazakh *küz* 'autumn'; Noghay *küz* 'autumn'; Sary-Uighur *kuz* 'autumn'; Oyrot (Mountain Altai) *küs* 'autumn'; Tuva *küs* 'autumn'; Chuvash *kə^{w}r* 'autumn'; Yakut *kühün* 'autumn'. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:747—748 **kūŕe* (~ *-i*) 'autumn; rain, storm'.

Buck 1949:1.56 thunder; 1.75 rain (sb.). Different etymology in Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 948, **kuhŕV* (or **kühŕV* ?) 'rain clouds, rainy weather, rainy season'.

545. Proto-Nostratic root **k'ʷas-* (~ **k'ʷəs-*):
(vb.) **k'ʷas-* 'to strike fire, to put out (fire)';
(n.) **k'ʷas-a* 'spark, fire'

A. (?) Afrasian: Proto-Semitic (reduplicated) **k'as-k'as-* 'to stroke or stir up (a fire)' > Geez / Ethiopic *ḳʷasḳʷasa* [ቈስቈሰ] 'to stir a fire'; Tigre *ḳäsḳäsä* 'to stir up, to shake'; Tigrinya *ḳäsḳäsä*, *ḳʷäsḳʷäsä* 'to stir a fire'; Amharic *ḳäsäḳḳäsä* 'to awaken, to wake up, to awake, to arouse, to stimulate (interest), to activate, to stir up, to excite, to inspire, to provoke (incite), to bring about'; Gurage *ḳəsäḳäsä* 'to rouse, to wake up'. Leslau 1979:504 and 1987:446.
B. Dravidian: Koṇḍa *kas-* 'to be lit (as fire), to burn', *kasis-* 'to light (lamp, fire)'; Pengo *kacay ki-* 'to light (lamp)'; Kuwi *hiccu kahinomi* 'we kindle fire'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:102—103, no. 1090.
C. Proto-Kartvelian **k'wes-* 'to strike fire': Georgian *k'ves-* 'to strike fire', *k'ves-* 'steel', *na-k'ves-* 'spark'; Mingrelian *k'vas-* 'to strike fire'. Klimov 1998:94 **ḳwes$_1$-* : **ḳws$_1$-* 'to strike fire'; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995: 199 **ḳwes-*; Fähnrich 2007:240 *ḳwes-*.
D. Proto-Indo-European **k'ʷes-*/**k'ʷos-* 'to extinguish, to put out (originally, of fire)': Sanskrit *jásate* 'to be exhausted, starved; to exhaust, to weaken, to cause to expire; to hurt, to strike'; Greek σβέννῡμι (fut. σβέσω) 'to quench, to put out; to be quenched, to go out (of fire); to become extinct, to die (metaphorically, of men)', σβεστήριος 'serving to quench (fire)'; Lithuanian *gęstù*, *gèsti* 'to go out, to die out, to become dim (of light)', (causative) *gesaũ*, *gesýti* 'to extinguish'; Latvian *dzièstu* 'to go out, to be extinguished, to expire'; Old Church Slavic **gašǫ*, **gasiti* in *u-gasiti* 'to extinguish, to go out'; (?) Tocharian A *käs-*, B *käs-* 'to come to extinction, to be extinguished, to go out'. Pokorny 1959:479—480 **gᵘes-*, **zgᵘes-* 'to extinguish'; Walde 1927—1932.I:693—694 **gᵘes-*; Mann 1984—1987:358 **gu̯esō*, *-i̯ō* 'to extinguish, to be extinguished'; Watkins 1985:25 **gʷes-* 'to extinguish' and 2000:78 **(s)gʷes-* 'to be extinguished' (suffixed [causative] form **sgʷes-nu-*); Mallory—Adams 1997:188 **gʷes-* 'to extinguish'; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.I:425; Frisk 1970—1973.II:685—686 **zgᵘes-*; Boisacq 1950:856 **(z)gᵘĕs-*, **(z)gᵘōs-*; Hofmann 1966:307—308; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:991—992 **gʷes-*; Beekes 2010.II:1314—1315 **(s)gʷes-*; Fraenkel 1962—1965.I:149; Smoczyński 2007.1:175; Derksen 2008:161 **(s)gʷes-*; Van Windekens 1976—1982.I:210 **(z)gᵘes-*; Adams 1999:177 **(z)gʷes-* 'extinguish'.

546. Proto-Nostratic root **k'ʷas-* (~ **k'ʷəs-*) (onomatopoeic):
(vb.) **k'ʷas-* 'to sigh, to moan, to groan; to whisper, to murmur, to mumble';

(n.) **k'ʷas-a* 'sigh, moan, groan, whisper, murmur, mumble'

A. Proto-Afrasian (?) **k'ʷas-* 'to sigh, to moan, to groan; to whisper, to murmur, to mumble': Semitic: Gurage *ḳesätä* 'to groan, to moan, to sigh'; Amharic *(aḳ)ḳassätä* 'to sigh, to moan'. Leslau 1979:505. Egyptian (reduplicated) *qsqs* 'to whisper'; Coptic *kaskes* [ⲕⲁⲥⲕⲉⲥ] 'to whisper'. Vycichl 1983:88—89; Černý 1976:64 (Černý considers the Egyptian and Coptic forms to be loans from Semitic).
B. Dravidian: Tamil (reduplicated) *kucukucu* (*-pp-*, *-tt-*) 'to whisper', *kucukucuppu* 'whispering', *kacu-kuc-enal* onomatopoeic expression signifying whispering; Malayalam *kuśukuśukka*, *kucukucukka* 'to whisper', *kuśalikka* 'to whisper, to mumble', *kaśukuśu* imitative sound of whispering; Kota *guc guc in-* (*id-*) 'to whisper', *gucgucn* 'in a whisper, secretly'; Kannaḍa *kucu*, *kusa*, *kusu*, *guja*, *guju*, *gusa*, *gusu*, *kisu*, *gisu* a sound imitating whispering (frequently reduplicated); Tuḷu *guji*, *guju*, *gujji*, *gujju*, *gusu*, *kusukusu* 'whispering'; Telugu *gusagusa* 'whisper; in a whisper or a low voice'; Gondi *kuskusa vaṛk-* 'to whisper', *kusai* 'silently', *kusāy* 'in a low voice, secretly'; Kuṛux *kusmusaʔanā* 'to whisper'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:150, no. 1638.
C. Proto-Kartvelian **k'wes-*/**k'ws-* 'to moan': Georgian *k'(r)us-* 'to moan'; Laz *k'us-*'to moan'; Mingrelian *k'us-* 'to moan'; Svan *k'wec-* (< **k'wes-*) 'to moan'. Klimov 1964:117—118 **ḳus-* and 1998:94 **ḳwes-*/**ḳws-* 'to moan'; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:200 **ḳwes-*/**ḳus-*; Fähnrich 2007: 240—241 **ḳwes-*/**ḳus-*.
D. Indo-European: Old Icelandic *kvis* 'rumor, tattle', *kvisa* 'to gossip, to whisper'; Norwegian *kvisa* 'to whisper'; Swedish (dial.) *kvisa* 'to whisper'; Low German *quesen* 'to grumble'; New High German (dial.) *queisen* 'to sigh, to moan, to groan'. Orël 2003:230 Proto-Germanic **kwisōjanan*; De Vries 1977:338—339.

Buck 1949:16.39 groan.

547. Proto-Nostratic root **k'ʷat'-* (~ **k'ʷət'-*):
(vb.) **k'ʷat'-* 'to burn, to smolder, to smoke';
(n.) **k'ʷat'-a* 'burning, heat, smoke'

A. Proto-Afrasian **k'ʷat'-* (vb.) to burn, to smolder, to smoke; (n.) smoke': Proto-Semitic **k'at'-ar-* 'to burn, to smolder, to smoke', **k'ut'r-* (< **k'ʷət'-*) 'smoke, incense' > Hebrew *ḳīṭōr* [קִיטוֹר] 'thick smoke', *ḳəṭōreθ* [קְטוֹרֶת] 'smoke, odor (of burning), incense', *muḳṭār* [מֻקְטָר] 'sacrificed by burning incense'; Phoenician *ḳṭrt* 'incense'; Ugaritic *ḳṭr* 'smoke, incense'; Akkadian (with progressive deglottalization [Geers' Law]) *ḳutru* 'smoke', *ḳatāru* 'to rise, to billow, to roll in (said of smoke, fog)', *ḳutturu* 'to cause something to smoke, to make an incense offering, to cense, to fumigate, to

fume incense', *ḳatāru* 'incense'; Arabic *ḳuṭr*, *ḳuṭur* 'agalloch, aloeswood', *miḳṭar* 'censer'; Sabaean *ḳṭr* 'to burn incense'; Geez / Ethiopic *ḳatara*, *ḳattara* [ቀተረ] 'to fumigate, to give off an odor', *ḳəttāre* [ቅታሬ], *ḳəttār* [ቅታር] 'incense, fumigation, odiferous substance'; Tigre *ḳətare* 'fragrance, spice'; Amharic *ḳäṭṭärä* 'to burn incense in church'. Murtonen 1989:375; Klein 1987:576; Leslau 1987:452; Militarëv 2010:47. Diakonoff 1992:81 **ḳʷəṭr-* 'smoke'. Proto-Semitic **k'at'-am-* 'to burn, to smolder, to smoke', **k'it'-am-* 'ash(es)' > Hebrew *ḳāṭam* [קָטַם] (denominative) 'to cover with ashes or powder', *ḳəṭam* [קְטַם] 'ashes, powder', *ḳeṭūm* [קְטוּם] 'covered with ashes' (the Hebrew forms are borrowed from Aramaic); Aramaic *ḳəṭam* 'to cover with ashes or powder', *ḳəṭmā* 'ashes'; Syriac *ḳeṭmā* 'ashes'. Related to Arabic *ḳatām* (< **k'at'ām-*) 'dust'. Klein 1987:574 and 575; Biberstein-Kazimirski 1875.3:856; Militarëv 2010:47 Proto-Semitic (Aramaic-Arabic) **ḳiṭam-*. (?) Berber (root **ɣd*, if for **ɣḍ*): Tuareg *əqqəd* 'to burn, to be burnt, to be dried out', *suɣəd* 'to make burn', *təqqit* 'burn'; Mzab *əqqəd* 'to be about to make fire', *iɣəd* 'ash(es)'; Tamazight *qqəd* 'to be about to make fire, to cauterize, to be warm, to be red-hot', *nɣəd* 'to crush, to reduce to powder; to be crushed, to be reduced to powder', *anɣud* 'crushing, pulverization', *iɣəd* 'ash(es)'; Tashelhiyt / Shilha *qəd* 'to cauterize, to be about to make fire', *aɣad* 'cauterization', *nɣəd* 'to pulverize; to be pulverized', *iɣəd* 'ash(es)'; Riff *əqda* 'to burn', *iɣəd* 'ash(es)'; Kabyle *əqqəd* 'to be about to make fire, to cauterize, to apply a hot compress, to fire pottery; to be cauterized, to be fired (pottery)', *uɣud* 'hole for firing pottery', *nɣəd* 'to crush, to reduce to powder; to be crushed', *iɣəd* 'ash(es)'; Chaouia *qqəd* 'to be about to apply fire, to cauterize', *iɣəd* 'ash(es)', *nɣəd* 'to be crushed or ground, to be powdery'; Zenaga *ɣəd* 'to be warm, burning', *təssuɣəd* 'droppings, manure, dung'. Cushitic: Highland East Cushitic: Sidamo *k'at'abaaré*, *k'at'awaré* 'fire-wood'. Hudson 1989:379.

B. Dravidian: Malayalam *kattuka* 'to kindle, to burn', *kattal* 'burning, heat, appetite', *kattikka* 'to set on fire, to burn'; Kota *kat-* (*katy-*) 'to burn (intr.), to light (lamp)', *katc-* (*katc-*) 'to set fire to'; Toda *kot-* (*koty-*) 'to burn with flame, to glitter, to flash, to light (lamp)'; Kannaḍa *kattu* 'to begin to burn with flame, to cause to burn with intensity, to inflame, to kindle', *kattisu* 'to inflame, to kindle'; Koḍagu *katt-* (*katti-*) 'to burn with a blaze (intr.)'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:113, no. 1207.

C. Proto-Indo-European **k'ʷət'-*/**k'ʷat'-* > (with regressive deglottalization) **kʷʰet'-*/**kʷʰot'-* '(vb.) to burn, to smoke, to smolder; (n.) smoke': Sanskrit *kádru-ḥ* 'reddish brown'; Old Church Slavic *kaditi* 'to burn incense'; Russian *čad* [чад] 'fumes, smoke', *kadílo* [кадило] 'censer'. Pokorny 1959:537 **ked-* 'to smoke'; Walde 1927—1932.I:384—385 **qed-*; Mann 1984—1987:1628 **kēd-*/**kōd-* or **qu̯ēd-*/**qu̯ōd-* (?); Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.I:155 **k[ʰ]et'-*/**k[ʰ]ot'-* and 1995.I:133 **kʰet'-*/**kʰot'-* 'smoke'; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.I:150; Derksen 2008:218—219.

Buck 1949:1.83 smoke (sb.); 1.85 burn (vb.). Bomhard—Kerns 1994:488—489, no. 335.

548. Proto-Nostratic root *$k'^{w}at'$- (~ *$k'^{w}ət'$-):
(vb.) *$k'^{w}at'$- ‘to cut’;
(n.) *$k'^{w}at'$-*a* ‘knife, cutting instrument’; (adj.) ‘sharp’

A. Proto-Afrasian *$k'^{w}at'$- ‘to cut’: Proto-Semitic *$k'at'$-*at'*- ‘to cut, to carve’ > Arabic *ḳaṭṭa* ‘to carve, to cut, to trim, to chip, to pare; to mend the point (of a pen), to nib, to sharpen (a pen)’; Sabaean *ḳṭṭ* ‘to cut, to hew out’; Śḥeri / Jibbāli *ḳeṭṭ* ‘to cut’; Mehri *ḳáttəṭ* ‘to be cut off’; Geez / Ethiopic *ḳʷaṭaṭa* [ቈጠጠ] ‘to cut (grass)’; Harari *ḳäṭäṭu* ‘splinters of wood’; Amharic *ḳäṭṭäṭä*, *ḳʷäṭṭäṭä* ‘to cut, to shear’. Leslau 1987:455. Proto-Semitic *$k'at'$-*ab*- ‘to cut’ > Arabic *ḳaṭaba* ‘to cut’; Hebrew *ḳeṭeβ* [קֶטֶב] ‘destruction’; Aramaic *ḳəṭaβ* ‘to chop, to cleave’; Ḥarsūsi *ḳeṭṭebōt* ‘doll (carved from wood or bone)’; Śḥeri / Jibbāli *ḳəṭbēt* ‘(carved, wooden) doll’; Mehri *ḳəṭəbbūt* ‘doll; formerly, a doll carved from wood’; Geez / Ethiopic *ḳaṭaba* [ቈጠበ] ‘to make a mark in order that woven cloth be symmetrical, to trim, to shorten’; Amharic *ḳäṭṭäbä* ‘to trim, to shorten, to make a mark in order that woven cloth be symmetrical’. Klein 1987:574; Leslau 1987:453. Proto-Semitic *$k'at'$-*aʕ*- ‘to cut’ > Arabic *ḳaṭaʿa* ‘to cut, to cut off, to chop off; to amputate; to cut through, to cut in two, to divide; to tear apart, to disrupt, to sunder, to disjoin, to separate; to fell; to break off, to sever; to break off one’s friendship; to snub; to cut short, to interrupt’; Modern Hebrew *ḳāṭaʿ* [קָטַע] ‘to cut, to fell, to lop off’; Aramaic *ḳəṭaʿ* ‘to cut off, to shorten’; Śḥeri / Jibbāli *ḳéṭaʿ* ‘to cut’; Mehri *ḳáwṭa* ‘to cut, to cut off, to saw off; to breach (a contract); to refuse to give’, *ḳáṭṭa* ‘to be cut, to be discontinued; (rain) to stop; to stop (visiting someone); to be cut off in the desert without food or drink’, *ḳəṭāt* ‘piece’; Tigre *ḳäṭʿa* ‘to cut off’; Tigrinya *ḳəṭʿi* ‘a cut’; Amharic *ḳäṭṭa* ‘to cut off’; Gurage *ḳäṭṭa* ‘to make incisions’. Murtonen 1989:374; Klein 1987:575; Leslau 1979:506; Zammit 2002:342. Proto-Semitic *$k'at'$-*ap*- ‘to cut, to pick, to pluck’ > Akkadian *ḳatāpu* ‘to pluck out’; Hebrew *ḳāṭaφ* [קָטַף] ‘to pluck off (twigs, etc.), to pluck out’; Aramaic *ḳəṭaφ* ‘to pluck, to tear off’; Arabic *ḳaṭafa* ‘to pick (flowers, fruit); to gather, to harvest (fruit); to pluck off, to pull off, to tear off (something, e.g., leaves)’; Mehri *ḳəṭáwf* ‘to earmark, to take a snip out of an animal’s ear as an identification mark’; Ḥarsūsi *ḳaṭf* ‘snip taken out of a goat’s ear as a marker’; Śḥeri / Jibbāli *ḳɔ́ṭɔ́ʿ* ‘(animal) to eat only the best pasture; to fell, to lop, to chop off; to take a snip out of an ear’; Geez / Ethiopic *ḳaṭafa* [ቀጠፈ] ‘to pick, to cut (flowers, leaves), to pluck, to snap’; Tigrinya (with augmented *n*) *ḳänṭäfä* ‘to pluck off’; Amharic *ḳäṭṭäfä* ‘to pick flowers’. Murtonen 1989:375; Zammit 2002:342; Klein 1987:575—576; Leslau 1987:453. Arabic *ḳaṭama* ‘to cut off, to break off’, *ḳaṭma* ‘piece, bite, morsel’, *ḳaṭala* ‘to cut off’. Egyptian *qdf* ‘to gather flowers’

(this may be a Semitic loan); Coptic *kōtf* [**ⲕⲱⲧⲫ**] 'to gather (grain, fruit, wood, etc.)'. Hannig 1995:869; Faulkner 1962:282; Erman—Grapow 1926—1963.5:81; Vycichl 1983:90; Černý 1976:66. Proto-East Cushitic **k'ad$_1$-* 'to cut' > Dullay *qatt'-* 'to cut, to hoe up, to fold'; Yaaku *qat'-* 'to cut'; Saho-Afar *aḍ-* 'to cut the hair'. Sasse 1979:31 and 48. Proto-Southern Cushitic **k'ʷat'-* 'to shape, to mold, to fashion' > Alagwa *qwatsit-* 'to shape, to mold, to fashion'; Ma'a *vukasíla* 'iron'. Ehret 1980:267. [Orël—Stolbova 1995:339, no. 1558, **ḳaṭ-/*ḳuṭ-* 'to cut'; Ehret 1995:240, no. 431, **k'at'-* 'to cut'.]

B. Dravidian: Tamil *katti* 'knife, cutting instrument, razor, sword, sickle'; Malayalam *katti* 'knife'; Kota *katy* 'billhook, knife', *kati·r* 'to cut'; Kannaḍa *katti* 'knife, razor, sword'; Koḍagu *katti* 'knife'; Tuḷu *katti*, *katte* 'knife'; Telugu *katti* 'knife, razor, sword'. Krishnamurti 2003:9 **katti* 'knife'; Burrow—Emeneau 1984:112—113, no. 1204. Kolami *katk-* (*katakt-*) 'to strike down (man), to break down (tree)'; Naiki (of Chanda) *katuk-*/*katk-* 'to cut with an axe'; Parji *katt-* 'to cut down (tree), to slaughter, to sacrifice'; Gondi *kad-* 'to cut (hair)'; Koṇḍa *kat-* 'to cut down (tree) with an axe, to fell', *katki-* 'to cut down (trees)'; Pengo *kat-*, *katka-* 'to cut (with an axe)'; Maṇḍa *kat-* 'to cut (with axe)'; Kui *kata* (*kati-*) 'to cut down, to fell, to cut, to hew'; Kuwi *katt-*, *kuttali* (i.e., *kattali*) 'to cut (with axe, etc.)', *kat-* 'to cut (trees, bushes, etc.)', *katk-* 'to chop to pieces'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:113, no. 1208.

C. Proto-Kartvelian **k'wet-* > (with progressive deglottalization) **k'wet-/*k'wt-* 'to chop, to cut off': Georgian *k'vet-/k'vt-* 'to chop, to cut off'; Mingrelian *k'vat-* 'to chop, to cut off'; Laz *k'vat-* 'to chop, to cut off'; Svan *k'wt-* 'to cut into small pieces'. Klimov 1964:111 **ḳwe(s$_1$)d-* and 1998:92 **ḳwet-/*ḳwt-* 'to chop, to cut off'; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:196—197 **ḳwet-*; Fähnrich 2007:238 **ḳwet-*; Schmidt 1962:75 and 119. Proto-Kartvelian **k'wet-il-* 'chopped off, cut off': Georgian *k'vetil-* 'chopped off, cut off'; Mingrelian *k'vatil-* 'chopped off, cut off'. Klimov 1998:92 **ḳwet-il-* 'chopped off, cut off'. Proto-Kartvelian **na-k'wet-* 'piece, cut, section; lump': Georgian *nak'vet-* 'piece; lump'; Mingrelian *nok'vet-* 'piece; lump'. Klimov 1998:137 **na-ḳwet-* 'piece, cut, section; lump'.

D. Proto-Indo-European **k'ʷət'-/*k'ʷat'-* > (with regressive deglottalization) **kʷʰet'-/*kʷʰot'-* 'to whet, to sharpen': Gothic *ga-hvatjan* 'to sharpen, to incite, to entice', *hvassaba* 'sharply'; Old Icelandic *hvass* 'sharp, keen', *hvetja* 'to whet, to sharpen'; Faroese *hvassur* 'sharp', *hvøtja* 'to whet, to sharpen'; Norwegian *kvass* 'sharp', *kvetja* 'to whet, to sharpen'; Swedish *vass* 'sharp', *vättja* (dial. *hvättia*) 'to whet, to sharpen'; Danish (dial.) *hvæde* 'to whet, to sharpen'; Old English *hwæss* 'sharp, prickly', *hwæt* 'quick, active, brave, bold', *hwettan* 'to whet, to sharpen, to incite'; Middle Dutch *wetten* 'to sharpen'; Old High German *(h)waz* 'sharp, rough, severe', *wezzan* 'to sharpen' (New High German *wetzen*); Latin *triquetrus*

(< **tri-quedros*) ‘triangular’. Pokorny 1959:636 **kᵘ̯ĕd-*, **kᵘ̯ŏd-* ‘to stab, to bore’; Walde 1927—1932.I:513 **qᵘ̯ēd-*, **qᵘ̯ōd-*, **qᵘ̯əd-* or **qᵘ̯ĕd-*, **qᵘ̯ŏd-*; Mann 1984—1987:1017 **qu̯ads-* ‘sharp; sharpness, sharpener’; Watkins 1985:33 **kʷed-* and 2000:44 **kʷed-* ‘to sharpen’; Mallory—Adams 1997:510 **kʷed-* ‘to whet, to sharpen’; Orël 2003:199 Proto-Germanic **xwatjanan*; Kroonen 2013:264 Proto-Germanic **hwassa-* ‘sharp’, 264 **hwata-* ‘quick’, and 266 **hwētan-* ‘to stab, to pierce’; Feist 1939:184—185 **kᵘ̯ĕ-d-*; Lehmann 1986:139 **kʷō/ūd-* ‘to prick, to whet; to incite’; De Vries 1977:269 and 272; Onions 1966:1002 Common Germanic **χwatjan* ‘to sharpen’, **χwattaz* ‘sharp’; Klein 1971:826 **qʷedo-*; **qʷēd-*, **qʷōd-*, **qʷĕd-*; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:856; Kluge—Seebold 1989:789; De Vaan 2008:630; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.II:706 **qᵘ̯ēd-* : **qᵘ̯ōd-* : **qᵘ̯əd-* (: **qᵘ̯ĕd-*); Ernout—Meillet 1979:703.

Buck 1949:15.78 sharp. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:493—495, no. 341.

549. Proto-Nostratic root **k’ʷed-*:
(vb.) **k’ʷed-* ‘to destroy, to damage, to ruin; to decay, to rot, to spoil’;
(n.) **k’ʷed-a* ‘death, destruction, damage, ruin, decay’
Note also:
(vb.) **k’ʷad-* ‘to strike, to beat, to smash, to pound’;
(n.) **k’ʷad-a* ‘knock, stroke, thrust’

A. Dravidian: Tamil *keṭu* (*keṭuv-*, *keṭṭ-*) ‘to perish, to be destroyed, to decay, to rot, to become damaged, to become spoiled, to fall on evil days, to degenerate, to be reduced, to run away defeated’, *keṭu* (*-pp-*, *-tt-*) ‘(vb.) to destroy, to squander, to extinguish, to spoil, to corrupt, to defeat, to lose; (n.) peril, poverty’, *keṭṭa* ‘bad, spoiled, ruined’, *keṭṭava<u>n</u>* ‘a bad, immoral person’, *keṭutal* ‘ruin, damage, danger, degeneracy’, *keṭuti* ‘ruin, loss, damage, thing lost, danger, affliction, evil’, *keṭumpu* ‘ruin, evil’, *kēṭu* ‘ruin, loss, damage, adversity, death, evil’; Malayalam *keṭu* ‘ruin’, *keṭuka* ‘to be extinguished, ruined, spoiled, damaged’, *keṭuti* ‘ruin, danger, weakness, misery’, *keṭumpu* ‘depravity, rottenness’, *keṭumpikka* ‘to be spoiled by drying up’, *keṭṭa* ‘lost, bad’, *keṭukka* ‘to quench, to do away with, to damage, to ruin’, *kēṭu* ‘destruction, loss, damage, hurt’; Kota *keṛ-* (*keṭ-*) ‘to die, to be ruined, to be lost’, *keṛc-* (*keṛc-*) ‘to ruin, to destroy, to lose’, *ke·ṛ* (obl. *ke·ṭ-*) ‘ruin, harm, danger, loss, funeral, corpse’; Toda *köṛ-* (*köṭ-*) ‘to be spoiled, to become bad in conduct, to be extinguished, to die (others than Todas)’, *köṛc-* (*köṛč-*) ‘to kill by witchcraft, to extinguish, to make go the wrong way and lose property’, *köḍθïl* ‘misfortune, evil’, *köḍc-* (*köḍč-*) ‘to destroy’, *kö·ḍ* (obl. *kö·ṭ-*) ‘dead person (corpse at first funeral, relics at second funeral), funeral’, *kö·ṛ o·x-* ‘to die (used of Todas)’; Kannaḍa *keḍu*, *kiḍu* (*keṭṭ-*) ‘to be destroyed, ruined, spoiled; to become bad, vicious; to be extinguished, to cease (as sorrow, etc.)’, *keḍisu*, *kiḍisu* ‘to destroy, to ruin,

to spoil, to extinguish', *keṭṭa* 'ruined, spoiled, foul, bad', *keṭṭe* 'evil, misfortune, ruin', *keḍaku*, *keḍuku* 'corruption, ruin, evil', *keṭṭatana* 'bad, wicked, lewd disposition or conduct', *keḍuvike* 'being destroyed, etc.', *keḍuha* 'ruin, disappearance', *kiḍi*, *kiḍuka* 'one who ruins or destroys', *kēḍu* 'ruin, destruction, evil, loss'; Koḍagu *kë·ḍï* 'ruin, rottenness', *këḍ-* (*këṭṭ-*) 'to be spoiled, ruined, extinguished', *këḍït-* (*këḍïti-*) 'to spoil, to ruin, to extinguish'; Tuḷu *keḍaguni* 'to ruin, to spoil', *keḍuku*, *keḍa*, *keḍakụ* 'damage, loss', *keṭṭa* 'bad, vile', *kēḍụ*, *kēḍu* 'mischief, evil, danger, disaster, loss, perdition'; Telugu *ceḍu* 'to be spoiled, destroyed; to become bad, useless; to be a loser or sustain a loss', *ceḍḍa*, *ceḍu* 'bad, wicked, wrong, spoiled, damage', *ceṭṭa* 'evil, harm; wicked', *cēṭu* 'ruin, misfortune, destruction', *keḍayu* 'to die', *keḍayika* 'death', *keḍapu* 'to kill', *giṭṭu* 'to die, to perish'; Kolami *kiṭ-* (*kiṭt-*) 'to be extinguished', *kiṭip-* 'to extinguish'; Naiki (of Chanda) *kiṛ-* (*kiṭṭ-*) 'to go out (fire)', *kiṭup-*/*kiṭp-* 'to put out (fire)'; Parji *ciṭ-* 'to go out (fire)', *ciṭip-* 'to put out (fire)'; Gadba (Ollari) *siṭ-* 'to go out (fire)', *siṭp-* (*siṭt-*) 'to make (fire) go out', *ciṭṭ-* 'to be put out (fire)'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:176—177, no. 1942; Krishnamurti 2003:128 and 199 **keṭ-u* (vb.) 'to perish, to decay', **kēṭu* (n.) 'damage', **keṭ-al* (n.) 'evil', **keṭu-ti* (n.) 'ruin', **keṭ-ṭa* (n.) 'evil'.

B. Proto-Kartvelian **k'wed-*/**k'wd-* '(vb.) to die, to lose; (n.) death, loss': Georgian *k'ved-*/*k'vd-* 'to die', (verbal noun) *xi-k'vd-il-* 'death', (part.) *mom-k'vd-ar-* 'dead', (adj.) *m-k'vd-ar-* 'dead'; Svan *k'wād* (< **k'wed-*) 'loss (caused by death)'. Schmidt 1962:119; Klimov 1998:91—92 **ḳwed-*/**ḳwd-* 'to lose (caused by death)'; Fähnrich 1994:233 and 2007:237—238 **ḳwed-*/**ḳwd-*; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:196 **ḳwed-*/**ḳwd-*.

C. Proto-Indo-European **k'ʷĕdʰ-*/**k'ʷŏdʰ-* 'rotten, bad, repulsive': Old English *cwēad* 'dung, dirt, filth'; Middle English *cwēd* 'bad'; Old Frisian *kwād* 'dung'; Dutch *kwaad* 'bad, repulsive', *kwetteren* 'to rot, to go bad (of fruit)'; Middle High German *quāt*, *quōt*, *kāt*, *kōt* 'bad; dung' (New High German *Kot*). Mann 1984—1987:353 **gu̯ēdhos*, *-ā* 'bad; badness'; Orël 2003:229 Proto-Germanic **kwēđaz*; Vercoullie 1898:158; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:397 **gu̯ōu-*, **gu̯ū-*; Kluge—Seebold 1989:407 **gewə-*, **gwē-*; **guə-*, **gouə-*.

Buck 1949:4.75 die; dead; death; 4.76 kill.

550. Proto-Nostratic root **k'ʷiy-* (~ **k'ʷey-*):
(vb.) **k'ʷiy-* 'to be putrid, purulent';
(n.) **k'ʷiy-a* 'pus'

A. Afrasian: Proto-Semitic **k'ay-aḥ-* 'to fester, to be purulent' > Arabic *ḳāḥa* 'to fester, to be purulent', *ḳayḥ* (pl. *ḳuyūḥ*) 'pus, mucous matter'.

B. Dravidian: Tamil *cī* 'pus, mucous matter'; Malayalam *cī* 'putrid matter, secretion of the eyelids'; Kannaḍa *kī* 'to become pus, to become putrid';

Koḍagu *ki·y-* (*ki·yuv-*, *ki·ñj-*) ‘to become rotten’; Telugu *cīku* ‘to rot’, *cīmu* ‘pus’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:147, no. 1606.

C. Proto-Indo-European **k’ʷey-*/**k’ʷi-* ‘to be putrid, purulent’: Greek δεῖσα ‘slime, filth’; Old Icelandic *kveisa* ‘boil, whitlow’; Middle Low German *quēse* ‘blood blister’; Old Church Slavic *židъkъ* ‘succosus’. Pokorny 1959:569 **gᵘeid(h)-* ‘mud’; Walde 1927—1932.I:671 **gᵘeid(h)-*; Boisacq 1950:1105 **gᵘeidh-i̯a* or **gᵘeidh-sā*; Hofmann 1966:54 Greek δεῖσα perhaps from **gᵘendh-i̯a*; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:259; Frisk 1970—1973.I:359; Beekes 2010.I:311 etymology unknown; Orël 2003:227 Proto-Germanic **kwaisōn*; De Vries 1977:337; Derksen 2008:562 — Derksen rejects comparison of Old Church Slavic *židъkъ* ‘succosus’ with Greek δεῖσα ‘slime, filth’.

Bomhard—Kerns 1994:488, no. 334.

551. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **k’ʷow-a* ‘bullock, ox, cow’:

A. Dravidian: Telugu *kōḍiya*, *kōḍe* ‘young bull’; Kolami *kōḍi* ‘cow’, *kōṛe* ‘young bullock’; Pengo *kōḍi* ‘cow’; Maṇḍa *kūḍi* ‘cow’; Kui *kōḍi* ‘cow, ox’; Kuwi *kōdi*, *kōḍi* ‘cow’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:197, no. 2199.

B. Proto-Indo-European **k’ʷŏ̄w-* ‘bullock, ox, cow’: Sanskrit *gáuḥ* ‘bull, cow’; Avestan *gāuš* ‘cow’; Greek (Attic) βοῦς ‘bullock, ox, bull, cow’; Armenian *kov* ‘cow’; Latin *bōs* ‘ox, bullock, cow’; Umbrian (acc. sg.) *bum* ‘ox’; Old Irish *bó* ‘cow’; Old Icelandic *kýr* ‘cow’; Faroese *kúgv* ‘cow’; Norwegian *ku*, *kyr* ‘cow’; Swedish *ko* ‘cow’; Danish *ko* ‘cow’; Old English *cū* ‘cow’; Old Frisian *kū* ‘cow’; Old Saxon *kō* ‘cow’; Dutch *koe* ‘cow’; Old High German *chuo* ‘cow’ (New High German *Kuh*); Latvian *gùovs* ‘cow’; Tocharian A *ko* ‘cow’, B *ke$_u$* ‘cow’, B *kewiye* ‘(adj.) pertaining to a cow or cows; (n.) butter’. Pokorny 1959:482—483 **gᵘou-* ‘bullock, ox, cow’; Walde 1927—1932.I:696—697 **gᵘou-*; Mann 1984—1987:368 **gu̯ōu̯-ēdā* (*-ēdis*, *-ədā*, *-dā*) ‘ox, cattle, beef, cattle-fodder’, 368—369 **gu̯ōu̯əlos* (**gu̯əu̯əl-*) ‘head of cattle; bull, ox, buffalo’, 369 **gu̯ŏ̄u̯i̯os* ‘bovine’, 369 **gu̯ŏ̄u̯ĭ̄nos*, *-ā* ‘of oxen; ox; beef; cow dung’, 369 **gu̯ŏ̄u̯s* ‘head of cattle, ox, cow’, 370 **gu̯ŏ̄u̯tos*, *-ā*, *-om*, *-i̯os*, *-i̯ə* (**gu̯ət-*, **gŭ̄t-*), 370 **gu̯ŏ̄u̯tros*, *-om* (**gu̯utro-*); Watkins 1985:26 **gʷou-* and 2000:35 **gʷou-* ‘ox, bull, cow’; Mallory—Adams 1997:134—135 **gʷṓus* ‘cow’; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1985.I:191, II:565, II:566, II:574, II:575, II:579, II:868, II:869, II:876 **k’ºou̯-* and 1995.I:164, I:482, I:484, I:491, I:495, I:765, I:766, I:773 **k’ºou-* ‘cow, bull’; Boisacq 1950:129—130 **gᵘōu̯-*, **gᵘou̯-*; Frisk 1970—1973.I:260—261 **gᵘŏ̄u̯-s*; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:190—191 **gʷōu-s*; Beekes 2010.I:232—233 **gʷeh$_2$-u-*; Hofmann 1966:38 **gᵘōus*; Ernout—Meillet 1979:74 **gʷōus*; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:112; De Vaan 2008:74—75; Poultney 1959:299 **gʷōu-*; Kroonen 2013:299 Proto-Germanic **kō-* ~ **kū-* ‘cow’; Orël 2003:219—220 Proto-Germanic **kōwz*

~ **kūz*; De Vries 1977:340—341; Falk—Torp 1903—1906.I:396; Onions 1966:223 **gʷōus*; Klein 1971:172; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:410 **gᵘōu-*; Kluge—Seebold 1989:417 Proto-Germanic **k(w)ōu-*; Walshe 1951:131; Wodtko—Irslinger—Schneider 2008:177—185 **gᵘóu̯-*; Adams 1999:189 **gʷou-*; Van Windekens 1976—1982.I:226—227 **gᵘou-*.

Sumerian *gu₄* 'ox, bull, cow', *gud* 'bull, bullock, cow'.

Buck 1949:3.20 cattle; 3.21 bull; 3.22 ox; 3.23 cow. Bomhard—Kerns 1994: 498, no. 346.

552. Proto-Nostratic (Eurasiatic only) (n.) **k'ʷoy-a* 'outer covering: skin, hide, leather; bark (of a tree), shell, crust':

A. Proto-Indo-European **k'ʷoyH-/*k'ʷiH-* > **k'ʷī-* (secondary *e*-grade form: **k'ʷeyH-*) 'skin, hide, leather': Sanskrit *jī-na-m* 'leather bag', *jī-la-ḥ* 'a leather bag'; Middle Irish *bïan* 'skin, hide'. Pokorny 1959:469 **gᵘēi-* (or **gᵘei̯ə-*): **gᵘī-* 'skin, hide' (?); Walde 1927—1932.I:666 **gᵘēi-* (or **gᵘei̯āˣ-*): **gᵘī-*; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.I:437 and I:439.
B. Uralic: Proto-Finno-Ugrian **koya* 'outer covering: skin, hide, leather; bark (of a tree), shell, crust' > Finnish *koja* 'bark (of a tree)'; Karelian *koja* 'bark (of a tree)'; Ostyak / Xanty *kŏj* 'leather from the forehead of reindeers, cows, or bears from which the soles of shoes are made'; Hungarian *héj*/*héja-*, *haj* 'bark, shell, crust'. Collinder 1955:90 and 1977:106; Rédei 1986—1988:166 **koja*.

Buck 1949:4.12 skin; hide. Illič-Svityč 1971—1984.I:299—300, no. 169, **kojHa* (?) 'skin, leather, bark'; Bomhard—Kerns 1994:499—500, no. 348.

553. Proto-Nostratic root **k'ʷurʸ-* (~ **k'ʷorʸ-*):
(vb.) **k'ʷurʸ-* 'to be heavy, weighty, solid, bulky';
(n.) **k'ʷurʸ-a* 'heaviness, weight, solidity, thickness'; (adj.) 'heavy, weighty, solid, bulky'

A. Proto-Afrasian **k'ʷur-* 'to be heavy, weighty': Proto-Semitic **w/ya-k'ar-* 'to be heavy, weighty, precious' > Arabic *waḳara* 'to load, to burden, to overload; to oppress, to weigh heavily upon', *wiḳr* 'heavy load, burden'; Akkadian *aḳāru* 'to become scarce, expensive, precious, valuable', *šuḳuru* 'to make rare; to value; to hold in esteem, to give honor (to gods)'; Amorite *yḳr* 'to be dear, valuable'; Hebrew *yāḳar* [יָקַר] 'to be precious, prized, costly', *yāḳār* [יָקָר] 'precious, rare, splendid, weighty'; Aramaic *yəḳar* 'to be heavy, precious'; Ugaritic *yḳr* 'precious, dear'. Murtonen 1989:220; Klein 1987:263—264; Zammit 2002:439. Egyptian *i̯qr* 'trusty, trustworthy; well-to-do; excellent, superior'. Gardiner 1957:555; Hannig

1995:107; Erman—Grapow 1921:19 and 1926—1963.1:137; Faulkner 1962:131—132. East Cushitic: Burji *k'urk'-aa* 'heavy', *k'urk'-eed-* 'to become heavy, to conceive, to become pregnant', *k'urk'-éed-aa* 'heavy', *k'úrk'-e* 'weight'. Sasse 1982:129.

B. Dravidian: Tamil *koṛu* '(adj.) fat, flourishing, prosperous; (n.) fat; (vb.) to prosper, to flourish, to be rich or fertile (as soil), to grow fat, to be plump, to be of thick consistency (as sandal paste), to be saucy, to be insolent', *koṛumai* 'plumpness, luxuriance, thickness, fertility', *koṛuppu* 'richness, fat, grease, plumpness, thickness in consistency, sauciness, impudence'; Malayalam *koṛukka* 'to grow thick, solid, stiff by boiling; to grow fat, stout, arrogant', *koṛuppu* 'solidity (as of broth or curry), fatness, stoutness, pride', *koṛu* 'fat, thick, solid'; Kannaḍa *korvu*, *korbu*, *kobbu* '(vb.) to grow fat, thick, stout; to increase, to grow; to be rank in growth; to become proud, presumptuous, arrogant; (n.) fat, fatness, rankness, pride, arrogance'; Tuḷu *kommè* 'corpulence, fatness; corpulent, fat'; Telugu *k(r)ovvu* '(vb.) to become fat, to fatten, to become fat; (n.) fat, grease, lust, pride, arrogance', *krovinna* 'fat, plump, headstrong, ungovernable'; Parji *koṛ-*, *koṛv-* 'to be fat', *koṛukuḍ* 'fatness, fat'; Kolami *koru* 'fat'; Naikṛi *koru* 'fat'; Konḍa *korvu* 'fat of animals'; Pengo *kṛō-* 'to be fat', *koṛva* 'fat'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:193, no. 2146.

C. Proto-Indo-European **k'^{w}or(H)-*/**k'^{w}r̥(H)-* (secondary *e*-grade form: **k'^{w}er(H)-*) 'heavy, weighty': Sanskrit *gurú-ḥ* 'heavy, weighty; valuable, highly prized; venerable, respectable', (comp.) *gárīyas* 'heavier', *garimán-* 'heaviness, weight'; Kashmiri *gor^{u}*, (f.) *gür^{ü}* 'dense, solid'; Avestan *gouru-* in *gouru-zaoθra-* 'viscous libation'; Greek βαρύς 'heavy, burdensome, weighty, grievous'; Latin *gravis* 'heavy, weighty, ponderous, burdensome; important, eminent, venerable, great'; Gothic *kaurus* 'heavy'; Old Irish *bair* 'heavy'; Welsh *bryw* 'strong, strength'; Tocharian A *krāmärts*, B *kramartse* 'heavy', B *krāmär* 'weight, heaviness'. Pokorny 1959:476—477 **g^{u}er-*, **g^{u}erə-*, **g^{u}erəu-*, **g^{u}erī-* 'heavy'; Walde 1927—1932.I:684—686 **g^{u}er-*; Mann 1984—1987:370—371 **gu̯rēi̯ō*, **gu̯r̥ēi̯ō* 'to be heavy', 371 **gu̯rəst-* (?) 'heavy; weight, heavy substance', 371 **gu̯rīu̯-* 'heavy; weight', 372 **gu̯rŭtos* 'heavy, big', 375 **gu̯r̥ndis* 'heavy, bulky', 375 **gu̯r̥ō* (**gu̯r̥u̯ō*, **gu̯r̥ei̯ō*) 'to load, to weigh down, to burden', 376 **gu̯r̄undh-*, 376 **gu̯rus*, **gu̯rus* 'solid, heavy'; Watkins 1985:25 **g^{w}erə-* and 2000:34 **g^{w}erə-* 'heavy' (oldest form **g^{w}erə$_{2}$-*); Mallory—Adams 1997:264 **g^{w}reh$_{x}$-u-*, **g^{w}r̥h$_{x}$-u-* 'heavy'; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.I:199 **k'^{o}r̥ru-* and 1995.I:172 **k'^{o}r̥ru-* 'heavy'; Boisacq 1950:115 **g^{u}r̥^{r}u-s*; Frisk 1970—1973.I:221—222; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:165—166; Hofmann 1966:33 **g^{u}$_{e}$reu̯-*; Beekes 2010.I:202—203 **g^{w}rh$_{2}$-u-*; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:620—621 **g^{u}er(ə)-*, **g^{u}(e)rā(u)-* 'heavy'; Ernout—Meillet 1979:282—283 **g^{w}rəw-*; De Vaan 2008:272; Orël 2003:225 Proto-Germanic **kuruz*; Kroonen 2013:312 Proto-Germanic **kuru-* 'heavy'; Lehmann 1986:217; Feist 1939:310 **g^{u}ərú-*; Van Windekens 1976—

1982.I:233—234 *$g^{u}erə_{1}$-; Adams 1999:214—215. Proto-Indo-European *$k'^{w}rond^{h}$- 'hard to bear, harsh, severe, difficult': Latvian *grũts* 'difficult'; Old Church Slavic *grǫst-okъ* 'hard to bear, grievous, painful, harsh, severe'. Mann 1984—1987:371 *$g_{\underline{u}}rondh$- (?) 'severe, outrageous'.

Sumerian *gur* 'hefty', gur_{4}, gur_{13}, gur_{14} 'thick; to be or make thick'; *gur* 'difficult, hard, severe, tough, burdensome, arduous'.

Buck 1949:9.97 difficult; 11.87 price; 11.88 dear (= costly, expensive); 12.63 thick (in dimension); 15.81 heavy. Möller 1911:98—99; Bomhard—Kerns 1994:491—492, no. 339; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 922, *$ku|orV$ 'thick, fat'.

				Eurasiatic			
Proto-Nostratic	Proto-Afrasian	Proto-Dravid.	Proto-Kartvel.	Proto-IE	Proto-Uralic	Proto-Altaic	Proto-Eskimo
ɢ-	ɢ- (?)	k-	ɢ-	g^h-	k-	g-	k- q-
-ɢ-	-ɢ- (?)	-k-	-ɢ-	-g^h-	-x-	-g-	-ɣ-

554. Proto-Nostratic root *ɢad- (~ *ɢəd-):
(vb.) *ɢad- ‘to make a loud sound or loud noise’;
(n.) *ɢad-a ‘loud noise, clap of thunder, loud clatter, loud rumble’
Reduplicated (Semitic and Dravidian):
(vb.) *ɢad-ɢad- ‘to make a loud sound or loud noise’;
(n.) *ɢad-ɢad-a ‘loud noise, clap of thunder, loud clatter, loud rumble’

A. Proto-Afrasian *gad- ‘to make a loud sound or loud noise’: Proto-Semitic (reduplicated) *gad-gad- ‘to make a loud sound or loud noise’ > Geez / Ethiopic g^wadg^wada [ገድገደ] ‘to knock (at the door), to clap hands rhythmically, to strike, to accompany a dance with hand clapping’, ʔang^{w}adg^wada [አንገድገደ] ‘to thunder’, nag^{w}adg^wād [ነገድጓድ] ‘thunder, clap of thunder, striking, noise’; Amharic täng^{w}ädägg^{w}ädä ‘to thunder’, näg^{w}ädg^{w}ad ‘thunder’; Tigrinya g^{w}ədg^{w}əd bälä ‘to thunder’, näg^{w}ädg^{w}ad ‘thunder’; Gurage näg^{w}ädg^{w}ad ‘thunder’. D. Cohen 1970— :99; Leslau 1979:453 and 1987:182.
B. Dravidian: Tamil (reduplicated) kaṭakaṭav-e<u>n</u>al, kaṭakaṭ-e<u>n</u>al (onomatopoeic) ‘clattering, rattling, rumbling, sounding rapidly’, kaṭakaṭa ‘to rattle (as a pin in a jewel)’, kaṭakaṭappu ‘clatter, rattling, rumbling’; Kota gaṛum guṛum in- ‘to thunder; imitative of noise of rock rolling down a hillside’; Kannaḍa kaṭakuṭa ‘noise in the stomach arising from drinking much water’, gaḍagaḍa enu- ‘to rumble or rattle (as thunder, carts, etc.)’, gaḍāvaṇe ‘loud sound, noise’; Telugu kaṭakaṭa ‘a rattling sound’, gaḍagaḍa ‘trembling, quaking, or quivering’; Kuṛux xaṛxaṛ-xaṛxaṛ ‘the sound of articles loosely packed and rattling against one another (the creaking of a cart, etc.)’, xaṛxar-xaṛxar^{a}rnā ‘to rattle loosely together’, xaṛbaṛ^{a}rnā ‘to rattle’; Malto qaṛqaṛre ‘to purl, to murmur’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:102—103, no. 1110(a). Tamil kaṭapaṭāv-e<u>n</u>al ‘hullabaloo, bustling, sounding confusedly’; Kannaḍa gaḍa, gaḍi a term expressing disorder, gaḍabaḍa, gaḍabaḍi, gaḍabiḍi, gaḍibiḍi ‘confusion, puzzle, tumult, vexation’; Tuḷu gaḍabaḍi, gaḍibiḍi ‘bustle, confusion, disorder, tumult, disturbance’; Telugu gaḍabaḍa, gaḍabiḍa ‘noise, bustle, tumult, confusion, disorder’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:105, no. 1112.
C. Proto-Kartvelian: *ɢad-/*ɢd- ‘to speak (loudly)’: Georgian [γad-] ‘to speak, to appeal’: γad-eb-u- ‘to appeal, to shout’, m-γd-el- ‘priest,

clergyman'; Laz *γod-* 'to do; to report'; Svan *γd-* 'to confer'. Klimov 1998:220 **ɣad-/*ɣd-* 'to do; to speak (loudly)'; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:383 **γad-/*γd-*; Fähnrich 2007:475—476 **γad-/*γd-*.

Buck 1949:1.56 thunder; 15.44 sound (sb.); 15.45 loud.

555. Proto-Nostratic root **ɢal-* (~ **ɢəl-*):
(vb.) **ɢal-* 'to come, to go';
(n.) **ɢal-a* 'the act of coming or going; trip, voyage'

A. Proto-Afrasian **gal-* 'to come, to go; to come in, to enter; to go out, to go away, to leave, to depart': Proto-Semitic **ga-/wa-/l-* 'to roam, to rove, to wander about' > Arabic *ǧāla* 'to roam, to rove, to wander about; to move freely, to be at home, to occupy oneself, to be circulated, to make the rounds; to pass (through the mind)', *ǧawla* 'circuit, round, patrol; excursion, outing; tour; trip, voyage', *taǧwāl* 'migration, wandering, roving, traveling; nomadic life, nomadism'; Sabaean *gyl* 'course, period'; Śḥeri / Jibbāli *egtél* '(usually animals) to gather; to wander, to tour around'; Hebrew *gīl* [גִּיל] 'circle, age' (a hapax legomenon in the Bible). D. Cohen 1970— :108; Murtonen 1989:133; Klein 1987:98. Proto-Semitic **gal-aw-* 'to go out or away from' > Hebrew *gālāh* [גָּלָה] 'to go away, to disappear, to go into exile'; Aramaic *gəlā* 'to go into exile, to go away, to disappear'; Ugaritic *gly* 'to leave, to depart'; Arabic *ǧalā* 'to move away, to go away (from a place), to leave (a place); to depart, to leave, to quit, to evacuate (a place)'. Perhaps also Geez / Ethiopic (passive) *tagalgala* [ተገልገለ] 'to be taken into captivity, to go into exile'. Leslau 1987:190; Murtonen 1989:134—135; D. Cohen 1970— :120—122. Berber: Tuareg *əgəl* 'to leave, to go, to walk; (by extension) to be lost (animal, thing); to go past', *tagəllawt* 'departure'; Tawlemmet *aglu* 'to leave, to go past, to continue on one's way', *saglu* 'to make go, to send away'; Kabyle *əglu* 'to go'; Tamazight *gulu* 'to arrive, to await, to reach'; Ghadames *təǧǧəli* 'a short while ago, a month ago'. Proto-East Cushitic **gal-* 'to enter, to come home' > Burji *gal-* 'to enter'; Somali *gal-* ~ *gel-* 'to enter'; Rendille *gel-* 'to enter'; Boni *kal-* 'to enter'; Dasenech *gal-* 'to enter'; Bayso *gal-* 'to enter'; Galla / Oromo *gal-* 'to enter'; Konso *kal-* 'to enter'; Gidole *kal-* 'to enter'; Gedeo / Darasa *gal-* 'to pass the night, to spend the night'; Kambata *gal-* 'to pass the night, to spend the night'; Sidamo *gal-* 'to pass the night, to spend the night'. Sasse 1979:17 and 1982:76; Hudson 1989:110. Proto-Southern Cushitic **gaal-* 'to go home' > Ma'a *-gale* 'to go home'; Dahalo *gaalij-* 'to go home'. Ehret 1980:235. Omotic: Ometo *gal-* 'to enter'; Anfilla *gal-* 'to enter'. Orël—Stolbova 1995:199, no. 879, **gal-* 'to go, to enter'.

B. Yukaghir (Northern / Tundra) *qalγatej-* 'to let escape, to let go', *qalγudu-* 'to escape, to run away'. Nikolaeva 2006:375.

C. (?) Proto-Altaic **gĕle* (if from **gale*) ‘to come, to go’: Proto-Tungus **gel-* ‘to get hardly on one’s way’ > Evenki *gel-* ‘to get hardly on one’s way’; Orok *gilin-* ‘to get hardly on one’s way’. Proto-Mongolian **gel-* ‘to walk slowly’ > Written Mongolian *geldüri-* ‘to walk slowly, to saunter’; Khalkha *geldre-* ‘to walk slowly, to saunter’; Kalmyk *geldṛ-* ‘to walk slowly’; Dagur *geldure-* ‘to walk slowly’. Proto-Turkic **gẹl-* ‘to come’ > Old Turkic (Orkhon, Old Uighur) *kel-* ‘to come’; Karakhanide Turkic *kel-* ‘to come’; Turkish *gel-* ‘to come’; Gagauz *gel-* ‘to come’; Azerbaijani *gäl-* ‘to come’; Turkmenian *gel-* ‘to come’; Uzbek *kel-* ‘to come’; Uighur *käl-/kil-* ‘to come’; Karaim *kel-* ‘to come’; Tatar *kil-* ‘to come’; Bashkir *kil-* ‘to come’; Kirghiz *kel-* ‘to come’; Kazakh *kel-* ‘to come’; Noghay *kel-* ‘to come’; Sary-Uighur *kel-* ‘to come’; Oyrot (Mountain Altai) *kel-* ‘to come’; Tuva *kel-* ‘to come’; Yakut *kel-* ‘to come’; Dolgan *kel-* ‘to come’; Chuvash *kil-* ‘to come’. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2005:538 **gĕle* ‘to come, to go’.

D. Chukchi-Kamchatkan: Proto-Chukotian **ɣala-* ‘to go past’ > Chukchi *ɣala-* ‘to go past, to overtake’, *ɣala-jan* ‘way past’, *ɣala-ce(tko)cet-* ‘to compete at a race (with reindeer or dogs)’; Kerek *ha(a)la-* ‘to go past, to overtake’; Koryak *ɣala-*, *ɣala-cet-* ‘to go past, to overtake’, *ɣala-nə* ‘way past’; Alyutor *ɣala-* ‘to go past’. Fortescue 2005:82.

Buck 1949:10.47 go; 10.48 come; 10.49 go away, depart; 10.54 overtake; 10.57 enter. Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 616, **gûlE* ‘to go (away), to start (going away), to set out’.

556. Proto-Nostratic root **ɢal-* (~ **ɢəl-*):
(vb.) **ɢal-* ‘to flow’;
(n.) **ɢal-a* ‘ravine, gully, watercourse, river’

A. Proto-Afrasian **gal-* ‘river, lake’: Berber: Tuareg *ağəlmam* ‘any body of water occurring naturally (lake, basin, pool, puddle)’; Nefusa *agəlmam* ‘depression in the earth filled with water from rain; pond, lake’; Tamazight *agəlmam* ‘pond, lake, large pool’; Kabyle *agg^{w}əlmam* ‘lake, pond, pool’, *ag^{w}əlmim* ‘depression in the earth, hole filled with water’. Highland East Cushitic: Gedeo / Darasa *galaana* ‘river’ (according to Hudson 1989:124, this is a loan from Oromo). Lowland East Cushitic: Galla / Oromo *galaana* ‘sea’. Hudson 1989:124 and 241. Central Chadic **galan-H-* ‘swampy river branch’ > Mbara *goloŋay* ‘swampy river branch’. Orël—Stolbova 1995: 200, no. 884, **gal-an-* ‘river, lake’.

B. Dravidian: Tamil *kāl*, *kāl-vāy*, *vāy-kkāl* ‘irrigation channel’; Malayalam *kāl-vā(y)* ‘river mouth; irrigation channel’, *vāy-kkāl* ‘small or narrow canal’; Kannaḍa *kāl*, *kālive*, *kāluve*, *kālve*, *kāvale* ‘watercourse, channel, brook’; Tuḷu *kālivè* ‘channel for irrigation, canal’; Telugu *kālava*, *kāluva* ‘canal, channel, gutter, drain, sewer’; Gondi *kālva* ‘irrigation channel’ (Telugu loan). Burrow—Emeneau 1984:138, no. 1480; Krishnamurti

2003:13 **kāl* ‘canal’. Tamil *kāl* (*kālv-*, *kānr-*) ‘to flow (as saliva from the mouth, blood from a vein, tears from eyes), leap forth (as a waterfall)’, *kali* ‘to trickle, to flow gently’; Malayalam *kāluka* ‘to trickle, to ooze, to drain, to leak’, *kālca* ‘oozing out’, *kālikka* ‘to ooze through’; Gondi *kālum* ‘sweat’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:138, no. 1478. Tamil *kaliṅku*, *kaliñcu*, *kaluṅku* ‘sluice or water-weirs for surplus water’, *kaliṅkilu* ‘sluice-weirs’; Malayalam *kaluṅku* ‘culvert’; Telugu *kalũju* ‘sluice, flood-gate’, *kaḷiṅga* ‘sluice’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:122, no. 1309; Krishnamurti 2003:13 **kal-Vnk-* ‘covered drain, sluice’.

C. Proto-Kartvelian **ɢelo-* ‘ravine, gully, stream, river’: Georgian *ɣelo-*, *ɣele* ‘ravine, gully’, *ɣelovan-* ‘covered with ravines’; Mingrelian *ɣal(u)-* ‘stream, rivulet’; Laz *ɣal-* ‘rivulet, river’. Schmidt 1962:138; Klimov 1964:202 **ɣele-* and 1998:222—223 **ɣelo-* ‘ravine, gully’; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:387—388 **ɣel-*; Fähnrich 1994:228 and 2007:481—482 **ɣel-*.

D. (?) Indo-European: Old Irish *glaiss* ‘brook, rivulet’.

Buck 1949:1.36 river, stream, brook; 10.32 flow (vb.).

557. Proto-Nostratic root **ɢal-* (~ **ɢəl-*):
(vb.) **ɢal-* ‘to stir up, to agitate, to disturb; to be stirred up, agitated, disturbed’;
(n.) **ɢal-a* ‘agitation, disturbance, perturbation; quarrel, fight, battle’

A. Proto-Afrasian **g[a]l-* ‘to stir up, to agitate, to disturb; to be stirred up, agitated, disturbed’: Proto-Semitic (reduplicated) **gal-gal-* ‘to stir up, to mix’ > Arabic *ǧalǧala* ‘to shake, to move; to mix; to frighten, to confuse’ (also ‘to reverberate, to resound, to ring out, to rattle’). D. Cohen 1970— : 118. (?) Proto-Semitic **gal-as-* ‘to quarrel’ > Śḥeri / Jibbāli *gɔ́lɔ́s* ‘to quarrel, to nag, to be quarrelsome, to tell off’; Mehri *gəlōs* ‘to quarrel, to nag at someone, to be quarrelsome, to be disagreeable with someone’; Ḥarsūsi *gáteles* ‘to quarrel with one another’. D. Cohen 1970— :131. Akkadian *galātu* (*galādu*) ‘to twitch, to quiver, to have a premature emission, to be or become restless or nervous, to be or become frightened, to fear’, (adv.) *galtiš* ‘violently’, *galtu* ‘angry, terrifying’, *gilittu* ‘fright, terror’. D. Cohen 1970— :118—119.

B. Dravidian: [Tamil *kalaṅku* (*kalaṅki-*) ‘to be stirred up, agitated, ruffled (as water), confused, abashed’, *kalakkam*, *kalakku* ‘being agitated (as surface of water), discomposure, distress, perplexity’, *kalakku* (*kalakki-*) ‘to confuse, to nonplus’, *kalaṅkal* ‘turbidity, muddiness, muddy water, perturbation’, *kalāvu* (*kalāvi-*) ‘to be perturbed, confused, displeased, angry’, *kalāy* ‘to get angry, to quarrel’, *kalāpam* ‘disturbance, uproar, raid’, *kalām* ‘war, battle, rivalry, rage’, *kali* ‘perturbation, discomposure, uneasiness, war, dissension, strife’, *kaluṟ* ‘(vb.) to become turbid (as

water), to be disturbed in mind, to weep; (n.) weeping, muddiness', *kaluṟcci*, *kaluṟvu* 'sorrow, weeping', *kaluṟi* 'disturbed water, puddle, flood, tears, confusion', *kaliṟ* '(vb.) to weep, to be troubled (in mind); (n.) muddy water'; Malayalam *kalaṅṅuka* 'to be mixed, agitated, embarrassed, turbid (as water)', *kalaṅṅal* 'turbidity', *kalakkuka* 'to mix (tr.), to confound', *kalakkam* 'turbidity, confusion, quarrel', *kalacuka* 'to be disturbed', *kalaśal*, *kalāpam* 'confusion, quarrel', *kalakku* 'muddy water', *kalampuka* 'to get confused, to quarrel, to anoint the body with perfumes', *kalampal*, *kalampu* 'uproar, quarrel'; Kota *kalk* 'muddy (of water)', *kalg-* (*kalgy-*) 'to be mixed, confused (in relationship)', *kalk-* (*kalky-*) 'to mix'; Toda *kalx-* (*kalxy-*) 'to be stirred up (water so that it becomes muddy)', *kalk-* (*kalky-*) 'to stir up (water so that it becomes muddy)'; Kannaḍa *kalaku*, *kalaṅku* 'to agitate, to shake, to perturb, to make turbid, to stir up, to disturb', *kalakisu* 'to perturb, to stir', *kalaku* 'turbidity', *kalaḍu* 'to become turbid, muddy, unclean; to be shaken or perturbed', *kalumbu* '(vb.) to perturbate, to make turbid; (n.) turbidity, contamination, defilement', *kaluhe* 'turbidity, impurity'; Koḍagu *kalaŋg-* (*kalaŋgi-*) 'to be stirred up', *kalak-* (*kalaki-*) 'to stir up, to churn', *kalak* 'stirring up'; Tuḷu *kalaṅkṵ*, *kaḷaṅkṵ* 'turbidity, muddiness', *kalaṅkuni*, *kaḷaṅkuni* 'to be turbid', *kalaṅkāvuni* 'to render turbid', *kalambuni* 'to quarrel, to fight'; Telugu *kalāgu* 'to be in agitation, confusion, or trouble; to be turbid (as any liquid)', *kalācu* 'to stir, to agitate, to disturb, to trouble, to make turbid', *kalāka*, *kalākuva* 'confusion, trouble, turbidity', *kalāta* 'agitation, disturbance, quarrel, dissention, strife, turbidity', *kalaguṇḍu* 'confusion, disorder, commotion, tumult', *kallih-* 'to shake (bottle, etc.)'; Kui *glahpa* (*glaht-*) '(vb.) to mix by stirring, to stir, to confuse, to perplex, to confound, to cause to be confused; (n.) the act of stirring, confusing'; Kuṛux *xalaxnā* 'to disturb, to make muddy (as water)', *xalxnā* 'to be wet and muddy'; Malto *qalge* 'to disturb (as water)', *qalgro* 'disturbed or muddy'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:122, no. 1303; Krishnamurti 2003:123, fn. 5 (no. 2), **kal-ac-* 'to quarrel'. Tamil *kalavaram* 'confusion of mind, perturbation', *kalavari* 'to be confused, perturbed'; Kannaḍa *kaḷakaḷa*, *kaḷavaḷike* 'agitation of the mind, distress, confusion', *kaḷavaḷisu* 'to be agitated, to grieve, to be perplexed'; Koḍagu *kaḷavaḷa* 'confusion'; Tuḷu *kaḷavaḷa* 'anxiety, alarm, sorrow'; Telugu *kalavaramu* 'confusion, state of being puzzled or perplexed, anxiety', *kalavara-paḍu/pōvu* 'to be confused', *kaḷavaḷamu* 'anxiety, confusion, perplexity', *kaḷavaḷincu* 'to be perplexed, anxious'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:122, no. 1306. Tamil *kalipali*, *kalipili* 'uproar, disturbance, quarrel, wrangle'; Kannaḍa *galabali*, *galabili*, *galibili* 'disorder, confusion', *galabe* 'hubbub, clamor'; Tuḷu *galibili* 'disorder, tumult, anarchy', *galabu* 'noise, tumult, confusion'; Telugu *galibili*, *galaba* 'confusion, noise, disturbance'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:123, no. 1310.] Either here or with Proto-Nostratic **k'al-* (~ **k'əl-*) (vb.) 'to move, to tremble, to shake, to agitate, to

stir, to mix; (n.) agitation, trembling, perturbation, distress, confusion, uneasiness, disturbance'.

C. Proto-Kartvelian *ɢel- 'to be nervous, frightened': Old Georgian γelva- 'wave'; Georgian γel- 'to be nervous'; Mingrelian γal- 'to get frightened'. Klimov 1998:222 *ɣel- 'to be nervous, frightened'; Fähnrich 2007:481 *γel-; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:387 *γel-.

D. Yukaghir (Northern / Tundra) qaaluu- (< *qa:lə-) 'terrible, frightful; strong', qallid'e 'wolf; something terrible'. Nikolaeva 2006:375—376.

E. Proto-Altaic *ğăli- '(vb.) to hate; (adj.) wild': Proto-Tungus *galu- 'to hate' > Lamut / Even galụt- 'to hate'; Ulch ɢalụ- 'to hate'; Orok ɢalụ- 'to hate'; Nanay / Gold ɢalo- 'to hate'; Oroch galu- 'to hate'; Udihe galu- 'to hate'. Proto-Mongolian *galǯaɣu 'wild, rabid' > Mongolian γalǯaγu, γalǯiγu 'rabid, insane; possessed by a demon; frenzied, enraged; violent, tempestuous', γalǯaγura- 'to be(come) rabid, enraged; to fly into a rage; to be(come) insane', (causative) γalǯaγuraγul- 'to madden, to enrage; to cause one to loose his reason', γalǯaγural 'madness, insanity'; Khalkha galʒū 'wild, rabid'; Buriat galzū 'wild, rabid'; Kalmyk γalzū 'wild, rabid'; Ordos ɢalǰū 'wild, rabid'; Dagur galǰō 'wild, rabid'; Monguor ɢarʑ́ū̱, ɢalǰū 'wild, rabid'. Proto-Turkic *K(i)al 'wild, rough' > Old Turkic (Old Uighur) qal 'wild, rough'; Karakhanide Turkic qal 'wild, rough'; Turkmenian ɢaldav 'wild, rough'; Khakas χal 'wild, rough'; Oyrot (Mountain Altai) qal 'wild, rough'; Tuva χal-mal 'wild, rough'; Yakut χal 'wild, rough'. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:628 *ğăli 'to hate; wild'.

F. (?) Chukchi-Kamchatkan: Proto-Chukotian *ɣəlo- 'to be sad' > Chukchi ɣəlo- 'to be sad, bored', ɣəlo-lʔən 'sad', ɣəlo-n 'sorrow'; Kerek həlu-lʁan 'sad'; Alyutor (Palana) ɣloɣəl 'sorrow, boredom'. Fortescue 2005:89. Semantic development as in New High German trüb(e) 'sad', originally 'troubled, turbid' — note Trubel 'confusion, turmoil, turbulence; bustle, hubbub, hurly-burly; milling throng'.

Buck 1949:5.17 mix; 16.33 anxiety; 16.36 sad; 16.53 fear, fright.

558. Proto-Nostratic root *ɢam- (~ *ɢəm-):
(vb.) *ɢam- 'to gather together, to bring together, to put together, to join together, to come together, to do together';
(n.) *ɢam-a 'gathering, collection, crowd, multitude, throng'

A. Proto-Afrasian *gam- 'to gather together, to bring together, to put together, to join together, to come together': Proto-Semitic *gam-aʕ- 'to gather together, to bring together' > Arabic ğamaʿa 'to gather (something); to collect (for example, money); to unite, to combine, to bring together (parts into a whole); to put together, to join (things); to set, to compose (type); to compile (a book); to summarize, to sum up (something); to rally, to round up (people); to pile up, to amass, to accumulate (something); to assemble

(several persons); to add (numbers), to add up (a column); to make plural, to pluralize (a word); to convoke, to convene, to call (a meeting); to unite, to link, to bring together (several things of persons); to combine; to contain, to hold, to comprise (something)', *ǧamʿ* 'gathering; collection; combination; connection, coupling, joining; accumulation; addition; union, merger, aggregation, integration; holding together; gathering (of people), crowd, throng; gang, troop; plural (in grammar)', *ʔaǧmaʿ* 'entire, whole, all'; Sabaean *gmʿ* 'to assemble, to bring together'; Śḥeri / Jibbāli *gīʿ* 'to gather', *egũʿ* 'to collect', *gɔ́tmaʿ* 'to gather', (collective) *gīʿat* 'company, band of robbers'; Mehri *gūma* 'to gather (tr.)', *gátma*, *gátəma*, *-maʔ*, *gátmam*//*yəgtámam* 'to gather (intr.)'; Ḥarsūsi *egtōma*, *egtemáʔ*, *gátma* 'to collect, to gather'. D. Cohen 1970— :143; Zammit 2002:125. Arabic *ǧumla* (pl. *ǧumal*) 'totality, sum, whole; group, troop, body; crowd'. D. Cohen 1970— :139; Zammit 2002:126. Arabic *ǧamhara* 'to gather, to collect; to assemble', *ǧamhara* 'multitude, crowd, throng; the great mass, the populace', *taǧamhara* 'to gather, to flock together (crowd)', *ǧumhūr* 'multitude; crowd, throng; general public, public', *taǧamhur* 'gathering (of people), crowd'. D. Cohen 1970— :137. Arabic *ǧamara* 'to gather, to unite; to tie together (the back of the hair); to unite for a purpose', *ǧamār* 'crowd, people'. D. Cohen 1970— :144. Berber: Tawlemmet *əgmər* 'to hunt, to go hunting, to collect', *tagmərt* 'hunting', *ənəgmar* 'hunter, collector'; Ghadames *əǧmər* 'to pick fruit, dates', *aǧəmmər* 'ancient festival celebrating the first picking of dates'; Tamazight *gmər* 'to hunt, to steal, to steal game', *tagəmriwt* 'prey, game', *tanəgmart* 'hunting, stealing game'; Kabyle *əgmər* 'to gather, to gather cardoon', *tagmərt* 'picking, gathering'; Riff *əgmar*, *əymar* 'to hunt, to fish', *taǧəmrawt*, *tayəmrawt* 'hunting, fishing'. West Chadic: Hausa *gàmu* 'to meet', *gàmoo* 'meeting, encounter'; Montol *kwam* 'to meet together'; Angas *gwom* 'to meet together'; Bole *gom* 'to meet together'; Karekare *gam* 'to meet together'; Tangale *komb-* 'to meet together'; Bade *gam-* 'to meet together'. Orël—Stolbova 1995:213, no. 952, **gomaʕ-* 'to gather, to meet'; Ehret 1995:184, no. 280, **gim-* 'to come upon, to meet with'.

B. Dravidian: Kota *kabaḷm* 'communal work in one man's garden'; Kannaḍa *kambaḷa* 'daily hire or wages'; Koḍagu *kambaḷa* 'feast given in field at transplantation time; picnic'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:115, no. 1238.

C. Chukchi-Kamchatkan: Proto-Chukotian **ɣæmɣæ-* 'every, any' > Chukchi *ɣemɣe-* 'every, any'; Koryak *ɣemɣe-* 'every, any'; Alyutor *ɣamɣa-* 'every, any'. Fortescue 2005:407. Semantics as in Arabic *ʔaǧmaʿ* 'entire, whole, all' cited above.

Buck 1949:12.21 collect, gather' 13.19 multitude, crowd. Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 629, **g[A]mV* (and **g[A]mʕV* ?) 'altogether, full' and 613, no. 630, **g[e]mV* 'strong, firm'.

559. Proto-Nostratic root *ɢar- (~ *ɢər-):
(vb.) *ɢar- ‘to mutter, to groan, to grumble, to howl, to roar’;
(n.) *ɢar-a ‘groan, howl, murmur, roar, cry’
Reduplicated (Semitic and Kartvelian):
(vb.) *ɢar-ɢar- ‘to mutter, to groan, to grumble, to howl, to roar’;
(n.) *ɢar-ɢar-a ‘groan, howl, murmur, roar, cry’

A. Proto-Afrasian *gar- ‘to mutter, to groan, to grumble, to howl, to roar’: [Proto-Semitic (reduplicated) *gar-gar- ‘to mutter, to groan, to grumble, to howl, to roar’ > Arabic ğarğara ‘to grunt, to grumble’; Geez / Ethiopic ʔangʷargʷara [አንጕርጕረ] ‘to murmur, to mutter, to grumble, to complain, to claim, to be vexed, to be angry’; Tigrinya ʔangʷärgʷärä ‘to mutter, to mumble’; Amharic angʷäraggʷärä ‘to mutter’; Gurage angəraggärä ‘to grumble’, (a)gʷarra ‘to bellow, to howl, to roar’, gur balä ‘to thunder’, gurgur balä ‘to murmur’; Harari girgir bāya ‘to be noisy, to be unsettled (country)’, gurur bāya ‘to roar (animal), to rumble (thunder), to thunder’, gurum gurum bāya ‘to grumble, to groan’, gurgurti ‘rumor’. D. Leslau 1963:75, 1979:288, 293, and 1987:202; Cohen 1970— :175—177.] Note: The Semitic forms may belong either here or with Proto-Nostratic *gur- ‘to rumble, to roar, to growl, to gurgle’.

B. Proto-Kartvelian *ɢar-/*ɢr- ‘to cry (out), to howl’: Georgian m-γer- ‘to sing’; Mingrelian γor-, γvar- ‘to cry, to howl’; Laz mγor- ‘to cry, to howl’; Svan γar-/γr- ‘to sing’. Schmidt 1962:125; Klimov 1964:201 *γar-/*γr- and 1998:221 *ɣar-/*ɣr- ‘to cry, to sing’; Fähnrich 2007:479 *γar-/*γr-; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:385—386 *γar-/*γr-. Proto-Kartvelian (reduplicated) *ɢarɢar- ‘to cry (out), to howl’: Georgian γaγad- ‘to cry, to howl’; Mingrelian γarγal- ‘to chat’; Laz γa(r)γal- ‘to speak’. Klimov 1964:201 *γarγar- and 1998:221—222 *ɣarɣar- ‘to talk a lot’. Proto-Kartvelian *ɢr-en-/*ɢr-in- ‘to snarl (refers to dogs and other animals)’: Georgian γren-/γrin- ‘to snarl’; Mingrelian γirin-/γərin- ‘to snarl’; Laz γi(r)in- ‘to snarl’. Klimov 1964:206 *γrin- and 1998:233 *ɣr-en-/*ɣr-in- ‘to snarl (refers to dogs and other animals)’; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:397 *γren-/*γrin-; Fähnrich 2007:494 *γren-/*γrin-. Proto-Kartvelian *ɢr-ut’- ‘to grunt’: Georgian γrut’-un- ‘to grunt’; Mingrelian γvint’- ‘to grunt’; Laz γrut’-, xrut’- ‘to grunt’; Svan γurt’-, žγurt’- ‘to grunt’. Klimov 1964:207 *γruṭ- and 1998:234 *ɣru(n)ṭ- ‘to grunt’; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:399 *γruṭ-; Fähnrich 2007:496 *γruṭ-

C. Proto-Indo-European *gʰer-/*gʰor-/*gʰr̥- ‘to growl, to wail, to weep, to cry (out)’: Latin hirriō ‘to growl’; Armenian ger ‘to wail’; Gothic grētan ‘to weep, to lament’, grēts ‘weeping’; Old Icelandic gráta ‘to weep, to bewail’, grátr ‘weeping’; Faroese gráta ‘to weep’, grátur ‘weeping’; Norwegian graata ‘to weep’, graat ‘weeping’; Swedish gråta ‘to weep’, gråt ‘weeping’; Danish græde ‘to weep’, graad ‘weeping’; Old English grǣtan ‘to weep’, grǣdan ‘to cry out, to call out’; Old Saxon grātan ‘to

weep’; Middle High German *grazen* ‘to cry out, to rage, to storm’. Rix 1998a:180 (?) **g^{h}reh$_{1}$d-* ‘to weep’; Pokorny 1959:439 **gher-* onomatopoeic; Walde 1927—1932.I:605 **gher-*; Mann 1984—1987:319 **gher-*, **ghor-* ‘to cry’, 423 **ghrēdō* ‘to roar, to din, to resound, to shout’; Watkins 1985:22 **gher-* and 2000:30 **gher-* ‘to call out’; Ernout—Meillet 1979:296 Latin *hirriō* “expressive verb”; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:651—652 **ghers-*; Orël 2003:142 Proto-Germanic **ɣrētanan*; Kroonen 2013:187—188 Proto-Germanic **grētan-* ‘to wail’; Lehmann 1986:160—161 Gothic *grētan* possibly from **gher-* with *-d-* extension; Feist 1939:221; De Vries 1977:185; Falk—Torp 1903—1906.I:243; Onions 1966:413 Common Germanic **ɣrætan*; Klein 1971:322 **ghrēd-*.

D. Chukchi-Kamchatkan: Proto-Chukotian **ɣəræp-* ‘to sing’: Chukchi *ɣ(ə)rep-* ‘to sing’; Alyutor *ɣrap-* ‘to sing’. Fortescue 2005:90.

Buck 1949:18.12 sing; 18.13 shout, cry out. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:502, no. 350.

560. Proto-Nostratic root **ɢar-* (~ **ɢər-*):
(vb.) **ɢar-* ‘to crush, to grate, to grind; to melt, to dissolve’;
(n.) **ɢar-a* ‘the act of crushing, grating, grinding’; (adj.) ‘crushed, grated, ground, dissolved, melted, softened’

A. Proto-Afrasian **gar-* ‘to crush, to grate, to grind’: Proto-Semitic **gar-at̬-* ‘to crush, to grate, to grind’ > Arabic *ğaraša* ‘to crush, to grate, to grind’, *ğarīš* ‘crushed, bruised, coarsely ground; crushed grain, grits’; Hebrew *gereś* [גֶּרֶשׂ] ‘groats, grits’; Amharic *(a)g^{w}ärräsä* ‘to make coarse-ground flour’. Murtonen 1989:142; Klein 1987:110; D. Cohen 1970— :192—193. Proto-Semitic **gurn-* ‘threshing floor’ > Hebrew *gōren* [גֹּרֶן] ‘threshing floor’; Ugaritic *grn* ‘threshing floor’; Arabic *ğurn* ‘(stone) basin, mortar; threshing floor, barn’; Sabaean *grn* ‘threshing floor’; Geez / Ethiopic *g^{w}ərn* [ጉርን], *gorn* [ኰርን], *gurn* [ጕርን], *g^{w}ərnā* [ጕርና] ‘threshing floor’. Murtonen 1989:141—142; Klein 1987:109; D. Cohen 1970— :188—189. Hebrew *gāras* [גָּרַס] ‘to crush, to pound, to ground, to mill; to make grits’; Aramaic *gəras* ‘to crush, to make groats’. Murtonen 1989:142; Klein 1987:109.

B. Dravidian: Tamil *karai* (*-v-*, *-nt-*) ‘to dissolve in water, to be reduced from solid to liquid form, to wear away (as soil by the action of water), to become emaciated, to become gradually attenuated’, *karai* (*-pp-*, *-tt-*) ‘to dissolve in water (tr.), to melt, to liquefy, to extirpate’; Malayalam *karakkuka* ‘to melt, to dissolve’; Kota *karg-* (*kargy-*) ‘to dissolve, to melt (intr.)’, *kark-* (*karky-*) ‘to dissolve, to melt (tr.)’; Kannaḍa *karagu*, *karaṅgu*, *kargu* ‘to be dissolved, to melt away, to decrease in bulk, to become softened to pity or love, to pine away’, *karagisu*, *karigisu*, *kargisu* ‘to cause to be dissolved, to melt’, *karaḍu* ‘to melt’; Koḍagu *kar-* (*kari-*) ‘to be digested’, *karak-* (*karaki-*) ‘to digest, to dissolve’; Tuḷu *karaguni* ‘to

melt (intr.), to dissolve, to liquefy; to become thin, affected, softened; to melt with pity', *karavuni* 'to be dissolved, melted, digested', *karapuni* 'to digest'; Telugu *karãgu* 'to melt (tr., intr.), to dissolve, to liquefy', *karãgincu*, *karãcu* 'to melt (tr.), to dissolve, to liquefy'; Gadba *karŋ-ēr-* 'to be melted'; Konḍa *kariŋ-* 'to melt, to be dissolved'; Kuwi *karangali* 'to be dissolved, to be melted', *karŋg-* 'to melt (tr.)'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:120, no. 1292. For the semantics, cf. Old English *meltan* 'to melt, to dissolve' < Proto-Indo-European **mel-* 'to crush, to grind' (cf. Gothic *malan* 'to grind', *ga-malwjan* 'to grind up, to crush'; Latin *molō* 'to grind in a mill'; Hittite [3rd sg. pres.] *ma-al-la-i* 'to crush, to grind' [cf. Pokorny 1959:716—719]). Kuṛux *xarbnā* 'to give an extra pounding to rice for cleaning it from grains unhusked or spoiled'; Malto *qarwe* 'to clean rice by pounding', *qarwre* 'to be bruised or hurt by falling'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:120, no. 1295. Tamil *kaṟi* '(vb.) to chew, to eat by biting or nibbling; (n.) chewing, eating by biting', *kaṟumpu* (*kaṟumpi-*) 'to eat bit by bit', *kaṟuvu* (*kaṟuvi-*) 'to nibble (as a rat)'; Malayalam *kaṟumpuka* 'to eat (as cows with the lower teeth)', *kaṟampuka* 'to nibble, to gnaw'; Telugu *kaṟacu* 'to bite, to gnaw'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:129, no. 1390.

C. Proto-Kartvelian **ɢerɢ-*/**ɢɻɢ-* 'to grind (coarsely), to gnaw': Georgian *γerγ-* 'to grind (coarsely), to gnaw'; Mingrelian *γarγ-* 'to grind (grain)'; Laz [*γarγ-*] 'to grind (grain)'. Klimov 1964:202 **γerγ-* 'to grind (grain)' and 1998:223 **ɣerɣ-* : **γrɣ-* 'to grind (coarsely), to gnaw'; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:388—389 **γerγ-*; Fähnrich 2007:482—483 **γerγ-*; Jahukyan 1967:61 **γerγ-*. Proto-Kartvelian **ɢerɢ-il-* 'coarse-ground flour': Georgian *γerγil-* 'coarse-ground flour' (Old Georgian *γerγil-* 'ground grains'); Mingrelian *γarγil-* 'coarse-ground flour'; Laz *γarγil-* 'coarse-ground flour'. Klimov 1964:202 **γerγil-* and 1998:223—224 **ɣerɣ-il-* 'coarse-ground flour'. Proto-Kartvelian **ɢɻɢ-wɳ-* 'to gnaw, to nibble': Georgian *γrγn-* 'to gnaw, to nibble'; Mingrelian *γirγon-* 'to gnaw, to nibble'; Laz *γirγol-* 'to gnaw, to nibble'. Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:399 **γrγ-*; Fähnrich 2007:497 **γrγ-*; Klimov 1964:207 **γɻγ-wɳ-* and 1998:235 **ɣrɣ-wn-* 'to gnaw'.

D. Proto-Indo-European **g^{h}r-en-t'-*/**g^{h}r-on-t'-* 'to grind': Greek χόνδρος (< *χρόνδ-ρο-ς) 'grain', (in pl.) 'groats of wheat or spelt: gruel made therefrom'; Latin *frendō* 'to crush, to bruise, to grind'. Rix 1998a:182 **g^{h}rend-* 'to grind'; Pokorny 1959:459 **ghren-d-* 'to rub over sharply'; Walde 1927—1932.I:656—657 **ghren-d-*; Frisk 1970—1973.II:1110—1111; Boisacq 1950:1066 **ǧher-*: **ǧher-en-d-*, **ǧher-en-dh-*; Hofmann 1966:421 **ghrend(h)-*; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:1268—1269; Beekes 2010.II:1643 (unexplained); De Vaan 2008:241 **g^{wh}r-end(h)-e/o-* (< **g^{wh}ren-* ?); Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:545—546 **ghren-d(h)-*; Ernout—Meillet 1979:253 Lithuanian *gréndu* < **g^{w}hrēndh-*; Sihler 1995:163—164, §163a. Proto-Indo-European **g^{h}r-en-d^{h}-*/**g^{h}r-on-d^{h}-* 'to grind': Old English *grindan* 'to grind'; Lithuanian *gréndu*, *gręsti* 'to rub',

grándau, *grándyti* ‘to scrape’. Walde 1927—1932.I:656—657 **ghrendh-*; Pokorny 1959:459 **ghren-dh-* ‘to rub over sharply’; Mann 1984—1987:384 **gu̯hrendhō*, *-i̯ō* ‘to crush, to grind, to tread down, to gnash (the teeth)’ (variant **ghrendh-*); Watkins 1985:23 **ghrendh-* and 2000:32 **ghrendh-* ‘to grind’; Mallory—Adams 1997:247 **ghrendh-* ‘to grind’; Orël 2003:141 Proto-Germanic **ɣrenđanan*; Kroonen 2013:190 Proto-Germanic **grindan-* ‘to grind’; Onions 1966:414 **ghrendh-*; Klein 1971:323 **ghren-d(h)-*; Derksen 2015:186 **g*^{wh}*rend-*; Fraenkel 1962—1965.I:167; Smoczyński 2007.1:197.

E. Yukaghir (Southern / Kolyma) *keriləš-* (< **kerilə-*) ‘to bite, to chew’, *kerilə* ‘flour made of fish bones cooked with fish fat’, *keril'o:-* ‘soft, tender’, (Northern / Tundra) *kerile-* ‘crushed’, *keriles-* ‘to make crumbs of, to break into pieces’, *kerile-* ‘to break (intr.)’. Nikolaeva 2006:208 — Nikolaeva notes: “The element *-lə* may be a derivational suffix.”

Buck 1949:5.56 grind; 8.34 thresh. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:502—504, no. 351.

561. Proto-Nostratic root **ɢar-* (~ **ɢər-*):
(vb.) **ɢar-* ‘to dig, to dig up, to dig out’;
(n.) **ɢar-a* ‘that which is used to dig: spade; that which is dug (out): furrow, ditch, gutter, canal’

A. Afrasian: Semitic: Geez / Ethiopic *garha* [**ገርሀ**] ‘to plow’, *garāht* [**ገራሀት**], *garh* [**ገርህ**] ‘field, arable land, farm, estate’; Tigre *gärhat* ‘field’; Tigrinya *gərat* ‘field’. Leslau 1987:202; D. Cohen 1970— :184.

B. Dravidian: Tamil *karuvi* ‘instrument, tool’; Malayalam *kari*, *karivi*, *karuvi*, *karu* ‘tool, plow, weapon’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:119, no. 1290. Tamil *kāṟu* ‘plowshare’; Gondi *nāngel kareng* ‘plow’s point’, *kara* ‘plow’; Kuwi *karu* ‘plowshare’, *kārru* ‘plow’; Kannaḍa *kāṟu* ‘plowshare’; Telugu *kaṟṟu*, *kāṟu* ‘plowshare’. Krishnamurti 2003:9 **kāṯ-* ‘plowshare’; Burrow—Emeneau 1984:139, no. 1505. Gondi *kār-* (also *kāṛ-*, *kāt-*, *kāc-*) ‘to dig’; Koṇḍa *kār-* ‘to dig, to make a pit, to dig out (weeds, etc.)’; Pengo *kār-* ‘to dig’; Manḍa *kār-* ‘to dig’; Kui *kārpa* (*kārt-*) ‘(vb.) to dig up; (n.) the act of digging up’; Kuwi *kār-*, *kārhali*, *karh'nai* ‘to dig’, *kārh'nai* ‘to sculpt, to spade’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:137, no. 1467. Koṇḍa *kaṟna* ‘canal’; Kuwi *karna* ‘irrigation channel’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:130, no. 1398.

C. Proto-Kartvelian **ɢare-* ‘gutter, furrow’: Georgian *ɣar-* ‘gutter, furrow’; Mingrelian *ɣore-* ‘gutter of mill; wooden dam’. Klimov 1998:221 **ɣare-* ‘gutter, furrow’; Fähnrich 2007:478 **ɣar-*; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:385 **ɣar-*. Fähnrich—Sardshweladse also include Svan *ɣär* ‘ravine, valley; wooden open duct for mountain spring-water’, but Klimov rejects this comparison.

D. Yukaghir (Southern / Kolyma) *qartəd'a:-* ‘to dig (intr.)’, *qartə-* ‘to shovel up, to sweep off’. Nikolaeva 2006:380.

Buck 1949:8.21 plow; 8.212 furrow; 8.22 dig.

562. Proto-Nostratic (n.) *ɢar^{y}-a ‘stick, staff, rod, pole, stalk, stem’:

A. Dravidian: Tamil *kaṛai* ‘pole used for propelling boats, elephant-goad, stem of sugarcane, shaft of a bamboo, bamboo bottle, spiny bamboo’, *kaṛi* ‘rod, staff, stick, handle of tool, peg to keep a yoke in place, lath’, *kaṛāy* ‘acrobat’s pole, spiny bamboo’, *kaṛāyar* ‘pole dancers, tumblers’, *kāṛ* ‘post, pillar, oar, iron rod, elephant goad, bolt, handle, rafter, firewood’; Malayalam *kaṛa* ‘bamboo, pole for carrying burdens’, *kaṛi* ‘staff of hoe, pin of yoke’; Kannaḍa *gaṛ*, *gaṛa*, *gaṛu*, *gaṛuvu*, *gaṛe*, *gaḍe*, *gaḍi* ‘bamboo rod or stake, bamboo, pole, staff, bamboo pole on which Kollaṭigas or Dombas tumble, churning stick’; Tuḷu *kari* ‘bar with which a door is fastened, pole fastened to a load by which it is carried on the shoulders’, *karè*, *garè* ‘the pole to which a bucket is attached in a country water-lift’, *garu*, *karu*, *gaḷu* ‘rafter’; Telugu *gaḍa* ‘pole, staff, rod, stick, stalk, mast’; Parji *kaṛcid* ‘wood for fuel’, *kaṛpa* ‘thin stick, twig, bean stick’; Gadba (Ollari) *kaṛsid* ‘wood for fuel’, *kaṛmeṭ* ‘stick’; Konḍa *gaṛa* ‘pole, long stick’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:127, no. 1370.

B. Proto-Kartvelian *ɢer- ‘stem, stalk’: Georgian *ɣer-* ‘stem’; Svan *ɣēr* ‘stem’. Klimov 1998:223 *ɣer- ‘stem, stalk’; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:388 *ɣer-*; Fähnrich 2007:482 *ɣer-.

C. Proto-Indo-European *g^{h}rend^{h}o-s ‘bar, pole, shaft’: Old Icelandic *grind* ‘a gate made of spars or bars, a fence; pen, fold; haven, dock; store houses’, *grind-hlið* ‘barred gate’; Swedish *grind* ‘lattice gate’; Old English *grindel* ‘bar, bolt; (pl.) grating, hurdle’; Old Saxon *grindil*, *grendil* ‘bolt, fence, hurdle’; Middle Dutch *grendel*, *grindel* ‘supporting post, bolt’; Old High German *grintil* ‘bolt, pole, post’; Lithuanian *grindìs* ‘floorboard’; Old Church Slavic *grędа* ‘beam’; Russian *grjadá* [гряда] ‘layer, stratum (of sand); bed (of flowers), border, platband (of vegetables)’; Serbo-Croatian *gréda* ‘beam’; Polish *grzęda* ‘garden, (plant) bed; roost, perch’. Pokorny 1959:459—460 *ghrendh- ‘beam’; Walde 1927—1932.I:657 *ghrendh-*; Mann 1984—1987:337 *ghrendhos*, *-is* ‘bar, pole, shaft’; Orël 2003:141 Proto-Germanic *ǥrenđiz*; Kroonen 2013:190 Proto-Germanic *grindi- ‘fence’; De Vries 1977:189; Fraenkel 1962—1965.I:170—171; Derksen 2008:187—188 *g^{h}rnd^{h}- and 2015:189 *g^{h}rnd^{h}-.

563. Proto-Nostratic (n.) *ɢar^{y}-a ‘wildfowl, wild goose’:
Reduplicated:
(n.) *ɢar^{y}-ɢar^{y}-a ‘wildfowl, wild goose’

A. (?) Afrasian: Egyptian (pl.) *gry* (*grgy*) ‘a kind of bird’, (New Egyptian) *grpt* (*gry-n-pt*) ‘pigeon, dove’; Coptic *čre* [ϭⲣϵ] ‘birds’. Hannig 1995:902

and 903; Erman—Grapow 1926—1963.5:181; Vycichl 1983:346; Černý 1976:335.

B. Proto-Kartvelian **ɑarɢad-* ‘(wild) goose’: Georgian *γerγed-* ‘goose’ (Old Georgian *γerγed-*, *γrγed-*, *γerγeṭ-*); Mingrelian *γorγonǯ-* ‘goose’; Laz *γorγoǯ-* ‘goose’; Svan *γarγād* ‘goose’ (Lower Bal *γarγad*). Schmidt 1962:139; Klimov 1964:201 **γarγad-* and 1998:221 **ɣarɣad-* ‘goose’; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:400 **γrγad-*; Fähnrich 2007:497—498 **γrγad-*.

C. Proto-Altaic **gārʸV* ‘wild goose’: Proto-Tungus **gār(u)a* ‘owl, swan’ > Evenki *gāre* ‘owl, swan’; Lamut / Even *gār* ‘a big mythical bird’; Negidal *gaja* ‘owl’; Manchu *ɢaru* ‘swan’; Jurchen *gawr-un* ‘swan’; Ulch *ɢoara(n)* ‘owl’; Udihe *gā* ‘owl’; Oroch *garua* ‘owl’. Proto-Turkic **Karʸ-* ‘goose’ > Old Turkic (Old Uighur) *qaz* ‘goose’; Karakhanide Turkic *qaz* ‘goose’; Turkish *kaz* ‘goose’; Gagauz *qāz* ‘goose’; Azerbaijani *ɢaz* ‘goose’; Turkmenian *ɢāz* ‘goose’; Uighur *γaz* ‘goose’; Tatar *qaz* ‘goose’; Bashkir *qaδ* ‘goose’; Kirghiz *qaz* ‘goose’; Kazakh *qaz* ‘goose’; Kumyk *qaz* ‘goose’; Noghay *qaz* ‘goose’; Oyrot (Mountain Altai) *qas* ‘goose’; Tuva *qas* ‘goose’; Chuvash *xor* ‘goose’; Yakut *xās* ‘goose’; Dolgan *kās* ‘goose’. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:532 **gāŕV* ‘wild goose’.

D. (?) Proto-Chukchi-Kamchatkan **ɣalɣa* (if for **ɣaʁɣa*) ‘duck’: Chukchi *ɣatle* ‘duck, bird’, but *ɣalɣa-* in *ɣalɣa-mkən* ‘flock of ducks’; Kerek *halli* (stem *halɣa-*) ‘duck, bird’; Alyutor *ɣalli* (*ɣalɣa-*), (Palana) *ɣaləɣ* ‘duck’, *tənup-ɣalli* ‘polar owl’, (Karaga) *kukylli* ‘duck’; Koryak *ɣalle* ‘duck or other aquatic bird’, *ɣalɣa-mkən* ‘flock of ducks’, *tənop-ɣalle* ‘polar owl’; Kamchadal / Itelmen (Western) *galgagalx* ‘duck. Fortescue 2005:82.

Buck 1949:3.56 goose; 3.57 duck.

564. Proto-Nostratic root **ɢatʼʸ-* (~ **ɢətʼʸ-*):
(vb.) **ɢatʼʸ-* ‘to bite’;
(n.) **ɢatʼʸ-a* ‘bite’; (adj.) ‘biting, sharp, bitter’
Derivative:
(n.) **ɢatʼʸ-a* ‘jaw, chin’

A. Proto-Afrasian **gatʼʸ-* ‘to bite’: Semitic: Akkadian *gaṣāṣu* ‘to gnash the teeth, to bare the teeth, to rage’. Though the phonetics are problematic, the following may ultimately belong here as well: Tigre *gäḥaṭa* ‘to nibble’; Tigrinya *gahaṣä* ‘to nibble’, *gäḥaṭä* ‘to eat a lot, to carry away’; Gurage *gaṭä* ‘to nibble, to gnaw, *to pluck out grass’; Amharic *gaṭä* ‘to nibble’; Gafat *gaṣä* ‘to nibble’; Argobba *gähaṭä* ‘to nibble’; Harari *gēḥaṭa* ‘to nibble the meat from the bone or the flesh of the fruit from the stone’. Leslau 1963:70 and 1979:301. We may reconstruct a Proto-Ethiopian Semitic **gaħ-aṣ-* ‘to nibble’ (< ? Proto-Semitic **gatʼʸ-aħ-* through metathesis). Note also Aramaic *gūṣ* ‘to gnaw (of mice)’, with *w* infix.

B. Dravidian: Tamil *kaccu* (*kacci-*) ‘to bite, to gnaw, to nibble (nursery)’; Toda *koc-* (*koč-*) ‘to bite’; Kannaḍa *kaccu*, *karcu* ‘to bite, to sting, to smart, to ache (as stomach)’, *kaccike* ‘biting’; Tuḷu *kaccuni* ‘to bite’; Kolami *kacc-* ‘to bite’; Parji *kacc-* ‘to bite, to sting’; Gadba (Ollari) *kas-* ‘to bite’, (Salur) *kacc-* ‘to sting’; Gondi *kask-* ‘to bite’, *kaccānā* ‘to gnash the teeth’, *kac-*, *kas-* ‘to bite’; Kui *kasa* (*kasi-*) ‘to bite, to sting’; Kuwi *kacc-* ‘to bite’; Malto *qaswe* ‘to eat greedily, to nip off with the teeth’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:103, no. 1097. Tamil *kaya* ‘to be bitter; to abhor, to loathe, to detest’, *kai* ‘to be bitter, astringent, unpleasant; to dislike, to be angry with, to hate’, *kayappu*, *kacappu*, *kaccal* ‘bitterness’, *kaippu* ‘bitterness, dislike, aversion’, *kayar*, *kacar* ‘astringency, astringent matter’, *kaca* ‘to taste bitter; to be embittered, disgusted’, *kacaṭṭai* ‘astringency (as of an unripe fruit’; Malayalam *kaikka*, *kaśakka* ‘to be bitter; to be disliked’, *kaippu* ‘bitterness, grudge, disrelish, disagreeable, sourish’, *kappu* ‘bitterness, grudge, disrelish, disagreeable, sourish; bile’, *kaśakaśa* imitative sound of sour astringent tastes’; Kota *kac-* (*kac-*) ‘to be bitter’, *kac va·y* ‘mouth when it has a bitter taste from beer, etc.’; Kannaḍa *kay*, *kaṃyi*, *kayi*, *kayyi*, *kaypu*, *kaype* ‘bitterness’, *kasar* ‘to scratch the throat, to be astringent’, *kasa*, *kasaku*, *kasaru*, *kasi*, *kasu*, *kasuru* ‘astringency, unripeness’, *kayku* ‘to be bitter’, *kaykaṭe*, *kayke* ‘bitter’; Toda *koy-* (*koc-*) ‘to be bitter’; Koḍagu *kay-* (*kayp-*, *kayc-*) ‘to be bitter’, *kaype* ‘gall-bladder’; Tuḷu *kaipè*, *kayipe*, *kaipelu̯* ‘(n.) bitterness; (adj.) bitter, envious’, *kasa* ‘brackish’, *kaskāyi* ‘half-ripe’; Koraga *käy*, *kayye* ‘bitter’; Telugu *kasu* ‘raw, unripe’, *kasuru* ‘unripe fruit’; Naiki (of Chanda) *kayek* ‘unripe’; Parji *kēp-* (*kēt-*) ‘to be sour or bitter’, *kay-gaṭṭa* ‘bile’; Gondi *kay-*, *kaiyānā* ‘to be bitter’, *kaitāl* ‘bitter’, *kaiṭṭānā*, *kaittānā* ‘to taste bitter (as quinine)’, *keyke*’ bitter’, *kayle* ‘bitter’, *kaymul* ‘bitter’, *kaitā*, *kahita*, *kelā* ‘bitter’, *kayār* ‘raw, unripe’; Gadba (Salur) *kēmbur*, *keymbur* ‘bitter’; Pengo *ke-* ‘to be bitter’; Manḍa *kembel* ‘bitter’; Kui *kappeli* ‘bitter’, *kasi* ‘a young, undeveloped pumpkin’; Kuwi *kassa* ‘sour’, *kombelli* ‘bitter’; Malto *qase* ‘to become bitterish, insipid, or vapid’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:116, no. 1249; Krishnamurti 2003:119 and 154 **kac-* (> **kay-*) ‘(vb.) to be bitter; (n.) bitterness’.

C. Proto-Kartvelian **ɢeč’k’-* ‘to chew’: Georgian *γeč’-* ‘to chew’; Mingrelian *γač’-* ‘to chew, to cut’; Laz *γvanč’-* ‘to chew’; (?) Svan *γarč’-* ‘to chew’. As noted by Klimov (1998:224), the cluster *-č’k’-*, expected in Mingrelian and Laz, is simplified to *-č’-* after initial *γ-*. The Laz cognate underwent additional changes. The Svan cognate appears to be a Mingrelian loan. Klimov 1964:202—203 **γeč̣-* and 1998:224 **ɣeč̣-* ‘to chew’; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:389 **γeč̣-*; Fähnrich 2007:483—484 **γeč̣-*. Proto-Kartvelian **ɢeč’k’-wn̯-* ‘to gnaw’: Georgian *γeč’n-* ‘to gnaw’; Mingrelian *xič’on-*, *xič’or-* (*x-* < **γ-*) ‘to gnaw’. Klimov 1964:204 **γič̣wn̯-* and 1998:230 **ɣič̣-wn-* ‘to gnaw’.

D. Uralic: Proto-Finno-Permian **katʸkɜ* ‘bitter, sour, rotten’ > Cheremis / Mari (Birsk) *kaske* ‘foul, stale, rotten, sour and moldy (of drinks)’, *kaška-*

‘to be moldy, stale; to spoil; to become sour’; Votyak / Udmurt (Sarapul) *kuʒ́al* ‘bitter’. Rédei 1986—1988:640—641 **kaćkɜ*.

E. Proto-Eskimo **qacali-* ‘to sting, to smart’: Alutiiq Alaskan Yupik *qatɬ-* ‘to sting, to smart (of body part)’; Central Alaskan Yupik *qacəɬi-*, *qatɬi-* to sting, to whine’; Seward Peninsula Inuit *qazili-* ‘to sting, to smart’; North Alaskan Inuit *qasilʸi-* ‘to beg, to entreat, to supplicate, to smart’; Western Canadian Inuit (Siglit) *qasilinaq-* ‘to be bitter’; Eastern Canadian Inuit *qasili-* ‘to have a prickling sensation in the limbs’; Greenlandic *qasilit-* ‘to be bitter, to be sharp tasting, to sting (of wound)’. Fortescue—Jacobson—Kaplan 1994:273. Assuming semantic development as in Kannaḍa *kaccu*, *karcu* ‘to bite, to sting, to smart, to ache (as stomach)’.

Buck 1949:4.58 bite (vb.); 15.37 bitter. Bomhard 1996a:228, no. 644.

565. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **ɢatʼʸ-a* ‘jaw, chin’:
Derivative of:
(vb.) **ɢatʼʸ-* ‘to bite’;
(n.) **ɢatʼʸ-a* ‘bite’; (adj.) ‘biting, sharp, bitter’

A. Proto-Afrasian **ɢatʼʸ-* ‘jaw, chin’: Berber **gacʼ-* ‘cheek’ > Ahaggar *aγaẓ* ‘cheek’. Proto-East Cushitic **gadˀ-* ‘chin, jaw’ > Sidamo *gaccʼo* ‘chin, jaw’; Burji *gac-óo* ‘molar, jaw’; Somali *gaḍ* ‘chin’. Sasse 1982:75 **gadˀ-* ‘jaw’; Hudson 1989:85. Omotic **gatʼ-* ‘chin’ > Mocha *gatʼ-ano* ‘chin’. Orël—Stolbova 1995:196, no. 866, **gaĉ-* ‘cheek, chin’.

B. Proto-Kartvelian **ɢačʼkʼ-* ‘jaw’: Georgian *γančʼ-* ‘jaw’; Svan *γčʼkʼ-* ‘(n.) jaw; (vb.) to chatter’, *mə-γčʼkʼ-e* ‘chatter-box’. Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:386 **γaç̌-*; Fähnrich 2007:480 **γaç̌-*; Klimov 1998:222 **ɣaç̌-* ‘jaw’.

Buck 1949:4.207 jaw; 4.208 cheek; 4.209 chin.

566. Proto-Nostratic root **ɢer-*:
(vb.) **ɢer-* ‘to stretch out the hand, to raise one’s hand’;
(n.) **ɢer-a* ‘the act of stretching out or raising one’s hand’

A. Proto-Kartvelian **ɢer-*/**ɢir-* ‘to stretch out; to raise one’s hand’: Georgian *γer-* : *γir-* ‘to stretch out; to raise one’s hand against somebody’; Laz *γir-* ‘to stretch out; to raise one’s hand’. Klimov 1998:223 **ɣer-* : **ɣir-* ‘to stretch; to raise one’s hand’; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:388 **γer-*/**γir-*; Fähnrich 2007:482 **γer-*/**γir-*.

B. Chukchi-Kamchatkan: Proto-Chukotian **ɣər-* ‘to throw a lasso at reindeer’ > Chukchi *ɣər-* ‘to throw a lasso at, to catch (reindeer) with a lasso’; Alyutor *ɣər-* ‘to catch with a lasso’. Fortescue 2005:90.

567. Proto-Nostratic root (Eurasiatic only) **ɢil-* (~ **ɢel-*):

(vb.) *ɢil- ‘to shine, to glisten’;
(n.) *ɢil-a ‘brilliance, shine’; (adj.) ‘shining, glistening, gleaming, brilliant’

A. Proto-Indo-European *g^{h}el-/*g^{h}l̥- (secondary *o*-grade form: *g^{h}ol-) ‘to shine, to glisten’: Sanskrit *hári-ḥ* ‘tawny, yellow’, *híraṇya-ḥ* ‘gold’; Avestan *zaranya-* ‘gold’; Greek χλωρός ‘greenish-yellow’; Latin *helvus* ‘light bay’; Old Irish *glé* ‘clear’, *glass* ‘blue, green’; Gothic *gulþ* ‘gold’, *glitmunjan* ‘to shine, to glitter’; Old Icelandic *glóa* ‘to shine, to glitter’, *glóð* ‘red-hot embers’, *glaðr* ‘glad, cheerful’, *gljá* ‘to glisten, to shine’, *glý* ‘joy, glee’, *gull* ‘gold’, *glit* ‘glitter’, *glotta* ‘to grin’, *glæa* ‘to glow, to glisten’, *gulr* ‘yellow’; Old English *glōwan* ‘to glow’, *gold* ‘gold’, *glæd* ‘bright, shining, brilliant, cheerful’, *glǣm* ‘brilliant light’, *geolo* ‘yellow’, *glīw* ‘mirth, jest, glee’, *glisian* ‘to glitter’, *glōm* ‘twilight’; Old Frisian *gled* ‘glow’; Old Saxon *glōian* ‘to glow’, *gelo*, *geln* ‘yellow’, *glad-* in *gladmōd* ‘glad’, *glīmo* ‘brightness’, *gold* ‘gold’; Dutch *geel* ‘yellow’, *gloeien* ‘to glow’, *glad* ‘slippery’; Old High German *gluoen* ‘to glow’ (New High German *glühen*), *glenzen* ‘to shine’ (New High German *glänzen*), *glanz* ‘bright’ (New High German *Glanz* ‘brightness, brilliance, radiance, luster, gleam, shine, gloss’), *gelo* ‘yellow’ (New High German *gelb*), *glat*, *clat* ‘shiny, smooth, slippery’ (New High German *glatt* ‘smooth, slippery’); Lithuanian *žãlas* ‘red’, *žãlias* ‘green’, *žìlas* ‘gray’, *žlėjà* ‘twilight’; Old Church Slavic *zelenъ* ‘green’, *zlato* ‘gold’. Rix 1998a:178—179 *g^{h}lend^{h}- ‘to look at, to gaze at; to shine’; Pokorny 1959:429—434 *ĝhel- (and *ghel- ?) ‘to shine; yellow, green, gray, blue’; Walde 1927—1932.I:624—627 *ĝhel-; Mann 1984—1987:317—318 *ghel- ‘yellow, green, fallow’, 318 *gheleu̯os, *ghelu̯os ‘yellowish green’, 318 *gheltos ‘yellow’, 322 *ghladh- ‘smooth, bright, glad’, 322 *ghlādh- (*ghlādhro-) ‘smooth, bright, luster; white-flowering tree’, 322 *ghlagh- ‘smooth, bright; white-flowering tree’, 322 *ghlastos, -om ‘brilliant, brilliance’, 322 *ghlaiu̯os ‘bright’, 322—323 *ghlauros (*ghlāu̯r-) ‘bright’, 323 *ghlau̯os, *ghlauu̯os ‘bright; brilliance’, 323 *ghleist- ‘bright; brilliance, shine’, 323 *ghlēi̯os ‘bright, shine’, 324 *ghlidos, -ā, -om ‘bright; brilliance’, 324 *ghlīi̯ō ‘to be warm’, 324 *ghlōdhos, -i̯ə, -ā, -us ‘smooth, bright; smoothness, brilliance’, 324 *ghlou̯aros (*ghlour-, *ghlou̯o-, *ghlōu̯-) ‘yellow, gold’, 325 *ghlūri̯ō ‘to loom, to shine, to look’, 325 *ghlūs- ‘bright; brilliance’, 325 *ghlustis ‘brightness, shine, purity’, 325—326 *ghl̥t-, 326 *ghl̥u̯os, -ā, -us ‘yellow’, 413 *ĝhel- (*ĝhelos, -es-; *ĝhelis) ‘green; greenery, vegetable; gold, golden’, 413 *ĝhelen-, 413 *ĝheli̯ō ‘to be green, to sprout’, 413—414 *ĝhelk- (*ĝholk-), 414 *ĝhelmen- (*ĝhelimen-) ‘yellowness; greenery’, 414 *ĝhelu̯os (*ĝheleu̯os, *ĝhelsu̯os), 414 *ĝheltos (*ĝholt-, *ĝhl̥t-) ‘yellow, gold’, 420 *ĝhl̥k- (?) ‘a colored substance’, 420 *ĝhl̥u̯os, *ĝhl̥us, 422 *ĝhol- (*ĝholos, -es-) ‘green; greenery, green stuff’, 422 *ĝholtos, -i̯os, -i̯ə (*ĝhl̥t-) ‘yellow, green’; Watkins 1985:21 *ghel- and 2000:29 *ghel- ‘to shine’; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.II:714 *ĝ[^{h}]el- and 1995.I:618 *ĝ^{h}el-

'yellow'; Mallory—Adams 1997:529 **ghleh$_x$dh-* 'smooth' < 'shiny', **ghel-* 'to shine' and 654 **ĝhel-* ~ **ghel-* 'yellow'; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.III:581 and III:598—599; Beekes 2010.II:1638—1639 **ǵ^{h}elh$_3$-*; Boisacq 1950:1063—1064 **ĝhlō-*, **ĝhlē-*, **ĝhlə-*; **ĝhelē-*, **ĝhel(e)-*; Hofmann 1966:420 **ghel-*; Frisk 1970—1973.II:1104—1106 **ĝhel-*; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:1263—1264 **ghel-* and II:1264—1265 **ghel-*; Ernout—Meillet 1979:291 **ghelswo-*; De Vaan 2008:282; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:639 **ĝhelu̯os*, **ghelsu̯os*; Orël 2003:131—132 Proto-Germanic **ɣelwaz*, 137 **ɣlōanan*, 137 **ɣlōđiz*, 137 **ɣlōđjanan*, 137 **ɣlōōjanan*, 137 **ɣlōraz*, 137 **ɣlōrōjanan*, 145—146 **ɣulþan*, 146 **ɣulþīnaz*, 146 **ɣulþanan*; Kroonen 2013:174 Proto-Germanic **gelwa-*, **gulu-* 'yellow', 182 **glōan-* 'to glow', and 182 **glōdi-* 'glow'; Feist 1939:216—217 **ghleu̯d-* and 224—225 **ĝhel-*; Lehmann 1986:157 **ĝhley-* and 162—163 **ĝhel-*; De Vries 1977:173, 174, 175, 194, and 196; Onions 1966:399, 400, 402 **ghlō-*, **ghlē-*, 405 **ghel-*, and 1019 **ghelwo-*; Klein 1971:313, 314, 315 **ghlōu-*, 317 **ĝhel-*, **ghel-*, and 837 **ĝhel-*, **ghel-*, **ghlē-*, **ghlō-*; Boutkan—Siebinga 2005:140; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:244 **ghel-*, 259, 260, and 263 **ghlōu-*; Kluge—Seebold 1989:254 **ǵhel-*, 268, and 270—271; Derksen 2008:541, 547, and 2015:511—512 **ǵ^{h}elh$_3$-i-*; Smoczyński 2007.1:771, 1:772—773, 1:784—785, and 1:789; Fraenkel 1962—1965.II:1286, II:1287, II:1308, and II:1317. In Indo-European, some of the reflexes of this stem fell together with those of Proto-Nostratic **gal-* (~ **gəl-*) 'to be or become visible, clear, obvious, evident; to regard, to look at, to peer at'.

B. Uralic: Finnish *kiiltää* 'to shine, to glisten, to glimmer, to gleam', *kiilto* 'luster, gloss, polish', *kiilua* 'glimmer, glow, glint', *kiiltävä* 'glossy, bright'; Estonian *kiilas* 'glossy, glazed'.

C. Proto-Altaic **gile-* (~ *-i*, *-o*) 'to shine, to glitter': Proto-Tungus **gil-ta-* '(vb.) to shine; (adj.) white' > Manchu *gilmarǯa-* 'to shine, to glow, to flash' (< Mongolian *gilbalǯa-* 'to flash, to shine, to beam, to glitter'), *giltarila-* 'to shine, to glitter', *giltari* 'shining, glittering', *gilmahün* 'shining, glittering', *giltahün* 'glittering, shining, clean', *giltarša-* 'to shine brightly, to gleam'; Evenki *gilta-li* 'white'; Lamut / Even *gi̯ltāl-* 'to shine'; Ulch *gilte-* 'to shine'; Nanay / Gold *gilte-* 'to shine'; Solon *giltarĩ* 'white'. Proto-Mongolian **gil(b)a-* 'to glitter, to shine' > Mongolian *gilai-*, *gilui-* 'to shine, to be(come) shiny, to glitter', *gilaγan*, *giluγan* 'bright, shiny', *gilaγar* 'bright, shiny', *gilalǯa-* 'to twinkle, to sparkle; to scintillate, to glitter, to gleam, to shine; to be glossy or shiny; to be dazzled; to be radiant, beaming', *gilaski-* 'to flash, to sparkle, to shine', *gilba-* 'to flash, to beam, to glitter', *gilbadaγ* 'dazzling, blinding', *gilbaγ-a* 'radiance, refulgence, sheen, reflection, glare; summer lightning', *gilbai-* 'to glitter, to glimmer, to dazzle', *gilbalǯa-* 'to flash, to shine, to beam, to glitter', *gilbegen* 'light, flash', *gilbel-* 'to shine, to emit light, to sparkle', *gilbelgen* 'brightness, glare, glow, flash of lightning', *gilbelǯe-* 'to shine, to glitter, to

glare; to flash (in the distance)', *gilbigine-* 'to shine, to sparkle, to emit light; to dazzle', *gilgemel* 'clear, luminous, limpid, transparent', *giltaɣan-a* 'brilliance, shine', (adv.) *gilab* 'with a flash, glare, or sparkle', *giltaɣana-* 'to glitter, to shine, to beam', *giltagir* 'brilliant, shining', *gilte* 'splendor, luster, shine, glare, brilliance', *giluŋ* 'shiny, smooth; bald; barkless; dry (of trees)', *gilügelže-* 'to shine, to glare, to glisten', *gilügen* 'shimmering, bright'; Ordos *gilba-* 'to glitter'; Khalkha *ǵala-*, *ǵalba-* 'to shine, to glitter', *gilbegne-* 'to shine, to glitter'; Buriat *yalay-* 'to shine, to glitter'; Kalmyk *gilēn*, *giləg*, *gilgṛ* 'light; glittering', *gilī-*, *gilwə-* 'to glitter'; Dagur *gialbagalǯi-*, *gialbegelǯi-* 'to glitter, to shine'. Poppe 1955:149. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:544—545 **gile* (~ *-i*, *-o*) 'to shine, to glitter'.

D. (?) Chukchi-Kamchatkan: Proto-Chukotian **ɣili-* 'to look for' > Chukchi *ɣici-* 'to look for' (as a suffix *-ɣili-* 'to look for, to hunt for'); Koryak *ɣili-* 'to look for'; Alyutor (only in compounds) *-ɣili-* 'to look, to hunt for'. Fortescue 2005:84.

Buck 1949:11.31 seek; 15.52 look (vb.), look at; 15.56 shine; 15.68 green; 15.69 yellow. Koskinen 1980:28, no. 85; Illič-Svityč 1971—1984.I:229—230, no. 84, **gi/l/ḥu* 'smooth and shiny'; Hakola 2000:68—69, no. 272; Bomhard—Kerns 1994:390—392, no. 228; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 624, **gil̄[h]o* 'to shine, to glitter, to sparkle'.

568. Proto-Nostratic root **ɢit'-* (~ **ɢet'-*):
(vb.) **ɢit'-* 'to tickle';
(n.) **ɢit'-a* 'armpit'

A. Dravidian: Tuḷu *kidụkilụ*, *kid(ụ)kelụ*, *kidkụlụ* 'armpit, tickling', *k. āpini* 'to be tickled', *k. māḍuni* 'to tickle'; Manḍa *kiti ki-* 'to tickle'; Kui *kitki lombeṛi*, *kīti kola* 'armpit', *kīti* 'tickling', *kīti āva* 'to be tickled', *kīti giva* 'to tickle', *kitkoroḍi* 'armpit'; Kuwi *gidori kīali* 'to tickle', *gidori kīnai* 'to titillate'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:143, no. 1551(a).

B. Proto-Kartvelian **ɢit'in-* 'to tickle': Georgian *γit'in-* 'to tickle'; Mingrelian *xicin-* 'to tickle'; Laz *xit'in-* 'to tickle'. Klimov 1964:204 **γiṭin-* and 1998:229—230 **ɣiṭin-* 'to tickle'.

Bomhard 1996a:228, no. 645.

569. Proto-Nostratic root **ɢub-* (~ **ɢob-*):
(vb.) **ɢub-* 'to bend, to twist';
(n.) **ɢub-a* 'that which is twisted, bent, curved: hunch, wattle'

A. Proto-Afrasian **gub-* 'to bend, to twist': Proto-Semitic **gab-ab-* 'to bend, to twist; to be bent' > Post-biblical Hebrew *gaβ* [גַּב] 'back, hunch'; Syriac *gəβīβā* 'hunch-backed'; Mandaic *gab* 'to bend, to curve'; Geez / Ethiopic

gabbaba [ገበበ] ‘to be bent’; Tigrinya (reduplicated) *gʷägʷäbä* (< **gʷab-gʷab-*) ‘to be crooked, twisted’; Tigre *gäbb bela* ‘to incline’; Amharic *gʷäbbäbä*, *gʷäbäbb alä* ‘to be bent’. D. Cohen 1970— :94—95; Murtonen 1989:125; Klein 1987:88; Leslau 1987:177. Proto-Semitic **gab-as-* ‘crook-backed’ > Tigre *gäbs* ‘crook-backed’. D. Cohen 1979— :97. Proto-Semitic **gab-an-*‘to be crooked, bent’ > Hebrew *gibbēn* [גִּבֵּן] ‘crook-backed, hump-backed’; Gurage (Muher) *gʷəbən*, (Chaha, Eža, Ennemor) *gʷəbər* ‘hunchbacked’. D. Cohen 1970— :96; Leslau 1979:257 and 258. Egyptian *gb* ‘to bend, to stoop’. Erman—Grapow 1926—1963.5:162. Saho-Afar **gub-* ‘to be bent’ > Afar *guub-* ‘to be bent’. Central Chadic **gwaɓ-* ‘to bend’ > Gisiga *goɓ-* ‘to bend’; Mofu *gəɓ-* ‘to bend’. East Chadic **gwab-* ‘to bend’ > Kera *gobe* ‘to bend’. Orël—Stolbova 1995:212, no. 938, **gob-* ‘to bend’.

B. Proto-Kartvelian **ɢob-* ‘to braid, to plait’: Georgian *γob-* ‘to fence in, to enclose, to block, to obstruct’; Mingrelian *γob-* ‘to braid, to plait, to fence in, to enclose’; Laz *γob-* ‘to braid, to plait’. Klimov 1964:205 **γob-* and 1998:225 **ɣweb-* ‘to weave; wattle’; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:393 **γob-*; Fähnrich 2007:490 **γob-*. Proto-Kartvelian **ɢob-e-* ‘wattle-fence’: Georgian *γobe-* ‘wattle-fence’; Laz *γobe(r)-* ‘wattle-fence’; Mingrelian *γober-* ‘wattle-fence’; Svan *γweb* ‘bee-hive’. Klimov 1964:205 **γobe-* and 1998:231 **ɣob-e-* ‘wattle-fence’.

C. Proto-Eskimo **quvə-* ‘to stoop (for example, in humiliation)’: Naukan Siberian Yupik *quvə-* ‘to be angry’; Central Siberian Yupik *quuvə-* ‘to decrease in size; to feel sad, insecure, or insignificant’; Sirenik *quv(ə)-* ‘to be sad, to loose heart’; North Alaskan Inuit *qufsuk-* ‘to kneel’. Fortescue—Jacobson—Kaplan 1994:321.

Buck 1949:9.14 bend (vb. tr.); 9.75 plait (vb.); 12.74 crooked. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:504, no. 352.

22.28. PROTO-NOSTRATIC *qʰ

				Eurasiatic			
Proto-Nostratic	Proto-Afrasian	Proto-Dravid.	Proto-Kartvel.	Proto-IE	Proto-Uralic	Proto-Altaic	Proto-Eskimo
qʰ-	q- (?)	k-	q-	kʰ-	k-	kʰ-	k- q-
-qʰ-	-q- (?)	-k(k)-	-q-	-kʰ-	-k(k)-	-kʰ-	-k(k)- -q(q)-

570. Proto-Nostratic root *q^h*ad-* (~ *q^h*əd-*):
(vb.) *q^h*ad-* ‘to move, to put in motion, to be in motion’;
(n.) *q^h*ad-a* ‘way, path, direction, passage; movement, motion; hard work, diligence’

A. Afrasian: Proto-Semitic **kad-ad-* ‘to urge, to drive; to work hard’ > Arabic *kadda* ‘to work hard, to exert oneself, to toil, to labor, to slave; to fatigue, to wear out, to overwork, to exhaust, to weary, to tire; to chase away, to drive away; to urge, to drive, to rush’, *kadd* ‘trouble, pains, labor, toil, hard work’, *kadūd* ‘industrious, hard-working, diligent’, *makdūd* ‘worn out, exhausted, overworked’; Mehri *kəd* ‘to carry something, to work hard’; Śḥeri / Jibbāli *kedd* ‘to struggle, to work hard, to carry’. Proto-Semitic **kad-aḥ-* ‘to exert oneself, to toil, to labor, to work hard’ > Arabic *kadaḥa* ‘to exert oneself, to work hard, to toil, to labor, to slave (in or with something)’, *kadḥ* ‘exertion, toil, labor, drudgery’; Sabaean *mkdḥ* ‘depot, dockyard’. Zammit 2002:351—352.

B. Dravidian: Tamil *kaṭa* ‘to pass through, to traverse, to cross, to exceed, to excel, to win, to overcome, to transgress; to go, to proceed, to pass (as time, water, clouds, etc.)’, *kaṭattu* (*kaṭatti-*) ‘(vb.) to cause to go, to drive, to transport, to pass (as time); (n.) boat’, *kaṭappu* ‘passing over, wicket or narrow passage in a wall or hedge’, *kaṭavāṉ* ‘channel cut through ridge of paddy-field to let surplus water run off’, *kaṭavu* (*kaṭavi-*) ‘(vb.) to cause to go, to drive, to ride, to dispatch, to discharge (as a missile); (n.) way, path, direction’, *kaṭavai* ‘leap, jump, passing over, way; fault, defect’, *kaṭāvu* (*kaṭāvi-*) ‘to discharge (as missiles), to ride, to drive, to drive in (as a nail, peg, wedge), to urge’, *kaṭācu* (*kaṭāci-*) ‘to drive (as a nail), to throw’, *kaṭai* ‘end, limit, boundary; lowness, lowest, worst; entrance, gate’, *kaṭaici* ‘end, extremity, the last’, *kaṭu*, *keṭu* ‘fixed time, period, term’; Malayalam *kaṭakka* ‘to pass over, to enter, to pass out, to transgress, to surpass’, *kaṭattuka* ‘to make to pass, to insert, to introduce’, *kaṭattu* ‘transporting, conveying’, *kaṭa* ‘what is ultimate; way’, *kaṭappu* ‘passage, transgression’, *kaṭāvuka* ‘to drive (as a carriage), to drive in (as a nail)’, *kaṭaśi* ‘termination, end’, *kaṭampa*, *kaṭāyi* ‘stile, gate, bar’, *gaḍu*, *keṭu* ‘term, installment’; Kota *kaṛv-* (*kaṛd-*) ‘to cross (river), to come out or leave (house), to pass (years), to rise (sun or moon)’, *kaṛt-* (*kayt-*/*kaṛty-*) ‘to

make to cross, to send off', *kaṛv* 'cattle-path through bushes, ford', *kaṛ*, *kaṛc* 'extreme end'; Toda *kaḍ-* (*kaḍθ-*) 'to leave, to pass, to cross', *kaṛt-* (*kaṛty-*) 'to send, to take across', *kaḍ* 'a stride', *kaḍč* 'end (of thing, event)'; Kannaḍa *kaḍe* '(vb.) to pass over, to transgress, to pass, to elapse, to get through; (n.) end, termination, limit; position of being last, low, or inferior; worse than; side, direction, last, at last', *kaṭa* 'end, corner', *kaḍa* 'ferry, ford', *kaḍakal* 'wicket or narrow passage in walls or hedges', *kaḍāyisu* 'to drive in (as a nail)', *kaḍame*, *kaḍime* 'deficiency, inferiority, remainder', *gaḍaba*, *gaḍavu*, *gaḍi*, *gaḍu*, *gaḍuba*, *gaḍuvu* 'limit, limited time, period, installment'; Koḍagu *kaḍa-* (*kaḍap-*, *kaḍand-*) 'to cross', *kaḍat-* (*kaḍati-*) 'to take across', *kaḍe* 'end (of row, event, etc.)', *kaḍekï* 'at last'; Tuḷu *kaḍapuni* 'to cross, to ford, to pass, to elapse, to surpass', *kaḍapāvuni* 'to cause to pass, to help one to ford a river', *kaḍapuḍuni* 'to dispatch, to forward, to send away', *kaḍapa* 'distance', *kaḍapu* 'a ferry', *kaḍapelụ* 'that which can be crossed over', *kaḍame* 'deficiency, defect, remnant; less, deficient, remaining', *kaḍe* 'verge, margin, end, extremity, place; last, final, low, mean', *gaḍu* 'a term, fixed time or place'; Telugu *kaḍacu*, *gaḍacu*, *gaḍucu* 'to pass, to elapse; to pass over, to cross, to transgress, to exceed', *kaḍapu*, *gaḍupu* 'to pass, to cause to pass or elapse, to put off, to defer, to drive, to push', *kaḍa* 'end, extremity, place, direction vicinity', *kaḍagoṭṭu* 'to die', *kaḍacanu* 'to die, to be destroyed or lost, to be completed; to cross, to cross over', *kaḍategu* 'to end, to come to a close', *kaṭṭakaḍa* '(n.) the very end, the very last place or point; (adj.) the very last, farthest, hindmost', *kaḍapa*, *gaḍapa* 'threshold', *kaḍapaṭa* 'at last', *kaḍapaṭi* 'last, final', *kaḍapala* 'the end', *kaḍama* 'remainder; remaining', *gaḍuvu* 'term, period, or limit of time, appointed time within which an action is to be performed'; Parji *kaḍa* 'end, side', *kaḍp-* (*kaḍt-*) 'to cross', *kaḍ-* (*kaṭṭ-*) 'to throw (normally used as an auxiliary verb)'; Gadba (Ollari) *karp-* (*kart-*) 'to cross'; Konḍa *gaṛvi-* 'to go beyond the boundary of a village, to fail a promise, to disregard (elder's words)'; Manḍa *kṛā-* 'to cross'; Kui *gṛāsa* (*gṛāsi-*) 'to pass something over or through, to pass a thing through the outstretched legs', *gṛāpa* (*gṛāt-*) '(vb.) to cross, to cross over, to ford, to pass by; (n.) the act of crossing, fording, or passing by'; Kuwi *kaṭu* 'time (suitable period)'; Kuṛux *kaṭṭnā* 'to cross, to pass over or above, to overtake and go beyond, to out-distance, to surpass, to go to excess', *kaṛtaʔānā*, *kaṭtaʔānā* 'to take across, to pass over, to skip over'; Malto *kaṭe* 'to exceed, to pass, to cross', *kaṭtre* 'to pass, to spend time, to help across', *kaṭp* 'exceedingly, very much'; (?) Brahui *xarring* 'to proceed on foot, to make one's way'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:104, no. 1109; Krishnamurti 2003:407 Proto-South Dravidian **kaṭ-ay* 'end, place'.

C. Proto-Kartvelian **qad-*/**qed-*/**qd-* 'to move, to make a movement; to bring; to go': Georgian *xad-*/*xd-* 'to take, to take out; to happen, to occur'; Mingrelian *rt-* 'to go'; Laz *xt-*, *xṭ-* 'to go'; Svan *qad-* (*qed-*, *qid-*)/*qd-* 'to

come; to bring; to take out, to draw out'. Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:557—558 **qad-/*qed-/*qd-*; Fähnrich 2007:696—697 **qad-/*qed-/*qd-*; Klimov 1964:263 **qad-/*qd-* and 1998:335 **qed-* : **qid-* : **qd-* 'to move, to make a movement; to bring; to go'.

D. (?) Proto-Chukchi-Kamchatkan **(lə)qət-* 'to go away': Chukchi *(l)qət-* 'to go off (to someone or something)'; Kerek *qət-* 'to go off', *il-ləqt-aat-* 'to lose'; Koryak *(l)qət-* 'to go away'; Alyutor *(l)qət-* 'to go away'; Kamchadal / Itelmen *eɬ-kas*, *iɬ-kas* 'to go (away)', (Western) *elkaz* 'to go', (Western) *eletkaz* 'to run away', (Eastern) *tylkezil* 'I am going (to)'. Fortescue 2005:247.

Buck 1949:10.11 move; 10.47 go; 10.65 drive (vb. tr.).

571. Proto-Nostratic root **q^{h}al-* (~ **q^{h}əl-*):
(vb.) **q^{h}al-* 'to strike, to split, to cut, to wound, to injure';
(n.) **q^{h}al-a* 'stroke, blow, wound, cut, slash, damage, injury'

A. Afrasian: Proto-Semitic **kal-am-* 'to strike, to wound, to injure' > Hebrew *kālam* [כָּלַם] 'to put to shame, to humiliate'; Aramaic *kəlam* 'to put to shame'; Akkadian *kalmakru* 'battle-axe'; Arabic *kalama* 'to wound', *kalm* 'wound, cut, slash'; Epigraphic South Arabian *klm* 'to injure'. Murtonen 1989:233; Klein 1987:278.

B. Proto-Kartvelian **qal-/*ql-* 'to beat, to drive in': Georgian *xal-/xl-* 'to beat; to push'; Svan *qal-/ql-* 'to drive in; to fill with'. Klimov 1998:333 **qal-* : **ql-* 'to drive in; to push'; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:558 **qal-*; Fähnrich 2007:697 **qal-*. Possibly also: Proto-Kartvelian **qlečk-/*qličk-/*qlčk-* 'to tear off, to be torn off': Georgian *xleč-/xlič-* 'to tear off, to be torn off', (Moxevian) *na-qleč-* 'scrap, fragment'; Mingrelian *xarck-* (*xorck-*)*/xirck-* 'to tear off, to burst'; Laz *x(r)ock-*, *xroc'k'-*, *xrosk'-*, *xreck-* 'to burst; to die (of animals)'. Klimov 1964:266 **qleč-* and 1998:339 **qleč-/*qlič-/*qlč-* 'to tear off, to be torn off'; Jahukyan 1967:70 Georgian-Zan **qleč-* 'to tear off, to burst'; Fähnrich 2007:707 **qleč-*. Fähnrich—Sardshweladse (1995:553) reconstruct Proto-Kartvelian **xleč-/*xlič-*, which seems improbable in view of Moxevian *na-qleč-* 'scrap, fragment'.

C. Proto-Indo-European **k^{h}el-/*k^{h}ol-*, **k^{h}al-* 'to strike, to wound, to injure': Greek κλᾱ- in ἀνα-κλάω 'to bend back, to break off'; Latin *calamitās* 'loss, misfortune, damage, calamity', *clādēs* 'disaster, injury', *-cellō* in *percellō* 'to beat down, to strike down, to overturn, to shatter; to overthrow, to ruin; to strike, to push'; Old Irish *coll* 'loss, want'; Middle Irish *ceallach* 'war'; Welsh *coll* 'destruction, loss'; Old Icelandic *hildr* 'battle'; Old English *hild* 'war, battle'; Old Saxon *hild*, *hildi* 'battle'; Old High German *hiltia*, *hilta* 'battle'; Lithuanian *kalù*, *kálti* 'to forge, to strike'; Old Church Slavic *kolǫ*, *klati* 'to prick, to hew'. Rix 1998a:313

*$kelh_2$- ‘to beat, to strike, to hit’; Pokorny 1959:545—547 *kel-, *kelə-, *klā- ‘to hit, to hew’; Walde 1927—1932.I:436—440 *qel-, *qelā-; Mann 1984—1987:464 *kal- ‘to thrust’, 464 *kal- ‘to strike’, 526 *kol-; Watkins 1985:28 *kel- and 2000:38 *kel- ‘to strike, to cut’; Mallory—Adams 1997:549 *$kelh_1$- ‘to strike’; Beekes 2010.I:710—711; Boisacq 1950:464 and 465; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:538—539 *qolə-; Hofmann 1966:146 *qelā-; Frisk 1970—1973.I:864, I:864—865, and I:866—867; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:135—136 *qel(ā)-, *qol(ā)- and I:225—226; Ernout—Meillet 1979:85—86, 111, and 124; De Vaan 2008:82; Orël 2003:168 Proto-Germanic *xelđiz ~ *xelđjō; De Vries 1977:226—227; Derksen 2008:230 *kolH- and 2015:222 *kolH-; Smoczyński 2007.1:250; Fraenkel 1962—1965.I:211—212.

Buck 1949:9.21 strike (hit, beat); 9.22 cut (vb.); 9.26 break (vb. tr.); 9.28 tear (vb. tr.); 10.67 push, shove (vb.); 11.28 harm, injure, damage (vb.). Bomhard—Kerns 1994:506—507, no. 354.

572. Proto-Nostratic root *q^ham- (~ *q^həm-):
(vb.) *q^ham- ‘to cover, to conceal’;
(n.) *q^ham-a ‘covering’

A. Proto-Afrasian *kam- ‘to cover, to hide, to conceal’: Proto-Semitic *kam-am- ‘to cover, to hide, to conceal’ > Arabic *kamma* ‘to cover, to cover up, to conceal, to hide, to cloak’; Mehri *kmūm* ‘to cover (a camel’s teats) with cloth so that it’s young cannot drink and milk is kept for human beings’, *kīmēm* ‘under shield, teat shield’, *kəmmēt* ‘small women’s head-cloth under the top cloth’; Ḥarsūsi *kémmeh* ‘skull cap’. Proto-Semitic *kam-an- ‘to cover, to hide’ > Hebrew *miχmān* [מִכְמָן] ‘treasure, hidden store, cache, hoard’; New Hebrew (pi.) *kimmēn* [כִּמֵּן] ‘to hide’, *kəmānāh* [כְּמָנָה] ‘ambush, trap; hiding-place’; Aramaic *kəman* ‘to lie in ambush’; Arabic *kamana* ‘to hide, to conceal; to be hidden, concealed, latent; to ambush, to waylay’, *makman* ‘place where something is hidden; ambush, hiding place’, *kamīn* ‘hidden, lying in ambush; ambush, secret attack’ (according to Klein [1987:279], this is a loan from Syriac), *kāmin* ‘hidden, concealed, latent; secret’; Mehri *məkəmnēt* ‘hidden beyond the rise of a slope’; Śḥeri / Jibbāli *kūn* (base *kmn*) ‘to hide’, *məkmún* ‘ambush’, *ekmín* ‘to lay an ambush for’. Klein 1987:279. Proto-Semitic *kam-as- ‘to hide’ > Hebrew *kāmas* [כָּמַס] ‘to hide, to conceal, to lay up, to store away’; Aramaic *kəmās* ‘store-room, cellar’; Amorite *kms* ‘to hide’. Murtonen 1989:233; Klein 1987:279. Proto-Semitic *kam-ar- ‘to cover, to hide’ > Akkadian *kamāru*, *kamarru* ‘a trap with a snare’; Arabic *kamara* ‘to cover, to veil, to conceal’; Hebrew *kimrīr* [כִּמְרִיר] ‘darkness, gloom’ (a hapax legomenon in the Bible); New Hebrew *kāmar* [כָּמַר] ‘to hide, to bury (for example, fruit in the ground)’; Aramaic *kəmar* ‘to hide; to keep warm’. Murtonen

1989:233; Klein 1987:279. New Egyptian *kmmnt* ‘material (for a shawl, scarf)’. Hannig 1995:884; Erman—Grapow 1926—1963.5:131. Berber: Mzab *taçmist* ‘a lightweight robe with sleeves’; Tuareg *təkamist* ‘a wide tunic with wide sleeves’; Wargla *takmist* ‘a lightweight robe, a long tunic’.

B. Proto-Kartvelian **qamḭ-* ‘skin (of the legs) of sheep, goat’: Georgian *xaml-* ‘a kind of shoe’; Old Georgian *qaml-i* ‘footwear’, *u-qam-ur-i*, *u-qaml-o* ‘barefoot’, *ma-qaml-e* ‘shoemaker’; Svan *qamur*, *qemər* ‘skin (of the legs) of sheep, goat, calf’. Klimov (1998:333) notes that, until recently, sheepskin was used to make sandals in Svanetia. Klimov 1964:263 **qamḭ-* and 1998:333 **qaml-* ‘skin (of legs) of sheep, goat’; Jahukyan 1967:77; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:560 **qaml-*; Fähnrich 2007:699 **qaml-*.

C. Proto-Indo-European **kʰem-*/**kʰom-* ‘to cover, to conceal’: Sanskrit *śāmulyà-ḥ* (Vedic *śāmūla-ḥ*) ‘thick woolen shirt’, *śamī-* ‘pod, legume’; Latin *camīsia* ‘linen shirt or night-gown’ (Gaulish loan ?); Gothic *-hamōn* in: *ana-hamōn*, *ga-hamōn* ‘to get dressed’, *af-hamōn* ‘to get undressed’, *ufar-hamōn* ‘to put on’; Old Icelandic *hamr* ‘skin, slough; shape, form’, *hams* ‘snake’s slough, husk’; Old English *ham* ‘undergarment’, *hemeþ* ‘shirt’, *hemming* ‘shoe of undressed leather’, *-hama* ‘covering’ (only in compounds); Old Frisian *hemethe* ‘shirt’; Dutch *hemd* ‘shirt’; Old High German *hemidi* ‘shirt’ (New High German *Hemd*), *-hamo* ‘covering’ (only in compounds). Pokorny 1959:556—557 **k̂em-* ‘to cover, to conceal’; Walde 1927—1932.I:386—387 **k̂em-*; Mallory—Adams 1997:134 **k̂em-* ‘to cover’; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:147—148 **k̂em-*, **k̂am-*; Ernout—Meillet 1979:90; Orël 2003:158 Proto-Germanic **xamaz*, 158 **xam(m)inǯaz*; Feist 1939:6; Lehmann 1986:4—5 **k̂em-* ‘to cover’; De Vries 1977:208 **k̂em-*; Vercoullie 1898:109; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:303 **k̂amiṭia-*, **k̂em-* ‘to cover’; Kluge—Seebold 1989:304; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.III:325.

D. Proto-Uralic **kama* ‘peel, skin’: Finnish *kamara* ‘surface, crust, the hard surface of something’, *sianlihan kamara* ‘the skin or rind of pork’, *pääkamara* ‘scalp’; Cheremis / Mari *kom* ‘rind, crust’; Votyak / Udmurt *kõm* ‘rind, crust’; Hungarian *hám* ‘peel, cuticle’, *hámlás* ‘peeling’, *hámlik* ‘peel, scale’, *hámoz* ‘peel, skin, pare (fruit)’, *hámréteg* ‘epidermis, cuticle’, *hámsejt* ‘epidermic cell’; Vogul / Mansi *kamtul* ‘rind, crust’; Selkup Samoyed *qååm* ‘fish-scale’; Kamassian *kåm* ‘fish-scale, money’. Collinder 1955:22 and 1977:42; Rédei 1986—1988:121—122 **kama*; Décsy 1990:100 **kama* ‘peel, skin’.

E. Eskimo: Proto-Yupik-Siberian Eskimo **qəmtəq* ‘roof, ceiling’ > (?) Alutiiq Alaskan Yupik *qəmɬitə-* ‘to become filled to the brim, to become very high (tide)’; Naukan Siberian Yupik *qəmtəq* ‘roof, ceiling’; Central Siberian Yupik *qəmtəq* ‘attic, upper floor’; Sirenik *qəmtə* ‘ceiling, upper floor, attic’. Fortescue—Jacobson—Kaplan 1994:297. Siberian Eskimo loan in Chukchi *qəmtən* ‘ceiling’ (cf. Fortescue 2005:245—246).

Buck 1949:1.62 darkness; 4.12 skin; hide; 6.44 shirt; 6.51 shoe; 7.28 roof; 12.26 cover (vb.); 12.27 hide, conceal; 15.63 dark (in color); 15.65 black. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:505—506, no. 353.

573. Proto-Nostratic root *$q^harʸ$- (~ *$q^hərʸ$-):
(vb.) *$q^harʸ$- ‘to make a rasping sound, to be hoarse; to creak, to croak’;
(n.) *$q^harʸ$-*a* ‘neck, throat’

A. Dravidian: Tamil *kaṟuttu* ‘neck, throat’; Malayalam *kaṟuttu* ‘neck (of man, animal, plant, vessel, etc.)’; Kota *kaṛtl* ‘neck’; Kannaḍa *kattu* ‘neck, throat’; Tuḷu *kaṇṭelu̯* ‘neck, throat’; Gadba (Ollari) *gaḍli* ‘neck’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:127, no. 1366.

B. Proto-Kartvelian **qarqa-* ‘pharynx, throat’: Georgian *xaxa-* (dialectal variant *xarxa-*) ‘pharynx, throat’; Mingrelian *xorxot’a-* ‘throat, gullet’; Svan *qarq*, *qerq* ‘throat’. Klimov 1964:264 **qarqa-* and 1998:334 **qarqa-* ‘pharynx, mouth’; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:561 **qarq-*; Fähnrich 2007:700 **qarq-*.

C. Proto-Indo-European *k^her-/*k^hor-/*$k^hr̥$- ‘to make a rasping sound, to be hoarse; to creak, to croak’: Greek κρώζω ‘to cry like a crow, to caw; (of a wagon) to creak, to groan’; Latin *crōciō* ‘to caw like a crow’; Old English *hrace*, *hracu* ‘throat’, *hrǣcan* ‘to clear the throat, to spit’; Middle Low German *rake* ‘throat’; Dutch *raak* ‘back part of the palate’; Old High German *rahho* (**hrahho*) ‘jaws, mouth (of beast); throat, cavity of mouth’ (New High German *Rachen*), *rāhhisōn* ‘to clear one’s throat’; Lithuanian *krokiù*, *krõkti* / *kriokiù*, *kriõkti* ‘to grunt’, (dial.) *krokóti* ‘to groan, to wheeze’; Russian Church Slavic *krakati* ‘to croak’. Pokorny 1959:567—571 **ker-*, **kor-*, **kr-* ‘to make a rasping sound, to be hoarse, to caw, to croak, etc.’; Walde 1927—1932.I:413—418 **ker-*, **kor-*, **kr-*; Mann 1984—1987:541 **krăgō*, *-i̯ō* ‘to caw, to croak’ and 542 **krākō*, *-i̯ō* ‘to caw, to croak’; Watkins 1985:29—30 **ker-* and 2000:40 **ker-* echoic root, base of various derivatives indicating loud noises of birds; Beekes 2010.I:788 **kroh₂k-*; Boisacq 1950:511—512; Frisk 1970—1973.II:31; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:589; Hofmann 1966:157; De Vaan 2008:145—146; Ernout—Meillet 1979:151; Walde—Hofrmann 1965—1972.I:293; Orël 2003:187 Proto-Germanic **xrēkjanan*, 187 **xrēkōn*; Onions 1966:743 Common Germanic **χraik-*; Klein 1971:633; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:576 **ker-*, **kor-*, **kr-*; Kluge—Seebold 1989:577; Fraenkel 1962—1965.I:299; Smoczyński 2007.1:316; Derksen 2008:245 and 2015:260.

D. Eskimo: Proto-Yupik-Siberian Eskimo **qaʁya* ‘deep voice’ > Alutiiq Alaskan Yupik *qəXsatu-* ‘to have a deep voice’; Central Alaskan Yupik *qəXsiγ-* ‘to have a deep voice’; Central Siberian Yupik *qaʁya-* ‘to boast, to brag’, *qaʁi* ‘deep voice’; Sirenik *qaʁya* ‘voice’. Fortescue—Jacobson—Kaplan 1994:289.

E. (?) Chukchi-Kamchatkan: Proto-Chukotian **qəʁæ(qəʁæ)t-* ‘crunching sound’ > Chukchi *qʔeqat-*, *qeqʔet-*, *qeet-* ‘crunch, creak (for example, snow underfoot)’; Kerek *qaʔaqa(a)t-* ‘crunch’; Koryak *ʁeqepəcɣəcɣet-* ‘crunch’. Fortescue 2005:246—247.

Buck 1949:4.29 throat. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:507, no. 355.

574. Proto-Nostratic root **qʰatʰ-* (~ **qʰətʰ-*):
(vb.) **qʰatʰ-* ‘to beat, to strike, to fight’;
(n.) **qʰatʰ-a* ‘anger, fury, wrath, spite; fight, battle, quarrel; killing, slaughter’

A. Proto-Afrasian **kat-* ‘to beat, to strike’: Proto-Semitic **kat-at-* ‘to beat, to strike’ > Arabic (Daṯina) *katt* ‘to demolish, to cut down’; Hebrew *kāθaθ* [כָּתַת] ‘to crush, to pound’; Aramaic *kəθaθ* ‘to crush, to pound’; Ugaritic *ktt* ‘beaten (copper)’; Akkadian *katātu* ‘to be low or short; to suffer physical collapse; (in astrology) to descend to the horizon’; Geez / Ethiopic *katta* [ክተ] ‘to cut in little pieces, to beat’; Tigre (reduplicated) *kätkäta* ‘to hurt, to beat’; Tigrinya (reduplicated) *kätkätä* ‘to cut’; Amharic (reduplicated) *kätäkkätä* ‘to cut in little pieces, to chop up (wood)’; Gurage (reduplicated) *kətäkätä* ‘to break into pieces’, *kätta* ‘to break bread in half; to make an incision in the eye’. Klein 1987:290; Leslau 1979:356, 357 and 1987:298. Proto-Semitic **kat-asʸ-* ‘to beat, to strike’ > Hebrew *kāθaš* [כָּתַשׁ] ‘to crush, to pound’; Aramaic *kəθaš* ‘to beat, to crush, to pound’; Syriac *kəθaš* ‘to beat; to quarrel, to contend’. Murtonen 1989:242; Klein 1987:290. Egyptian (reduplicated) *ktkt* ‘to beat, to strike’; Coptic (reduplicated) *čotčet* [ϭⲟⲧϭⲉⲧ] ‘to cut, to break, to destroy’. Hannig 1995:890; Erman—Grapow 1926—1963.5:146; Vycichl 1983:348.

B. Dravidian: Tamil *katavu* (*katavi-*) ‘to be angry with, to be displeased with, to quarrel with’, *katam* ‘anger’, *kataṟ* ‘to be angry with, to be displeased with, to be furious’, *kataṟvu* ‘fury, heat, vehemence’, *kati* ‘to be angry with’; Malayalam *katam* ‘wrath’, *kataykkuka* ‘to get angry’, *katarppu* ‘getting angry’; Kannaḍa *kati*, *khati*, *kāti*, *khāti* ‘anger, wrath’; Kolami *ka·ti* ‘anger, hate’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:112, no. 1186. Tamil *kātu* (*kāti-*) ‘to kill, to murder, to cut, to divide’, *kātu* ‘murder’, *kātal* ‘killing, fighting, cutting, breaking’; Kannaḍa *kādu* ‘to wage war, to fight, to contend with’, *kāduha* ‘fighting’; Tuḷu *kāduni* ‘to quarrel, to fight, to wrestle’, *kādaḍuni* ‘to fight’, *kādāṭa* ‘a fight, war, battle’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:135, no. 1447.

C. Proto-Indo-European **kʰatʰ-* ‘to fight’: Sanskrit *śátru-ḥ* ‘enemy, foe, rival’; Prakrit *sattu-* ‘enemy, foe’; Old Irish *cath* ‘battle’; Welsh *cad* ‘war’; Old Icelandic (in compounds) *höð-* ‘war, slaughter’; Old English (in compounds) *heaðu-* ‘war, battle’; Old High German (in compounds) *hadu-* ‘fight, battle’; Middle High German *hader* ‘quarrel, strife’ (New High German *Hader*); Old Church Slavic *kotora* ‘battle’; Hittite *kattu-* ‘enmity,

strife'. Pokorny 1959:534 **k̂at-* 'to fight, to struggle', **k̂atu-*, **k̂at(ₑ)ro-* 'fight, struggle'; Walde 1927—1932.I:339 **kat-*; Mann 1984—1987:603 **k̂aṭi̯ō* 'to strike, to beat', 603 **k̂atros*, *-us* (?) 'striking, forceful', 603 **k̂atus*, *-ū*, *-ā* 'battle, fight', 637 **k̂ot-* (**k̂oteḭō*, **k̂otos*) 'spite, anger; to spite, to bother, to rage'; Watkins 1985:27 **kat-* and 2000:37 **kat-* 'to fight'; Mallory—Adams 1997:201 **katu-* 'fight'; Puhvel 1984— .4:138—140 **katu-* 'strife'; Kloekhorst 2008b:466 **ḱh₂et-(e)u-* (?); Orël 2003:165 Proto-Germanic **xaþuz*; Kroonen 2013:214 Proto-Germanic **haþarō-* 'fight' and 214—215 **haþu-* 'battle'; De Vries 1977:278—279; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:279—280; Kluge—Seebold 1989:285; Walshe 1951:89 **katu-*; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.III:294; Derksen 2008:240: "PIE origin doubtful. The North European evidence points to **kat-*." According to Boisacq (1950:502), Beekes (2010.I:761), Chantraine (1968—1980.I:572), and Hofmann (1966:156), Greek κοτέω 'to bear a grudge against, to be angry', κότος 'grudge, rancor, wrath' may belong here as well. However, Frisk (1970—1973.I:931—932) questions this comparison.

D. Yukaghir *qatik-* 'to wrestle'. Nikolaeva 2006:381.

E. Chukchi-Kamchatkan: Proto-Chukotian **qætvə-* 'to stab (to death)' > Chukchi *qetvə-* 'to stab (an animal) to death'; Koryak (Kamen) *qatvə-* 'to stab'; Alyutor *qatv(ə)-* 'to stab, to wound'. Fortescue 2005:233.

Buck 1949:16.42 anger; 20.11 fight (vb.); 20.12 battle (sb.); 20.13 war. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:429, no. 273; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 1224, **ḳ[a]ṭV* (or **ḳaʔitV* ?) 'to kill, to wage a war'.

575. Proto-Nostratic root **qʰocʰ-*:

(vb.) **qʰocʰ-* 'to take off, to take away, to remove' (> 'to remove by wiping, sweeping, rubbing, peeling, pulling or tearing off, etc.');

(n.) **qʰocʰ-a* 'the act of removing; that which has been removed' (> 'rubbish, refuse, sweepings, etc.')

A. Afrasian: Proto-Semitic **kac-ar-*, **kac-t-ar-* 'to sweep, to wipe off, to wipe away' > Geez / Ethiopic *kʷasara* [ኰሰረ], *kʷastara* [ኰስተረ] 'to sweep, to cleanse, to wipe away, to get rid of debris, to dust, to purify, to prune (trees), to correct', *məkʷəstār* [ምኵስታር] 'rubbish heap, sweepings, refuse; broom, twigs (serving as a broom); snuffers for a candle', *kʷəstār* [ኵስታር] 'sweepings'; Tigrinya *kʷästärä* 'to sweep, to wipe off, to filter'; Tigre *kʷästära* 'to sweep away'; Amharic *kʷäsättärä* 'to wipe off, to sweep away'; Gurage *kostarra* 'filtered'. Leslau 1979:354 and 1987:296.

B. Dravidian: Kannaḍa *kojaṇṭi* 'refuse (as of fruits)'; Tuḷu *kujaṇṭi*, *kojaṇṭi* 'the refuse of vegetables from which the juice has been pressed out'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:184, no. 2039.

C. Proto-Kartvelian **qoc-* 'to remove by wiping, sweeping, rubbing, peeling, etc.': Old Georgian *c'ar-qoca-* 'to clean', *ma-qoca-* 'to wipe up, to root

out', *da-qoca-* 'to destroy'; Georgian *xoc-* 'to wipe up, to rub, to sweep'; Laz *xos-* 'to peel (fruit)'. Klimov 1998:340 **qoc-*; Fähnrich 2007:708 **qoc-*; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:567 **qoc-*.

D. Chukchi-Kamchatkan: Proto-Chukotian **qocɣə-* 'to tear' > Koryak *qocɣə-*, *qocɣi-* 'to tear, to tear to pieces'; Alyutor *qucɣə-* 'to tear'. Fortescue 2005: 237.

Buck 1949:9.28 tear (vb. trans.); 9.31 rub; 9.37 sweep.

22.29. PROTO-NOSTRATIC *q’

				Eurasiatic			
Proto-Nostratic	Proto-Afrasian	Proto-Dravid.	Proto-Kartvel.	Proto-IE	Proto-Uralic	Proto-Altaic	Proto-Eskimo
q’-	q’- (?)	k-	q’-	k’-	k-	k-	k- q-
-q’-	-q’- (?)	-k(k)-	-q’-	-k’-	-k-	-k-	-k- -q-

576. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **q’ab-a* ‘jaw’:

A. Dravidian: Tamil *kavuḷ* ‘cheek, temple or jaw of elephant’; Malayalam *kaviḷ* ‘cheek’; Tuḷu *kauḷu* ‘the cheek’, *kavuṇḍrasa*, *kavuḍrasa* ‘cancer of the cheek’; Parji *gavla*, (metathesis in) *galva* ‘jaw’; (?) Telugu *gauda* ‘the cheek’; (?) Kui *kūlu* ‘cheek’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:124, no. 1337. Either here or with Proto-Nostratic **k’ap^{h}-a* ‘jaw, jawbone’.

B. Proto-Kartvelian **q’ab-* ‘jaw’: Georgian *q’b-a* ‘jaw’, *ni-q’b-er-i* ‘chin, jaw’; Svan *q’ab*, *hä-q’b-a* ‘cheek’. Palmaitis—Gudjedjiani 1985:269 and 315; Klimov 1964:209 **q̇ba-* and 1998:238 **q̇ba-* ‘jaw’; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:404 **q̇ab-*; Fähnrich 2007:503 **q̇ab-*.

C. Proto-Indo-European **k’eb^{h}-/*k’ob^{h}-* ‘(vb.) to munch, to chew; (n.) jaw’: Old Irish *gop* (Modern Irish *gob*) ‘beak, mouth’; New High German *Kebe* ‘fish-gill’; Lithuanian *žėbiù*, *žẽbti* ‘to munch’; Czech *žábra* ‘fish-gill’. Pokorny 1959:382 **ĝep(h)-*, **ĝebh-* ‘jaw, mouth; to eat’; Walde 1927—1932.I:570—571 **ĝep(h)-*, **ĝebh-*; Mann 1984—1987:389 **ĝebh-* (**ĝebhl-*, **ĝobh-*) ‘jaw’; Watkins 1985:19 **gep(h)-*, **gebh-* and 2000:26 **gep(h)-*, **gebh-* ‘jaw, mouth’; Mallory—Adams 1997:175 **ĝeP-* ‘to eat, to masticate’; Orël 2003:212 Proto-Germanic **keƀran*; Kroonen 2013:283 **ǵeb^{h}-*; Fraenkel 1962—1965.II:1294—1295; Smoczyński 2007.1:775 **ǵeb^{h}-*. Note: Not related to **k’em-b^{h}-/*k’om-b^{h}-/*k’m̥-b^{h}-* ‘to chew (up), to bite, to cut to pieces, to crush’, **k’om-b^{h}o-s* ‘tooth, spike, nail’ (see below, no 578).

Buck 1949:4.207 jaw. Bomhard 1996a:219, no. 624; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 1903, **q̇AbV* ‘jaw’.

577. Proto-Nostratic root **q’al-* (~ **qəl-*) or **q’el-*:
(vb.) **q’al-* or **q’el-* ‘to glitter, to sparkle, to shine, to be or become bright; to make bright’;
(n.) **q’al-a* or **q’el-a* ‘any bright, shining object: star’

A. Afrasian: Southern Cushitic: Proto-Rift **k’al-* ‘to shine, to make bright’ > Alagwa *qal-* ‘to polish’; Asa *ʔalalaya* ‘star’. Ehret 1980:368, no. 6.

B. Proto-Indo-European **k’el-* ‘to shine, to be bright; to make bright’ (extended form **k’leHy-*): Greek ἀγλα[Ϝ]ός (< **ἀγα-γλαϜός ?) ‘splendid,

shining, beautiful, bright’, ἀγλαΐα ‘splendor, beauty, adornment’, γλήνεα ‘bright things, trinkets, stars’, γλαυκός ‘gleaming, silvery’, γελάω ‘to laugh (at)’, γελᾱνόω ‘to brighten, to cheer’, γελᾱνής ‘cheerful’, γέλως ‘laughter’; Armenian *calr* ‘laughter’; Old English *clǣne* ‘clear, open (field); pure, clean’, *clǣnsian* ‘to clean, to cleanse, to clear (land of weeds), to purge (stomach), to purify (heart), to chasten (with affliction)’; Old Frisian *klēne* ‘small’; Old Saxon *klēni*, *cleini* ‘dainty, graceful’; Middle Dutch *clēne* ‘small, thin, clean’ (Modern Dutch *klein*); Old High German *kleini*, *cleini*, *chleine* ‘clear, delicate, small’ (New High German *klein* ‘small’). Perhaps Hittite (abl. sg.) *kal-ma-ra-az* ‘ray (of the sun)’, (acc. sg.) ^{GIŠ}*kal-mi-in* ‘piece of firewood’, (nom. sg.) ^{GIŠ}*kal-mi-ša-na-aš*, *kal-mi-eš-na-aš*, *kal-mi-iš-na-aš* ‘brand, piece of firewood, (fire)bolt’. Pokorny 1959:366—367 **ĝel-*, **ĝelə-*, **ĝlē-* ‘to shine, to be bright; to be happy, to smile, to laugh’; Walde 1927—1932.I:622—624 **ĝel-*, **ĝelē-*, (also **gelēi-* :) **g(e)ləi-*; Mann 1984—1987:390 **ĝel-* ‘laugh; laughter’; Watkins 1985:18 **gel-* (extended form **glei-* in Germanic **klai-ni-* ‘bright, pure’) and 2000:25 **gel-* (extended form **glei-*) ‘bright’; Mallory—Adams 1997:83 (?) **ĝlain-* ‘bright’; Boisacq 1950:8, 143 **ĝləi-*, 150; Frisk 1970—1973.I:12, I:294—295, I:310—311, and I:311—312 **ĝləi-*; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:11—12, I:214, I:225—226; Hofmann 1966:2, 42—43 **ĝel-*, **ĝləi-*, 45 **ĝel-*; Beekes 2010.I:13, I:264—265 **gelh$_2$-*, I:274—275; Orël 2003:214—215 Proto-Germanic **klainiz*; Kroonen 2013:290 Proto-Germanic **klainja-* ‘fine’; Onions 1966:180 West Germanic **klainaz*; Klein 1971:141; Barnhart 1995:130; Boutkan—Siebinga 2005:217—218; Walshe 1951:122; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:376 **ĝel-*, **g(e)ləi-*; Kluge—Seebold 1989:376; Puhvel 1984— .4:26—28; Kloekhorst 2008b:431; Martirosyan 2008:286—287 (nom. sg.) **ĝélh$_2$-ōs* (cf. Greek γέλως). Note: this etymology is disputed by some scholars, either in whole or in part.

C. Chukchi-Kamchatkan: Proto-Chukotian **qelperat-* ‘to glitter’ > Chukchi *qelperat-*, *qelpera-* ‘to glitter, to sparkle’; Kerek *qilpijat-* ‘to glitter, to sparkle’; [Alyutor *itqilʲ-ɣərr(at)-* ‘to glitter, to sparkle’]. Fortescue 2005:234.

Buck 1949:15.56 shine; 15.57 bright; 15.87 clean.

578. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **q’al^{y}-a* ‘sexual organs, genitals, private parts (male or female)’:

A. (?) Afrasian: Semitic: Akkadian *ḳallū*, *gallū* ‘sexual organ’ (this is usually considered to be a loan from Sumerian [cf. Von Soden 1965—1981:894]); Geez / Ethiopic *ḳ^{w}əlḥ* [ቍልሕ] ‘testicle’; Amharic *ḳ^{w}əla* ‘testicle’. Leslau 1987:428.

B. Proto-Kartvelian **q'al-* 'penis': Georgian *q'l-e* (< **q'al-e* or **q'ol-e*) 'penis'; Mingrelian *ʔol-e* (< **q'ol-a-i*) 'penis'; Laz *q'ol-e*, *k'ol-e* 'penis'; Svan [*q'l-*] in *q'law* 'child (male)'. Klimov 1964:212 **q̇le-* and 1998:243—244 **q̇le-* 'penis'; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:406 **q̇al-*; Fähnrich 2007:505 **q̇al-*; Schmidt 1962:141 **q̇al-*.

C. Proto-Indo-European **k'el-tʰ-/*k'l̥-tʰ-* 'vulva, womb': Sanskrit *jartú-ḥ*, *jarta-ḥ* 'vulva', *jaṭhára-m* (< **jalthara-m*) 'belly, stomach, womb'; Gothic *kilþei* 'womb', *inkilþō* 'pregnant'; Old English *cild* 'child'. Possibly also Old Swedish *kulder*, *kolder* (Modern Swedish *kull*) 'child of the same marriage'; Old Danish *köll* (Modern Danish *kuld*) 'child of the same marriage'; Norwegian (dial.) *kold* 'child of the same marriage'. Mann 1984—1987:1623 **ĝelt-*; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.I:414 and I:423; Orël 2003:212 Proto-Germanic **kelþaz*; Kroonen 2013:309—310 Proto-Germanic **kulda-* 'litter (of progeny)' (Gothic *kilþei* < **kelþīn-* and Old English *cild* < **keldiz-*); Feist 1939:311 **gel-*; Lehmann 1986:218 **gel-* '(adj.) rounded; (vb.) to form a ball shape'; Onions 1966:169; Klein 1971:131; Falk—Torp 1903—1906.I:421—422.

D. Uralic: Proto-Finno-Permian **kalʸkkɜ* 'egg, testicle' > Finnish *kalkku* 'testicle'; Zyrian / Komi (Sysola, Permyak) *kol'k*, (East Permyak) *kul'k* 'egg, testicle'. Rédei 1986—1988:644—645 **kal'kkɜ*.

E. Proto-Chukchi-Kamchatkan **qəlqæ* 'penis': Chukchi *əlqe* 'penis'; Kerek *XalXa* 'penis'; Koryak *ʁəlqə* 'penis'; Alyutor *ʁəlqa* 'penis'; Kamchadal / Itelmen *qəɬX*, *kəɬX* (Western, Southern *kalka*, Eastern *kallaka*) 'penis'. Fortescue 2005:245.

Sumerian gal_4, gal_4*la* 'vulva', gal_4*-la-tur* 'vagina', gal_4*la* 'sexual organs, genitals'.

Buck 1949:4.47 womb; 4.48 egg; 4.49 testicle; 4.492 (penis). Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 1918a, **q̇Uĺǀl̨E* 'penis, (?) vulva'; Bomhard—Kerns 1994:509, no. 358.

579. Proto-Nostratic root **q'am-* (~ **q'əm-*):
(vb.) **q'am-* 'to crush, to grind; to chew, to bite, to eat';
(n.) **q'am-a* 'bite; tooth'

A. Proto-Afrasian **k'am-* '(vb.) to crush, to grind; to chew, to bite, to eat; (n.) flour': Proto-Semitic **k'am-aħ-* '(vb.) to crush, to grind; to chew, to bite, to eat; (n.) flour' > Arabic (Daṯina) *ḳamaḥ* 'to eat'; Arabic *ḳamḥ* 'wheat'; Hebrew *ḳemaḥ* [קֶמַח] 'flour, meal'; Ugaritic *ḳmḥ* 'flour'; Akkadian *ḳemū*, *ḳamū* 'to grind, to crush', *ḳēmu* 'flour, meal' (Old Akkadian *ḳamʾum*); Geez / Ethiopic *ḳamḥa* [ቀምሐ] 'to eat grain or other fodder, to graze'; Gurage (Chaha) *ḳämä* 'flour', (Wolane) *ḳämä* 'to put flour into the mouth, *to take a mouthful, to chew the narcotic plant'; Harari *ḳämaḥa* 'to take a

mouthful’; Gafat *ḳumina* ‘flour’; metathesis in: Tigrinya *ḳʷäḥamä* ‘to swallow, to devour’; Tigre *ḳäḥma* ‘to take a mouthful (of flour or tobacco)’; Argobba *ḳäḥama* ‘to eat, to devour’; Amharic *ḳamä* ‘to swallow without chewing’. Murtonen 1989:378; Klein 1987:582; Leslau 1963:125, 1979:479, and 1987:431. Semitic loans in Egyptian *qmḥw* ‘bread made of fine flour’, *qmḥy-t* ‘fine wheaten flour’. Hannig 1995:857; Faulkner 1962:279; Erman—Grapow 1921:190 and 1926—1963.5:40. Berber: Tuareg *tamγəst* ‘molar tooth’; Siwa *taγmast* ‘molar’; Nefusa *tiγməst* ‘molar’; Ghadames *tiγmas* ‘molar’; Mzab *tiγməst* ‘tooth’; Wargla *tiγməst* ‘tooth (other than molar)’; Tamazight *tuγməst* ‘tooth (in general), toothache’; Riff *tiγməst* ‘tooth (in general), molar’; Kabyle *tuγməst* ‘tooth (in general)’; Chaouia *tiγməst* ‘tooth’. Proto-East Cushitic **k’om-* ‘to chew, to bite, to eat’ (< former prefix verb **-k’(o)m-*) > Saho *-qom-*; Somali *qoom-* ‘to wound’, *qoon* ‘wound’; Dasenech (imptv.) *kom* ‘eat!’; Galla / Oromo *k’am-* ‘to chew *č’at*’; Konso *qom-* ‘to chew’; Gollango *qan-* ‘to chew’. Sasse 1979:25 and 1982:121—122. Proto-Highland East Cushitic **k’ama* ‘flour’ > Burji *k’ámay* ‘flour of all kinds of cereals’; Hadiyya *k’ama* ‘flour’; Kambata *k’ama* ‘flour’. Hudson 1989:65; Sasse 1982:124. Diakonoff 1992:85 **qm̥ḥ-* ‘flour’; Orël—Stolbova 1995:336, no. 1545, **ḳamVḥ-* ‘flour’.

B. Proto-Indo-European **k’em-bʰ-/*k’om-bʰ-/*k’m̥-bʰ-* ‘to chew (up), to bite, to cut to pieces, to crush’, **k’om-bʰo-s* ‘tooth, spike, nail’: Sanskrit *jámbhate*, *jábhate* ‘to chew up, to crush, to destroy’, *jámbha-ḥ* ‘tooth’; Greek γόμφος ‘bolt, pin’, γομφίος ‘a grinder-tooth’; Albanian *dhëmb* ‘tooth’; Old Icelandic *kambr* ‘comb’; Swedish *kam* ‘comb’; Old English *camb* ‘comb’, *cemban* ‘to comb’; Old Saxon *kamb* ‘comb’; Dutch *kam* ‘comb’; Old High German *kamb*, *champ* ‘comb’ (New High German *Kamm*); Lithuanian *žam̃bas* ‘pointed object’; Latvian *zùobs* ‘tooth’; Old Church Slavic *zǫbъ* ‘tooth’; Polish *ząb* ‘tooth’; Russian *zub* [зуб] ‘tooth’; Tocharian A *kam*, B *keme* ‘tooth’. Rix 1998a:143—144 **ĝembʰ-* ‘to show the teeth, to snap, to chew, to bite’, **ĝombʰo-* ‘tooth’; Pokorny 1959:369 **ĝembh-*, **ĝm̥bh-* ‘to bite’, **ĝombho-s* ‘tooth’; Walde 1927—1932.I:575—576 **ĝembh-*, **ĝm̥bh-* ‘to bite’, **ĝombho-s* ‘tooth’; Mann 1984—1987:404 **ĝombhō* ‘to show the teeth, to chew, to bite, to stab, to snap’, 404 **ĝombhos* ‘spike, nail, tooth’; Watkins 1985:18 **gembh-* and 2000:26 **gembh-* ‘tooth, nail’; Mallory—Adams 1997:594 **ĝómbhos* ‘tooth’; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.II:879 **k̂’emb[ʰ]-*, **k̂’m̥b[ʰ]-*, **k̂’omb[ʰ]o-* and 1995.I:775 **k̂’embʰ-* ‘to tear apart, to break to pieces, to bite’, **k̂’m̥bʰ-*, **k̂’ombʰo-* ‘tooth’; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:232; Boisacq 1950:153 **ĝombho-s*; Frisk 1970—1973.I:319—320; Beekes 2010.I:282 **ǵembʰ-* ‘to bite’, **ǵombʰ-o-* ‘cutting tooth’; Hofmann 1966:47 **ĝombhos*; Orël 1998:82 and 2003:209 Proto-Germanic **kamƀaz*, 209 **kamƀjanan*; Kroonen 2013:279 Proto-Germanic **kamba-* ‘comb’ (< **ǵombʰ-o-*), 279 **kambjan-* ‘to comb’, and 287 **kimbōn-* ‘crest, ridge’; De Vries 1977:299

*ĝembh- ‘to bite’, *gombhos ‘tooth’; Onions 1966:193 *gombhos; Klein 1971:150 *ĝembh- ‘to bite, to cut to pieces’; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:344 *gombho-; Kluge—Seebold 1989:350 *ǵombho-; Adams 1999:194 *ĝómbho-; Van Windekens 1976—1982.I:186 *ĝombho-; Huld 1984:58; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.I:419; Derksen 2008:549 *ǵombʰ-o- and 2015:512 *ǵombʰ-o-; Fraenkel 1962—1965.II:1288—1289; Smoczyński 2007.1:773 *ǵombʰ-o-. Note: Not related to *k’ebʰ-/*k’obʰ- ‘(vb.) to munch, to chew; (n.) jaw’ (see above, no 575).

C. Chukchi-Kamchatkan: Proto-Chukotian *qametva- (or *qamatva-) ‘to eat’ > Chukchi *qametva- ‘to eat (intr.)’, *qemet- ‘to feed (at time of offering to star or fire, etc.)’, *qemi-plətku- ‘to finish eating’; Koryak *qametva- ‘to give food (to a guest), to treat’; Alyutor *qamitva- ‘to eat, to give food to’. Fortescue 2005:228.

Buck 1949:4.27 tooth; 4.58 bite; 6.91 comb. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:435—436, no. 280.

580. Proto-Nostratic (n.) *q’an-a ‘field, land, (open) country’:

A. (?) Afrasian: Egyptian *qn* used as a designation for plants in a field, *qnt* ‘plant’, *qnnỉ* ‘plant’. Erman—Grapow 1926—1963.5:47; Hannig 1995:858 and 861.

B. Proto-Kartvelian *q’an- ‘cornfield, plowed field’: Georgian *q’an-a* ‘cornfield, plowed field’, *q’anobir-* ‘plowed field’, *kue-q’ana-* ‘land, country’; Mingrelian *ʔvan-a*, *ʔon-a* ‘cornfield, plowed field’; Laz *q’on-a*, *ʔon-a*, *jon-a* ‘cornfield, plowed field’. Klimov 1964:208 *q̇ana- and 1968:237 *q̇ana- ‘cornfield, plowed field’; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:408 *q̇an-; Fähnrich 2007:507 *q̇an-.

C. Uralic: Proto-Finno-Permian *kentä ‘field, meadow, pasture’ > Finnish *kenttä* ‘field’; Karelian *kenttä* ‘meadow’; Lapp / Saami *gied'de* ‘(natural) meadow’; Votyak / Udmurt *gid*, *gid'* ‘stall, barnyard’; Zyrian / Komi *gid* ‘stall, stall for sheep, pigpen’. Rédei 1986—1988:658—659 *kentä.

Sumerian *gán* ‘field’, *gán* ‘planting, cultivation’, *gána* ‘field, land, country, area, region’, *gán-zi*, *gán-zi-da* ‘cultivation, tillage’, *gán-ziˢᵃʳ* ‘a plant’.

Buck 1949:1.23 plain, field; 8.12 field (for cultivation). Bomhard 1996a:219, no. 625; Hakola 2003:43, no. 128.

581. Proto-Nostratic root *q’arʸ- (~ *q’ərʸ-):
(vb.) *q’arʸ- ‘to rot, to stink’;
(n.) *q’arʸ-a ‘rotten, stinking, putrid thing’; (adj.) ‘rotten, stinking, putrid’

A. Dravidian: Gondi *kaṛītānā* ‘to be rotten, to rot, to decay’, *kaṛi-* ‘to be rotten, to go rotten’, *kaṛīstānā* ‘to rot, to ret (hemp)’; Koṇḍa *kaṛk-* ‘to go bad, to become rotten’; Pengo *kṛaŋ(g)-* (*kṛaŋt-*) ‘to go bad, to become rotten (egg)’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:126, no. 1360.
B. Proto-Kartvelian **q’ar-/*q’r-* ‘to rot, to stink’: Georgian *q’ar-/q’r-* ‘to stink, to reek’, *m-q’r-al-i* ‘stinking’; Mingrelian [*ʔor-*] in *ʔor-ad-*, *ʔor-id-*, *ʔor-d-* ‘to rot (tr., intr.), to stink’, *ʔor-ad-il-i* ‘rotten’. Klimov 1964:209 **q̇ar-* and 1998:237 **q̇ar-* : **q̇r-* ‘to stink’; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:409 **q̇ar-/*q̇r-*; Fähnrich 2007:508 **q̇ar-/*q̇r-*.

Buck 1949:15.26 bad smelling, stinking.

582. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **q’aw-a* ‘head, forehead, brow’:

A. Proto-Afrasian **k’aw-* ‘forehead, brow’: Proto-Southern Cushitic **k’awa* ‘brow ridge’ > Gorowa *qaway* ‘eyelid’; Dahalo *k’awaṯi* ‘middle of forehead’; Ma’a *ⁿkumbíti* ‘eyebrow’. Ehret 1980:252.
B. Proto-Kartvelian **q’ua-* ‘forehead; handle (of an axe)’: Georgian *q’ua* ‘handle of an axe, crust (of bread)’; Mingrelian *ʔva* ‘forehead’; Laz *k’va*, *q’va* ‘forehead’, (Xopa dialect) *q’ua-* ‘handle of a hoe’; Svan *q’ua*, *q’uwa* ‘handle of an axe’ (this may be a loan from Georgian). Schmidt 1962:141; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:419 **q̇ua-*; Fähnrich 2007:520 **q̇ua-*; Klimov 1964:213 **q̇ua-* and 1998:245 **q̇ua-* ‘handle of an axe’. According to Klimov, “[i]n general the meaning ‘handle’ is considered to be original”.
C. (?) Proto-Indo-European (**k’ew-lo-s/*)**k’u-lo-s* ‘head, top, summit, peak’: Proto-Germanic **kullaz* ‘head, top, summit, peak’ > Old Icelandic *kollr* ‘top, summit; head, pate; a shaven crown’; Norwegian *koll* ‘summit, peak’; Swedish (dial.) *koll* ‘summit, peak’; Old Danish *kol*, *kuld* ‘summit, peak’; Middle Low German *kol*, *kolle* ‘head, uppermost part of a plant’. Pokorny 1959:397 [**geu-lo-s*]; Orël 2003:223 Proto-Germanic **kullaz*; De Vries 1977:325; Falk—Torp 1903—1906.I:399 **gl̥no-*.

Sumerian *gú* ‘head, forehead’.

Buck 1949:3.205 forehead; 4.206 eyebrow. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:508—509, no. 357.

583. Proto-Nostratic root **q’el-*:
(vb.) **q’el-* ‘to swallow’;
(n.) **q’el-a* ‘neck, throat’

A. Proto-Kartvelian **q’el-* ‘neck, throat’: Georgian *q’el-* ‘neck of a vessel, throat’; Mingrelian *ʔal-* ‘neck, neck of a vessel’, *o-ʔal-eš-* ‘collar’; Laz

q'al-, *ʔal-*, *al-* 'neck, neck of a vessel'; Svan [*q'l-*] in *mə-q'l-a*, *mə-q'l-i* 'neck, throat'. Klimov 1964:209 **ġel-* and 1998:238 **ġel-* 'neck'; Schmidt 1962:140; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:410 **ġel-*; Fähnrich 2007:510 **ġel-*.

B. Proto-Indo-European **k'el-*/**k'l̥-* '(n.) neck, throat; (vb.) to swallow': Old Irish *gelim* 'to feed, to graze'; Latin *gula* 'throat, gullet', *gluttiō*, *glūtiō* 'to swallow, to gulp down'; Old English *ceole* 'throat, gorge'; Dutch *keel* 'throat'; Old High German *kela* 'throat, gullet' (New High German *Kehle*); Armenian *ekowl* 'devoured'; Old Church Slavic *glъtati* 'to swallow'; Russian *glotát'* [глотать] 'to swallow'; Czech *hltati* 'to swallow, to devour'; Polish (dial.) *glutać* 'to drink noisely'; Slovenian *goltáti* 'to swallow, to devour, to belch'; Serbo-Croatian *gùtati* 'to devour'. Rix 1998a:171 **gu̯el-* 'to swallow, to devour, to gulp down'; Pokorny 1959:365 **gel-* 'to swallow'; Walde 1927—1932.I:621 **gel-*; Mann 1984—1987:287 **golos*, *-ā*, *-is*, *-i̯ə* 'neck, throat, gullet'; Ernout—Meillet 1979:284—285 **gel-* (and **g*^{w}*el-*); De Vaan 2008:275 **gul-*; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:625—626 **gel-* and **gu̯el-*; Orël 2003:212 Proto-Germanic **keluz* ~ **kelōn*; Kroonen 2013:284 Proto-Germanic **kelōn-* 'throat'; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:361 Proto-Germanic **kelōn-*, **kelu-*; Kluge—Seebold 1989:364 West Germanic **kelōn-*; Derksen 2008:168. Note: Sanskrit *gala-ḥ* 'throat, neck' does not belong here (cf. Mayrhofer 1956—1980.I:330).

Buck 1949:4.28 neck; 4.29 throat; 5.11 eat; 5.12 drink (vb.). Bomhard—Kerns 1994:508, no. 356; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 1910, **ġaLV* 'neck' (Dolgopolsky includes possible Afrasian [Cushitic] cognates but incorrectly compares Proto-Kartvelian **q'el-* 'neck, throat' with Proto-Indo-European **kol-so-* 'neck' [cf. Pokorny 1959:639 **ku̯ol-so-*; Mallory—Adams 1997:392 **kólsos*]).

584. Proto-Nostratic root **q'in-* (~ **q'en-*):
(vb.) **q'in-* 'to freeze, to be or become cold';
(n.) **q'in-a* 'cold, frost'

A. Dravidian: Kolami *kinani*, *kinām* 'cold'; Gondi *kinan*, *kīnd* 'cold', *kinnān* 'wet, cool', *kinnīta* 'cold'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:147, no. 1601.

B. Proto-Kartvelian **q'in-* 'to freeze': Georgian *q'in-* 'to freeze', *q'in-el-* 'ice'; Mingrelian *ʔin-* 'to freeze'; Laz *q'in-* 'to freeze', *q'in-* 'cold, frost'. Klimov 1964:212 **q̇in-* and 1998:243 **q̇in-* 'to cool, to freeze'; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:416—417 **q̇in-*; Fähnrich 2007:517—518 **q̇in-*.

Buck 1949:15.86 cold. Bomhard 1996a:221, no. 629.

				Eurasiatic			
Proto-Nostratic	Proto-Afrasian	Proto-Dravid.	Proto-Kartvel.	Proto-IE	Proto-Uralic	Proto-Altaic	Proto-Eskimo
ɢʷ-	gʷ-	k-	ɢw/u-	gʷʰ-	k-	g-	k- q-
-ɢʷ-	-gʷ-	-k-	-ɢw/u-	-gʷʰ-	-x-	-g-	-ɣ-

585. Proto-Nostratic root **ɢʷal-* (~ **ɢʷəl-*):
(vb.) **ɢʷal-* ‘to curve, to bend, to roll; to be round’;
(n.) **ɢʷal-a* ‘round object: circle, globe, sphere, ball, etc.’
Derivative:
(n.) **ɢʷal-a* ‘head, skull’

A. Proto-Afrasian **gʷal-* ‘to curve, to bend; to roll; to be round’: Proto-Semitic **gal-al-* ‘to roll’ > Akkadian *galālu* ‘to roll’, *gallu* ‘rolling’; Hebrew *gālal* [גָּלַל] ‘to roll, to roll away (especially large stones)’; Jewish Palestinian Aramaic *gallēl* ‘to roll, to turn over (and over)’; Aramaic *gəlal* ‘to roll, to roll away’; Arabic *ǧulla* ‘(cannon) ball; bomb’. D. Cohen 1970— :125—129; Murtonen 1989:134; Klein 1987:101. Proto-Semitic (reduplicated) **gal-gal-* ‘round object: wheel, sphere, globe, circle’ > Hebrew *galgal* [גַּלְגַּל] ‘wheel, whirl, whirlwind’, *gilgāl* [גִּלְגָּל] ‘wheel’; Imperial Aramaic *glgl* ‘wheel’; Jewish Palestinian Aramaic *gilglā* ‘wheel’, *galgal* ‘belt’, *galgēl* ‘to roll, to turn’; Syriac *gīglā* ‘wheel’; Phoenician *glgl* ‘wrapper’; Geez / Ethiopic *ʔangallaga* [**አንገለገ**] (‘to roll together’ >) ‘to assemble (intr.), to come together, to keep company, to band together, to gather in crowds’; Tigre *gälgäla* ‘to gather’. D. Cohen 1970— :118; Klein 1987:99; Tomback 1978:65; Leslau 1987:190. Proto-Semitic **gal-am-* ‘to wrap up, to roll up’ > Hebrew **gālam* [גָּלַם] ‘to wrap up, to fold, to fold together’; Mandaic **glm* ‘to roll up, to wrap up’. D. Cohen 1970— :129; Klein 1987:101. Proto-Semitic **gal-aʒ-* ‘to wrap up, to twist together, to tie round’ > Arabic *ǧalaza* ‘to fold and wrap up; to twist firmly together; to tie round with the sinew of a camel’s neck; to extend, to stretch’, *ǧalz* ‘sinew of a camel’s neck for tying’. D. Cohen 1970— :122. Proto-Semitic **gal-al-* ‘heap, pile, or circle of stones’ > Akkadian *galālu* ‘pebble’; Hebrew *gal* [גַּל] ‘heap or pile of stones’, *gəlīlōθ* [גְּלִילוֹת] ‘circles of stones’, *gilgāl* [גִּלְגָּל] ‘(sacred) circle (of stones)’; Jewish Palestinian Aramaic *gəlālā* ‘stone’; Syriac *gālā* ‘mound’; Palmyrene *gll?* ‘stone pillar, stele’. D. Cohen 1970— :126; Murtonen 1989:134; Klein 1987:99. Egyptian *ḏ̲ḏ̲w* (‘round object’ >) ‘pot’; Coptic *ǧō* [**ϫω**] ‘cup’. Hannig 1995:997; Faulkner 1962:320; Erman—Grapow 1921:219 and 1926—1963.5:532; Gardiner 1957:603 Vycichl 1983:324; Černý 1976:311. Berber: Tuareg *gələllət* ‘to be round’. Central Chadic: Logone *ŋgolō*

'round' (prefix **nV-*). Orël—Stolbova 1995:214, no. 948, **gol-* 'to be round, to go round', 221, no. 980, **gulul-* 'ball'; Ehret 1995:191, no. 301, **g*^{w}*il-* 'to bend, to turn (intr.)'; Militarëv 2012:91 Proto-Afrasian **g*^{w}*VlVl-*.

B. Dravidian: Tamil *kulukkai* 'circular earthen bin for storing grain'; Malayalam *kulukka* 'recepticle of rice, made of bamboo mats or twigs'; Koṇḍa *kolki* 'a big basket for storing grain, kept on a terrace below the roof'; Kuwi *kolki* 'recepticle for storing paddy'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:163, no. 1805.

C. Proto-Kartvelian **ɢwel-*/**ɢwl-* 'to curve, to bend': Georgian [*γul-*/*γvl-*] 'to curve, to bend'; Mingrelian [*γul-*] 'to curve, to bend'; Laz [*γul-*] 'to curve, to bend'; Svan [*γul-*] 'to curve, to bend'. Klimov 1998:226 **ɣwel-* : **ɣwl-* 'to curve; to bend' — according to Klimov, this "verb stem may be extracted from numerous derivatives"; Fähnrich—Sardschweladse 1995:403—404 **γun-*/**γul-*; Fähnrich 2007:500 **γul-*. Proto-Kartvelian **ɢwl-* 'bent, curved': Georgian *γul-* (Old Georgian *mγul-*) 'kind of sickle'; Mingrelian *γula-* 'bent, crooked'; Laz *γul(a)-* 'crooked, squint', *toli-γula-* 'squint-eyed'. Klimov notes that it is unclear whether Svan *γulaj* 'knee' belongs here. Klimov 1998:227 **ɣwl-* 'bent, curved'. Proto-Kartvelian **ɢwl-az-* 'to twist, to twine, to bend': Georgian *γvlaz-* 'to twist, to twine, to bend'; Mingrelian *γuloz-* 'to twist, to twine, to bend'. Klimov 1998:228 **ɣwl-az-* 'to get crooked; to bend'. Proto-Kartvelian **ɢwl-arǯ-* 'to twist, to twine, to bend': Georgian *gularč'-n-* 'to twist, to twine, to bend' (Old Georgian past participle *γularč'n-il-* ~ *gularʒn-il-* 'crooked, bent'); Svan *γurǯa-n-* 'to twist, to twine, to bend'. Klimov 1998:228 **ɣwl-arʒ*$_{1}$*-* 'to get crooked; to bend'. Proto-Kartvelian **ɢwl-arč'-* 'to twist, to roll': Georgian *γvlarč'-n-* 'to twist, to roll'; Mingrelian *γuloc'k'-* 'to twist, to roll'. Klimov 1998:228 **ɣwl-arç̌-* 'to twist, to roll'. Proto-Kartvelian **ɢwl-ek'-*/**ɢwl-ik'-* 'to twist, to twine, to curve, to bend': Georgian [*γvlek'-*] 'to twist, to twine, to curve, to bend', *xvlik'-* (< **γwlik'-*) 'lizard'; Mingrelian [*γlik'-*] 'to twist, to twine, to curve, to bend'; Laz [*γvelik'-*, *γlik'-*] 'to twist, to twine, to curve, to bend. Klimov 1998:228 **ɣwl-eḳ-*/**ɣwl-iḳ-* 'to get crooked, to get curved'. Proto-Kartvelian **ɢwl-erč'-* 'earthworm': Georgian *γvle(r)č'-* 'spiral rod' (dialectal also *γvlenč'-*); Mingrelian *γve(r)č'k'-*, *γve(n)č'k'-* 'earthworm'; Svan *γwäsq'* 'earthworm'. Klimov 1998:229 **ɣwl-erç̌-* 'earthworm' — according to Klimov, "[t]he Georgian lexeme underwent a semantic shift".

D. Proto-Indo-European **g*^{wh}*al-k*^{h}*-* '(vb.) to curve, to bend, to twist, to turn; (n.) curved object: sickle': Latin *falx* 'a sickle, bill-hook, pruning-hook; a sickle-shaped implement of war, used for tearing down stockades', *flectō* 'to bend; to alter the shape of, to bow, to twist, to curve; to change, to alter, to influence; to turn round in a circle'; (?) Greek φάλκης 'rib (of a ship)'. Mann 1984—1987:378 **gu̯halk-* (?) 'sickle; sickle-shaped claw'; Boisacq 1950:1012; Beekes 2010.II:1549; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:1174—1175; Frisk 1970—1973.II:986—987; De Vaan 2008:200 borrowing?; Ernout—

Meillet 1979:214 and 239—240; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:449—450 and I:514—515.

E. Chukchi-Kamchatkan: Proto-Chukotian *ɣælmə- ‘(to be) crooked or winding’ > Chukchi ɣelmə-, welmə- ‘to be crooked, to twist (road)’; Kerek walmə- ‘to bend’; Koryak ɣalməŋ ‘crooked’, ɣelʲmə-tku- ‘to twist (road)’; Alyutor ɣalmə- ‘crooked’. Fortescue 2005:83.

Buck 1949:8.33 sickle; scythe; 10.76 wheel; 12.74 crooked; 12.81 round (adj.); 12.82 circle; 12.83 sphere.

586. Proto-Nostratic (n.) *ɢʷal-a ‘head, skull’:
Derivative of:
(vb.) *ɢʷal- ‘to curve, to bend, to roll; to be round’;
(n.) *ɢʷal-a ‘round object: circle, globe, sphere, ball, etc.’

A. Proto-Afrasian *gʷal- ‘head, skull’, (reduplicated) *gʷal-gʷal-: Proto-Semitic (reduplicated) *gul-gul- ‘skull’ > Akkadian gulgullu, gulgullatu ‘skull; container shaped like a human skull’; Biblical Hebrew gulgōleθ [גֻּלְגֹּלֶת] ‘skull, head, poll (person)’; Jewish Palestinian Aramaic gōgaltā, gūlgūltā ‘skull’. D. Cohen 1970— :118; Murtonen 1989:134; Klein 1987:99. Egyptian *ḏ͗ḏ͗* [*ḏ͗aʒḏ͗aʒ] (< *gal-gal) ‘head’; Coptic ǧōǧ [**ϫⲱϫ**] ‘head’. Faulkner 1962:319; Erman—Grapow 1921:218 and 1926—1963.5:530—531; Gardiner 1957:603; Hannig 1995:997; Vycichl 1983:334 — according to Vycichl, Egyptian *ḏ͗ḏ͗* ‘head’ may ultimately be related to *ḏ͗ḏ͗w* ‘pot’ (see above); Černý 1976:310—311. East Chadic: Kwang gólò, gòló ‘head’. Central Chadic: Muktele gəl ‘head’. Jungraithmayr—Ibriszimow 1994.II:183. Takács 2011a:42.

B. Proto-Indo-European *gʷʰal- ‘head’: Armenian glux ‘head’; Lithuanian galvà ‘head’ (gen. sg. galvõs); Latvian galva (gen. sg. galvas) ‘head’; Old Prussian gallū (gen. sg. galwas) ‘head’; Old Church Slavic glava ‘head’; Serbo-Croatian gláva ‘head’; Russian golová [голова] ‘head’; Czech hlava ‘head’; Polish głowa ‘head’. Pokorny 1959:349—350 *gal- ‘bald, naked’; Walde 1927—1932.I:537—538 *gal-; Mann 1984—1987:1615 *galu̯ā ‘head’; Preobrazhensky 1951:139—140 Indo-European root *ghōl- (with suffix *-u̯ā [cf. Brugmann—Delbrück 1897—1916.II/1:208]); Derksen 2008:176 *golH-u̯-eh$_2$; Mallory—Adams 1997:45 *g(h)olh$_{x}$u̯-éh$_a$- ‘bald-plate’; Fraenkel 1962—1965.I:131—132; Smoczyński 2007.1:154—155; Derksen 2008:176 *golH-u-eh$_2$ and 2015:162—163 *golH-ueh$_2$-. Note: Not related to words for ‘bald, bare, naked’ (Proto-Nostratic *k’alʸ- [~ *k’əlʸ-] ‘[adj.] bald, bare; [n.] bald spot’).

Buck 1949:4.20 head; 4.202 skull. Illič-Svityč 1971—1984.I:237—238, no. 94, *gUĺʌ ‘round, sphere’; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 613, *goLu (or *goyVLu ?) ‘skull’ (→ in descendant languages: ‘sphere, ball’).

22.31. PROTO-NOSTRATIC *q'^{w}

				Eurasiatic			
Proto-Nostratic	Proto-Afrasian	Proto-Dravid.	Proto-Kartvel.	Proto-IE	Proto-Uralic	Proto-Altaic	Proto-Eskimo
q'^{w}-	q'^{w}- (?)	k-	q'w/u-	k'^{w}-	k-	k-	k- q-
-q'^{w}-	-q'^{w}- (?)	-k(k)-	-q'w/u-	-k'^{w}-	-k-	-k-	-k- -q-

587. Proto-Nostratic root **q'^{w}ad-* (~ **q'^{w}əd-*):
(vb.) **q'^{w}ad-* 'to abide, to dwell; to relax, to rest, to be or become calm';
(n.) **q'^{w}ad-a* 'dwelling, abode, house'

A. Dravidian: Tamil *kuṭi* 'house, abode, home, family, lineage, town, tenants', *kuṭikai* 'hut made of leaves, temple', *kuṭical* 'hut', *kuṭicai*, *kuṭiñai* 'small hut, cottage', *kuṭimai* 'family, lineage, allegiance (as of subjects to their sovereign), servitude', *kuṭiy-āḷ* 'tenant', *kuṭiyilār* 'tenants', *kuṭil* 'hut, shed, abode', *kuṭaṅkar* 'hut, cottage'; Malayalam *kuṭi* 'house, hut, family, wife, tribe', *kuṭima* 'the body of landholders, tenantry', *kuṭiyan* 'slaves', *kuṭiyān* 'inhabitant, subject, tenant', *kuṭiññil* 'hut, thatch', *kuṭil* 'hut, outhouse near palace for menials'; Kannaḍa *guḍi* 'house, temple', *guḍil*, *guḍalu*, *guḍisalu*, *guḍasalu*, *guḍasala* 'hut with a thatched roof'; Koḍagu *kuḍi* 'family of servants living in one hut'; Tuḷu *guḍi* 'small pagoda or shrine', *guḍisalu̯*, *guḍisilu̯*, *guḍsilu̯*, *guḍicilu̯* 'hut, shed'; Telugu *koṭika* 'hamlet', *guḍi* 'temple', *guḍise* 'hut, cottage, hovel'; Kolami *guḍī* 'temple'; Parji *guḍi* 'temple, village, resthouse'; Gadba (Ollari) *guḍi* 'temple'; Kui *guḍi* 'central room of house, living room'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:151—152, no. 1655. (Note: According to Mayrhofer 1956—1980.I:222, Sanskrit *kuṭi-ḥ* 'cottage, hut' and several similar forms are Dravidian loans.)

B. Proto-Kartvelian **q'wed-* 'house': Georgian [*q'ude-*] 'house' in: *sa-q'ud-el-* 'cloister, refuge', *kva-q'ude-* 'stone house', *da-q'ud-eb-a* 'to become calm, quiet, tranquil', *q'ud-r-o* 'calm, quiet, tranquil'; Mingrelian *ʔude-* 'house'; Svan *ġwed-i* 'calm, quiet, tranquil'. Fähnrich 2007:513 **ġwed-*; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:412 **ġwed-*; Klimov 1998:245—246 **ġud-e* 'house'.

C. (?) Uralic: Proto-Finno-Ugrian **kota* 'tent, hut, house' > Finnish *kota* 'Lapp hut', *koti*, *koto* 'home'; Estonian *koda* 'house', *kodu* 'home'; Lapp / Saami *goatte*/*goaðe-* 'tent, hut'; Mordvin *kudo*, *kud* 'house'; Cheremis / Mari *kudo* 'house'; Votyak / Udmurt *kwa*, *kwala* 'summer hut'; Ostyak / Xanty *kat* 'house'; Hungarian *ház* 'house, residence, abode, home'. Collinder 1955:130—131 and 1977:142; Rédei 1986—1988:190 **kota*; Joki 1973:272—273 **kota*; Sammallahti 1988:543 **kotå* 'house, hut'. These forms may be Indo-Iranian loans.

Sumerian *gùd* 'home; family; nest'.

Buck 1949:7.12 house; 7.13 hut. Hakola 2000:78, no. 318, **kotɜ* 'teepee'; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 1907, **q̇ûd[i]* 'house, hut'.

588. Proto-Nostratic root **q'ʷal-* (~ **q'ʷəl-*):
(vb.) **q'ʷal-* 'to call (out), to cry (out), to shout';
(n.) **q'ʷal-a* 'call, cry, outcry, sound, noise, hubbub, uproar'

A. Proto-Afrasian **k'ʷal-* 'to call (out), to cry (out), to shout': Proto-Semitic **k'a/wa/l-* 'to speak, to call, to cry' > Hebrew *ḳōl* [קוֹל] 'sound, voice'; Aramaic *ḳāl* 'voice, echo, news'; Syriac *ḳālā* 'to call, to cry out, to shout'; Phoenician *ḳl* 'voice'; Ugaritic *ḳl* 'voice'; Mandaic *ḳala* 'voice'; Akkadian *ḳālu* 'to speak, to call, to cry', *ḳūlu* 'speech'; Amorite *ḳwl* 'to speak'; Arabic *ḳāla* 'to speak, to say, to tell', *ḳawl* 'word, speech'; Sabaean *ḳwl* 'speaker'; Mehri *ḳawl* 'speech'; Geez / Ethiopic *ḳāl* [ቃል] 'voice, word, saying, speech, statement, discourse, command, order, sound, noise, expression, maxim, thing'; Tigrinya *ḳal* 'word'; Tigre *ḳal* 'word'; Amharic *ḳal* 'word'; Gurage *ḳal* 'voice, thing'. Murtonen 1989:372; Zammit 2002:348; Klein 1987:565; Leslau 1979:474 and 1987:426. Proto-Southern Cushitic **k'ʷalaʔ-*, **k'ʷalaaʔ-* 'to shout' > Iraqw *kwalaʾ-/qwalaʾ-* 'to be joyful, to be glad', *qwalaʾ* 'joy'; Ma'a *-kalá/-xalá* 'to bark', *-kaláʾe* 'to shout'; K'wadza *k'waʾaliko* 'voice'. Ehret 1980:268. East Chadic **kawal-* 'to cry, to shout; to speak, to call' > Kabalay *ye-kuwələ* 'to cry, to shout'; Dangla *kole* 'to speak, to call'; Lele *ya-kolo* 'to cry, to shout'; Jegu *kol* 'to speak, to call'; Birgit *kole* 'to speak, to call'; Bidiya *kol* 'to speak, to call'. Diakonoff 1992:24 **ḳʷəl* (> **ḳu̯l*) 'call, voice'; Orël—Stolbova 1995:335, no. 1541, **ḳal-/*ḳawal-* 'speak'; Ehret 1995:245, no. 442, **k'ʷal-* 'to call'.

B. Elamo-Dravidian: Middle Elamite *ku-la-a* 'prayer, plea', *ku-ul-la-* 'to call out', *ku-ul* 'prayer, invocation'; Neo-Elamite *ku-la* 'cry, plea'. Dravidian: Tamil *kulai* 'to bark (as a dog), to talk incoherently', *kulaippu* 'barking, snarling', *kulavai* 'chorus of shrill sounds'; Malayalam *kulākulā* imitative of barking. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:163, no. 1811. Kannaḍa *gullu* 'loud noise, hubbub'; Telugu *gollu* 'noise, hubbub, uproar', *kolakola* 'noise, tumult', *golagola* 'a confused noise', *gōla* 'loud noise or outcry', *gulgu* 'to grumble'; Tuḷu *gullu* 'a great noise, shout, uproar'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:163, no. 1813.

C. Indo-European: Greek βληχή (Doric βλᾱχᾱ́) (< **k'ʷl-ā-* < **k'ʷl-eA-* [**k'ʷl-aA-*]) 'a bleating, the wailing of children'; Old High German *klaga* 'cries of pain; complaint, lament, lamentation, grievance' (New High German *Klage*). Boisacq 1950:123 βλ- < **g̑ʷl-*; Beekes 2010.I:221; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:373; Kluge—Seebold 1989:373; Brugmann 1904:176 βλ- < **g̑ʷl-*.

D. Yukaghir (Southern / Kolyma) *qolil* 'sound, noise, tinkling', *qoliń-* 'to make a noise', *qoli-čö:n* 'noiselessly'. Nikolaeva 2006:384.

E. Proto-Chukchi-Kamchatkan **quli-* ‘to cry or shout’: Chukchi *quli-*, *qolento-* ‘to shout’, (reduplicated) *quliqul* ‘voice, cry’, *e-quli-ke* ‘silently’; Kerek *quli-lʁaat-* ‘to shout’, *quliiXul* ‘song’; Koryak *qolejav-* ‘to sing’, (reduplicated) *quliqul* ‘song’; Alyutor (reduplicated) *quliqul* ‘song’, *qulijava-* ‘to sing’; Kamchadal / Itelmen *quli(qul)* ‘song’, *qolento-* ‘to sing’ (these may be loans from Chukotian). Fortescue 2005:241; Mudrak 1989b:105 **quli-* ‘voice, cry’.

Buck 1949:18.13 (18.14) shout, cry out; 18.21 speak, talk; 18.41 call (vb. = summon). Bomhard—Kerns 1994:487, no. 333; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 1913, **ɋU[ʔ]ɻV* ‘to speak, to call’.

589. Proto-Nostratic root **q’ʷal-* (~ **q’ʷəl-*):
(vb.) **q’ʷal-* ‘to strike, to hit, to cut, to hurt, to wound, to slay, to kill’;
(n.) **q’ʷal-a* ‘killing, murder, manslaughter, destruction, death’
Probably identical to:
(vb.) **q’ʷal-* ‘to throw, to hurl’;
(n.) **q’ʷal-a* ‘sling, club; throwing, hurling’

A. Proto-Afrasian **k’ʷal-* ‘to strike, to hit, to cut, to kill, to slaughter’: (?) Proto-Semitic **k’a/ta/l-* ‘to kill, to slay’ > Akkadian *ḳatālu* ‘to kill, to slaughter’; Arabic *ḳatala* ‘to kill, to slay, to murder, to assassinate’, *ḳatl* ‘killing, murder, manslaughter, homicide, assassination’; Hebrew *ḳāṭal* [קָטַל] (< **ḳat-al-*, with *ṭ* < *t* through assimilation to the preceding emphatic) ‘to slay, to kill’, *ḳeṭel* [קֶטֶל] ‘murder, slaughter’; Syriac *ḳəṭal* ‘to kill’ (Ancient Aramaic *ḳtl*); Sabaean *ḳtl* ‘to kill’; Geez / Ethiopic *ḳatala* [ቀተለ] ‘to kill, to put to death, to slay, to murder, to execute, to slaughter, to attack, to engage in battle, to combat, to fight, to wage war’; Tigrinya *ḳätälä* ‘to kill’; Tigre *ḳätla* ‘to kill’; Gurage *ḳäṭälä* ‘to kill’. Murtonen 1989:374; Klein 1987:575; Militarëv 2011:78 Proto-Semitic **ḳtl*; Leslau 1979:508 and 1987:451—452; Zammit 2002:333. Proto-Semitic **k’al-aʒ-* ‘to strike, to hit, to hew off, to cut off’ > Arabic *ḳalaza* ‘to hit, to beat’; Geez / Ethiopic *ḳʷallaza* [ቈለዘ] ‘to amputate, to hew off, to cut off, to prune’, *ḳʷəlz* [ቍልዝ] ‘pruning’, *maḳʷlaz* [መቍለዝ], *maḳlaz* [መቅለዝ] ‘axe’, *maḳlaza* [መቅለዘ] ‘to hew, to carve’; Amharic *ḳʷälläzä* ‘to prune, to cut off thorns’. Leslau 1987:431. Proto-Semitic **k’al-am-* ‘to cut, to divide’ > Arabic *ḳalama* ‘to cut, to clip, to pare (nails, etc.), to prune, to trim, to lop (trees, etc.)’, *ḳulāma* ‘clippings, cuttings, parings, shavings, nail cuttings’; Geez / Ethiopic *maḳala* [መቀለ] ‘to divide’, *maḳlamt* [መቅለምት] ‘knife’; Tigrinya *mäḳälä* ‘to divide’; Amharic *mäḳlämt* ‘knife’; Tigre *mäḳəlmät* ‘knife’; Gurage *mäḳʷlant* ‘a kind of knife’. Leslau 1979:415 and 1987:354. Egyptian (Demotic) *qlh* ‘to knock, to strike’; Coptic *kōlh* [ⲕⲱⲗϩ], *kolh* [ⲕⲟⲗϩ] ‘to knock, to strike’, *klhe* [ⲕⲗϩⲉ] ‘knock’. Vycichl 1983:80; Černý 1976:57. Proto-East Cushitic **k’al-* ‘to slaughter’ > Galla / Oromo *k’al-* ‘to

slaughter'; Somali *qal-* 'to slaughter'; Hadiyya *alaleess-* 'to slaughter'. Sasse 1979:49.

B. Proto- Dravidian **kol-* 'to strike, to hit, to cut, to hurt, to wound, to slay, to kill': Dravidian: Tamil *kol* (*kolv-*, *koṉr-*) 'to kill, to murder, to destroy, to ruin, to fell, to reap, to afflict, to tease', *kolai* 'killing, murder, vexation, teasing'; Malayalam *kolluka* 'to kill, to murder', *kollika* 'to make to kill', *kolli* 'killing', *kula* 'killing, murder'; Kota *kol* 'act of killing'; Toda *kwaly* 'murder'; Kannaḍa *kol*, *kollu*, *kolu* (*kond-*) 'to kill, to murder', *kole* 'killing, murder, slaughter', *kolluvike* 'killing'; Koḍagu *koll-* (*kolluv-*, *kond-*) 'to kill'; Tuḷu *kolè* 'murder'; Telugu *kollu* 'to kill', *kola* 'sin; murder, holocaust, enmity'; Brahui *xalling* 'to strike, to kill, to fire (a gun), to throw (stone)'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:192, no. 2132; Krishnamurti 2003:118 **kol-* 'to kill'. Tamil *koḷ* (*koḷv-*, *koṇṭ-*) 'to strike, to hurt', *kōḷ* 'killing, murder'; Malayalam *koḷka* (*koṇṭ-*) 'to hit, to take effect, to come in contact', *koḷḷikka* 'to hit', *kōḷ* 'hitting, wound, damage'; Kota *koḷ-*/*koṇ-* (*koḍ-*) 'to pain, to trouble'; Toda *kwïḽ-* (*kwïḍ-*) 'to quarrel'; Tuḷu *koṇpini* 'to hit', *kolpuni*, *kolpuni* 'to come into collision'; Telugu *konu* 'to be pierced (as by an arrow)'; Kolami *go·l-* (*goḍḍ-*) 'to beat, to shoot with a bow'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:194, no. 2152.

C. Proto-Kartvelian **q'wal-* 'to slay, to kill': Georgian *k'al-*/*k'l-* (< **k'wal-* < **q'wal-*) 'to kill'; Mingrelian *ʔvil-* 'to kill'; Laz *q'vil-*, *ʔvil-*, *ʔil-* 'to kill'. Schmidt 1962:70, 71, and 119.

D. Proto-Indo-European **kʷel-*/**kʷol-*/**kʷl̥-* 'to strike, to hit, to cut, to hurt, to wound, to slay, to kill': Old Icelandic *kvelja* 'to torment, to torture', *kvöl* 'torment, torture'; Faroese *kvøl* 'torment, torture'; Norwegian *kvelja* 'to torment, to torture'; Swedish *kvälja* 'to torment, to torture', *kval* 'torment, torture'; Danish *kvæle* 'to torment, to torture', *kval* 'torment, torture'; Old English *cwelan* 'to die', *cwellan* 'to kill', *cwealm* 'killing, murder; death, mortality; pestilence, plague; pain, torment', *cwield* 'destruction, death', *cwielman* 'to kill, to torment, to oppress', *cwalu* 'killing, violent death, destruction'; Old Saxon *quāla* 'torture, torment, agony, pain', *quelan* 'to die', *quellian* 'to torture, to kill'; Middle Dutch *quelen* 'to be ill, to suffer'; Dutch *kwellen* 'to vex, to tease, to torment'; *kwaal* 'complaint, disease'; Old High German *quellan* 'to kill' (New High German *quälen* 'to torture, to torment'), *quelan* 'to die', *quāla* 'torture, torment, agony, pain' (New High German *Qual*); Welsh *ballu* 'to die'; Lithuanian *geliù*, *gélti* 'to sting, to ache', *gėlà* 'torture'; Old Prussian *gallan* 'death'; Armenian *kełem* 'to torture'. Rix 1998a:185 **gᵘelH-* 'to torment, to torture, to stab'; Pokorny 1959:470—471 **gᵘel-* 'to stab'; Walde 1927—1932.I:689—690 **gᵘel-*; Mann 1984—1987:354 **gu̯el-* 'pain, sorrow', 355 **gu̯ēleu̯ō* 'to hurt, to harm', 363 **gu̯l̥u̯ō* (**gu̯əl-*) 'to strike, to cast, to hurt, to beat down', 366 **gu̯olu̯ō* 'to fell, to lay low'; Watkins 1985:24 **gʷel-* and 2000:34 **gʷelə-* (also **gʷel-*) 'to pierce'; Mallory—Adams 1997:324—345 **gʷel-* 'to sting, to pierce' and 549 **gʷel-* 'to strike, to stab'; Orël 2003:227 Proto-

Germanic **kwaljanan*, 227 **kwelanan*; Kroonen 2013:315 Proto-Germanic **kwaljan-* ‘to make suffer; pain’, 315 **kwalō-* ‘torment’, 316 **kwelan-* ‘to suffer’, and 316 **kwelō-* ‘agony’; De Vries 1977:337 and 339; Onions 1966:505, 729, and 731; Klein 1971:402, 608, and 609; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:572 **gᵘel-*; Kluge—Seebold 1989:573; Falk—Torp 1903—1906.I: 428 and I:434; Fraenkel 1962—1965.I:145—146; Smoczyński 2007.1:168 **gᵘelH-*; Derksen 2015:167—168 and 170 **gʷelH-*.

E. Proto-Uralic **kola-* ‘to die’: Finnish *kuole-* ‘to die’; Estonian *koole-* ‘to die’; Mordvin *kulo-* ‘to die’; Cheremis / Mari *kole-* ‘to die’; Votyak / Udmurt *kul-* ‘to die’; Zyrian / Komi *kul-* ‘to die’; Vogul / Mansi *hool-* ‘to die’; Ostyak / Xanty *kăl-* ‘to die’; Hungarian *hal-*/*hol-* ‘to die’; Yurak Samoyed / Nenets *haa-* ‘to die’; Tavgi Samoyed / Nganasan *ku-* ‘to die’; Yenisei Samoyed / Enets *kaa-* ‘to die’; Selkup Samoyed *qu-* ‘to die’; Kamassian *kü-* ‘to die’. Collinder 1955:28, 1965:139—140, and 1977:48; Rédei 1986—1988:173 **kola-*; Décsy 1990:100 **kola* ‘to die’. Yukaghir (Northern / Tundra) *qoolew-*, *quolew-* ‘to kill’. Nikolaeva 2006:384.

Sumerian *gul* ‘to destroy’.

Buck 1949:4.75 die; dead; death; 4.76 kill. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:510—512, no. 359; Illič-Svityč 1965:370 **q̇o(H)lʌ*; Caldwell 1913:618; Hakola 2000:82, no. 339, and 2003:52, no 161; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 1911, **q̇ola* ‘to kill’.

590. Proto-Nostratic root **q’ʷal-* (~ **q’ʷəl-*):
(vb.) **q’ʷal-* ‘to throw, to hurl’;
(n.) **q’ʷal-a* ‘sling, club; throwing, hurling’
Probably identical to:
(vb.) **q’ʷal-* ‘to strike, to hit, to cut, to hurt, to wound, to slay, to kill’;
(n.) **q’ʷal-a* ‘killing, murder, manslaughter, destruction, death’

A. Proto-Afrasian **kʼʷal-* ‘to throw, to hurl’: Proto-Semitic **kʼal-aʕ-* ‘to throw, to hurl’ > Hebrew *ḳālaʿ* [קָלַע] ‘to sling, to hurl forth’, *ḳelaʿ* [קֶלַע] ‘sling’; Syriac *ḳəlʿā* ‘sling’; Ugaritic *ḳlʿ* ‘sling’; Arabic *miḳlāʿ* ‘slingshot, sling, catapult’; Geez / Ethiopic *ḳalʿa* [ቀልዐ] ‘to throw from a sling, to hit a ball’, *maḳləʿ* [መቅልዕ] ‘sling, club’; Tigrinya *ḳälʿe* ‘to hit a ball with a stick’; Amharic *ḳälla* ‘to decapitate’. Murtonen 1989:377—378; Klein 1987:581; Leslau 1987:426; Zammit 2002:344.

B. Proto-Kartvelian **q’wil-* ‘shoulder bone, shoulder blade; arm’: Georgian *q’vl-iv-i* ‘shoulder blade’; Mingrelian *ʔvil-e* ‘bone, arm’; Laz *q’vil-i*, *ʔil-i* ‘bone’. Klimov 1964:211—212 **q̇wl-iw-* and 1998:242 **q̇wl-iw-*; Schmidt 1962:141; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:415 **q̇wil-*; Fähnrich 2007:516 **q̇wil-*.

C. Proto-Indo-European **kʼʷel-*/**kʼʷol-*/**kʼʷl̥-* ‘to throw, to hurl’: Greek βάλλω (Arcadian -δέλλω) ‘to throw’, βλῆμα ‘a throw, cast (of dice)’, βολή

'a throw, the stroke or wound of a missile', βόλος 'a throw with a casting-net, a cast (of a net)', βολίς 'a javelin; a cast of the dice, a die'; Welsh *blif* 'catapult'. Rix 1998a:185—186 *$g^{u}elh_{1}$- 'to throw, to hurl'; Pokorny 1959:471—472 *$g^{u}el$-, *$g^{u}el\partial$-, *$g^{u}l\bar{e}$- 'to throw, to hurl'; Walde 1927–1932.I:690—692 *$g^{u}el$-, *$g^{u}el\bar{e}(i)$-; Mann 1984—1987:355 *$g\underset{\cdot}{u}el\bar{o}$, -$\underset{\cdot}{i}\bar{o}$ 'to hurl, to fling', 363 *$g\underset{\cdot}{u}\underset{\cdot}{l}i\bar{o}$ (*$g\underset{\cdot}{u}\partial l$-) 'to strike, to cast, to hurl, to beat down'; Watkins 1985:25 *$g^{w}el\partial$- and 2000:34 *$g^{w}el\partial$- 'to throw, to reach'; Mallory—Adams 1997:591—582 *$g^{w}elh_{1}$- 'to throw'; Boisacq 1950:114 Greek βάλλω < *$g^{u}\underset{\cdot}{l}i\bar{o}$ (root *$g^{u}el$-, stem *$g^{u}el\bar{e}$-); Hofmann 1966:32 *$g^{u}_{e}\underset{\cdot}{l}i\bar{o}$; Frisk 1970—1973.I:215—217; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:161—163 *$g^{w}el_{2}$-, *$g^{w}le_{2}$-; Beekes 2010.I:197—198 *$g^{w}elh_{1}$-.

Buck 1949:10.25 throw (vb.). Bomhard—Kerns 1994:512, no. 360.

591. Proto-Nostratic (n.) *$q'^{w}ar$-a 'edge, point, tip, peak':

A. Proto-Afrasian *$k'^{w}ar$- 'highest point, top, peak, summit, hill, mountain, horn': Proto-Semitic *$k'arn$- 'horn, summit, peak' > Akkadian *ḳarnu* 'horn'; Ugaritic *ḳrn* 'horn'; Hebrew *ḳeren* [קֶרֶן] 'horn; corner, point, peak'; Phoenician *ḳrn* 'horn'; Aramaic *ḳarnā* 'horn'; Palmyrene *ḳrn* 'horn, corner'; Arabic *ḳarn* 'horn, top, summit, peak (of a mountain)', *ḳurna* 'salient angle, nook, corner'; Ḥarsūsi *ḳōn*/*ḳerōn* 'horn, hill, top', *ḳernēt* 'corner'; Mehri *ḳōn*/*ḳərūn* 'horn, peak, spur; tall narrow-based hill; hilt of a dagger; pod (of beans)', *ḳərnēt* 'corner'; Śḥeri / Jibbāli *ḳun*/*ḳérún* 'horn, hilt of a dagger, pod, peak'; Geez / Ethiopic *ḳarn* [ቀርን] 'horn, trumpet, tip, point'; Tigre *ḳär*, *ḳärn* 'horn'; Tigrinya *ḳärni* 'horn'; Harari *ḳär* 'horn'; Gurage *ḳär* 'horn'; Amharic *ḳänd* (< *$k'arn$-) 'horn'; Argobba *ḳänd* 'horn'. Murtonen 1989:387; Klein 1987:595; Diakonoff 1992:85 Proto-Semitic *$q\underset{\cdot}{r}n$- 'horn'; Militarëv 2008a:200 and 2011:77 Proto-Semitic *$\underset{\cdot}{k}ar$-n-; Leslau 1963:128, 1979:494, and 1987:442; Zammit 2002:338. Geez / Ethiopic *ḳardu* [ቀርዱ] 'hill'. Leslau 1987:440. Egyptian *qȝȝ* 'hill, high ground, high place', *qȝqȝ* 'hill, high place', *qȝy-t* 'high ground, arable land', *qȝ-t* 'high land, height', *qȝy-t* 'high ground, arable land', *qȝ*, *qȝy* 'to be high, exalted', *qȝỉ* 'tall, high, exalted', *qȝw* 'height'; Coptic (Sahidic), *koie* [ⲕⲟⲓⲉ], *koeie* [ⲕⲟⲉⲓⲉ], (Bohairic) *koi* [ⲕⲟⲓ] (< *qy < *qȝy) 'field', *kro* [ⲕⲣⲟ] (Demotic *qr* 'shore', *qrrȝ* 'embankment') 'shore (of sea, river), limit or margin (of land), hill, dale'. Hannig 1995:847, 847—848, 848; Faulkner 1962:275; Erman—Grapow 1921:188 and 1926—1963.5:1—3, 5:5, 5:6; Gardiner 1957:596; Černý 1976:51 and 61; Vycichl 1983:73 and 85. Proto-East Cushitic *$k'ar$- 'point, peak, top' > Galla / Oromo *k'arree* 'peak'; Somali *qar* 'hill higher than *kur*'; Gedeo / Darasa *k'ar*- 'to sharpen', *k'ara* 'sharp (of knife)', (reduplicated) *k'ark'ará* 'edge, blade'; Burji *c'ar-i* 'point, top, peak, pointedness' (loan, probably from Oromo); Hadiyya *k'ar-ess*- 'to whet', *k'areʔalla* 'edge, blade', *k'ar-eeš-aanco* 'whetstone,

rasp, file'; Sidamo *k'ara* 'point, edge, blade'. Sasse 1979:48 and 1982:46; Hudson 1989:55, 114, and 131—132. Omotic: Gonga **k'ar-* 'horn' (Mocha *qáro* 'horn'); Aari *k'ari* 'tusk', *k'armi* 'sharp'. [Orël—Stolbova 1995:337, no. 1549, **ḳar-* 'horn'; Ehret 1995:238, no. 424, **k'ar-* 'horn; point, peak'; Militarëv 2011:77 Proto-Afrasian **ḳar(-n)-*.]

B. Dravidian: Tamil *kuṟam* 'Kuṟava tribe', *kuṟiñci* 'hilly tract', *kuṟicci* 'village in the hilly tract, village', *kuṟavāṇar* 'the Kuṟava tribe of the mountain'; Malayalam *kuṟavan* 'wandering tribe of basket-makers, snake-catchers, and gypsies', *kuṟumpan* 'shepherd, caste of mountaineers in Wayanāḍu', *kuṟicci* 'hill country', *kuṟicciyan* 'a hill tribe'; Toda *kurb* 'man of Kurumba tribe living in the Nilgiri jungles', *kuṟumba* 'a caste of mountaineers'; Telugu *koṟava* name of a tribe of mountaineers. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:166—167, no. 1844.

C. Proto-Kartvelian **q'ur-* 'edge': Georgian *q'ur-e* '(dead-)end, edge', *q'urimal-* 'cheek'; Mingrelian *ʔur-e* 'edge, border, side'. Schmidt 1962:141; Klimov 1964:213—214 **q̇ur-* and 1998:246 **q̇ur-* 'ear'.

D. Proto-Indo-European **k'ʷer-*/**k'ʷor-*/**k'ʷr̥-* 'hill, mountain, peak': Greek δειράς (Cretan δηράς) (probably < **δερϝ-αδ-*) 'the ridge of a chain of hills'; Sanskrit *girí-ḥ* 'mountain, hill, rock'; Avestan *gairi-* 'mountain'; Albanian *gur* 'rock'; Lithuanian *gìrė*, *girià* 'forest'; Old Church Slavic *gora* 'mountain'; Russian *gorá* [ropa] 'mountain'; Serbo-Croatian *gòra* 'mountain'; Hittite (acc. sg.) *gur-ta-an* 'citadel', *Kuriwanda* the name of a mountain in southwestern Anatolia. Pokorny 1959:477 **gᵘer-*, **gᵘor-* 'mountain'; Walde 1927—1932.I:682 **gᵘer-* (**gᵘorā*, **gᵘ̯eri-*); Watkins 1985:25 **gʷerə-* and 2000:34 **gʷerə-* 'mountain' (oldest form: **gʷerə₃-*); Mann 1984—1987:374 **gu̯ris*, *-os*, *-us*, *-i̯ə* 'wooded hilltop, hill, wood'; Mallory—Adams 1997:270 **gʷorhₓ-*, **gʷr̥hₓ-* 'mountain; mountain forest'; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.I:335; Boisacq 1950:171 **gᵘeri̯o-*; Beekes 2010.I:310—311; Frisk 1970—1973.I:358 δειράς < **δερσάς*, related to Sanskrit *dṛṣád-* 'rock, large stone, mill-stone' (but not according to Mayrhofer 1956—1980.II:61, who notes that the form *dhṛṣát*, with initial voiced aspirate, is found in the Rig Veda); Chantraine 1968—1980.I:258; Hofmann 1966:54 **gᵘeri̯o-*; Kimball 1999:250 **gʷr̥tó-* : **gʷer-* : **gʷr̥-* 'mountain, height'; Kloekhorst 2008b:495; Puhvel 1984— .4:275—276 Hittite *gurta-* < **gher-dh-* 'to enclose'; Bomhard 1976:220; Orël 1998:127; Derksen 2008:177—178 **gʷrH-* and 2015:178 **gʷrH-*; Fraenkel 1962—1965.I:153; Smoczyński 2007.1:182—183 **gᵘr̥H-í-*.

E. (?) Altaic: Mongolian *qorγa* 'fort, fortress; shelter, enclosure'; Old Turkic *qurγan* 'castle, fortress'. Poppe 1960:88; Street 1974:88 **kurgan* 'a fortification'.

(?) Sumerian *gur₅-ru*, *gur₅-uš* 'forest' (represented by the sign for a hair-covered head). For the semantics, note Lithuanian *gìrė*, *girià* 'forest' cited above. Note also Old Icelandic *skógr* 'woods, forest' from the same stem found

in *skaga* 'to jut out, to project', *skagi* 'a low cape or ness', *skegg* 'beard' (cf. De Vries 1977:480, 487, and 497).

Buck 1949:1.22 mountain, hill; 1.41 woods, forest; 4.17 horn; 12.35 end; 12.353 edge; 12.36 side; 12.76 corner. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:514—516, no. 363.

592. Proto-Nostratic root **q'ʷar-* (~ **q'ʷər-*) or **q'ʷur-* (~ **q'ʷor-*):
(vb.) **q'ʷar-* or **q'ʷur-* 'to call out, to cry out';
(n.) **q'ʷar-a* or **q'ʷur-a* 'call, cry, shout'

A. Afrasian: Semitic: Arabic *ḳaraẓa* 'to praise, to commend, to laud, to extol, to acclaim'.

B. Dravidian: Tamil *kūṟu* (*kūṟi-*) 'to speak, to assert, to cry out the price, to cry aloud, to proclaim', *kūṟṟam* 'word', *kūṟṟu* 'proclamation, utterance, word'; Malayalam *kūṟuka* 'to speak, to proclaim', *kūṟṟu* 'call, cry of men, noise', *kūṟṟam* 'cry (as for help)'; Kannaḍa *gūṛṇisu*, *gūrmisu* 'to murmur or roar (as water of a river or the sea), to sound (as a trumpet), to roar or bellow, to cry aloud'; Telugu *ghūṛṇillu* 'to sound, to resound' (*gh-* is from Sanskrit *ghūṛṇ-* 'to move to and fro' [> Telugu *ghūṛṇillu* 'to whirl, to turn around']) ; Tuḷu *gūruni* 'to hoot'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:174, no. 1921.

C. Proto-Kartvelian **q'ur-* 'to howl (of wolves, dogs)': Georgian *q'ur-* in *q'urq'ul-* (< **q'ur-q'ur-*) 'howling (of wolves, dogs)'; Mingrelian *ʔur-* 'to howl (of wolves, dogs)'; Laz *(q')ur-*, *q'u(r)-* 'to cry, to be angry'. Schmidt 1962:141; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:420 **q̇ur-*; Fähnrich 2007:521 **q̇ur-*; Klimov 1964:211 **q̇wir-* 'to cry (out), to shout' (Georgian *q'vir-* 'to cry out, to shout') and 1998:246 **q̇ur-* 'to howl (of wolves, dogs)'.

D. Proto-Indo-European **k'ʷer-/*k'ʷor-/*k'ʷr̥-* 'to make a sound, to call, to call out, to praise': Sanskrit *gṛṇā́ti* 'to call, to call out, to invoke, to praise, to extol', *gī́r* 'words, speech, voice, language, invocation, praise, verse', *guráte* 'to salute', *gūrtí-ḥ* 'approval, praise'; Latin *grātus* 'pleasing, welcome, agreeable', *grātēs* 'thanks, gratitude'; Old High German *queran* 'to sigh' (New High German *quarren*); Lithuanian *giriù*, *gìrti* 'to praise, to commend'. Rix 1998a:188—189 **gᵘerH-* 'to extol, to praise, to honor'; Pokorny 1959:478 **gᵘer(ə)-* 'to raise one's voice'; Walde 1927—1932.I:686—687 **gᵘer(āˣ)-*; Mann 1984—1987:373 **gu̯r̥-* 'appellation, song, praise; to revere, to sacrifice, to worship', 374—375 **gu̯r̥i̯ō* 'to sing, to praise', 375 **gu̯r̥ksi̯ō* (**gu̯r̥ksk̂ō*, **gu̯r̥sk̂ō*) 'to call, to cry, to appeal', 376 **gu̯r̄tos* 'revered, favored, important', **gu̯r̄tis* 'reverence, favor, importance'; Watkins 1985:25 **gʷerə-* 'to praise (aloud)' and 2000:34 **gʷerə-* (oldest form: **gʷerə₂-*; suffixed zero-grade form: **gʷr̥ə₂-to-*) 'to favor'; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.I:205 **k'ºerH-/*k'ºr̥H-* > **k'ºr̄-* and 1995.I:177 **k'ºerH-/*k'ºr̥H-* > **k'ºr̄-* 'to raise the voice'; Mallory—Adams 1997:449 **gʷerhₓ-* 'to praise'; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.I:336, I:340, I:342,

and I:343; De Vaan 2008:271—272 *$g^{w}rH$-*to*- ; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:619—620 *$g^{u}er(\bar{a}^{x})$-; Ernout—Meillet 1979:281—282; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:573; Kluge—Seebold 1989:574; Fraenkel 1962—1965.I:154; Smoczyński 2007.1:183—184 *$g^{u}_{\underline{r}}H$-*é*-; Derksen 2015:178—179 *$g^{w}rH$-. Proto-Indo-European *$k'^{w}erd^{h}$-/*$k'^{w}ord^{h}$-/*$k'^{w}_{\underline{r}}d^{h}$- ‘to call out, to cry out’: Avestan (adj.) *gərəδō* ‘howling’; Armenian *kardam* ‘to call, to read out’. Pokorny 1959:478 *$g^{u}er(ə)$- ‘to raise one’s voice’; Walde 1927—1932.I: 686—687 *$g^{u}er(\bar{a}^{x})$-; Mann 1984—1987:373 *$g^{u}_{\underline{r}}dh$-; Watkins 1985:25 *$g^{w}erə$- ‘to praise (aloud)’ and 2000:34 *$g^{w}erə$- (oldest form: *$g^{w}er_{2}$-) ‘to favor’.

Buck 1949:15.44 sound (sb.); 16.79 praise (sb.); 18.13 shout, cry out. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:516—517, no. 364; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 1938, *$\dot{q}ur[ħ]V$ ‘to bark, to howl (of canines)’, ‘to cry, to shout’.

593. Proto-Nostratic root *$q'^{w}ar^{y}$- (~ *$q'^{w}ər^{y}$-) or *$q'^{w}ur^{y}$- (~ *$q'^{w}or^{y}$-):
(vb.) *$q'^{w}ar^{y}$- or *$q'^{w}ur^{y}$- ‘to hear’;
(n.) *$q'^{w}ar^{y}$-*a* or *$q'^{w}ur^{y}$-*a* ‘ear’

A. Dravidian: Tamil *kuṟai* ‘earring, ear’; Malayalam *kuṟa* ‘earring, ear’; Kannaḍa *kɔḍaṅgè* ‘earring’, *kuḍka*, *kuḍki* ‘female’s ear ornament’; Kolami *kuḍka* ‘earring in the upper ear’; Gondi *kuṛka* ‘earring’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:165, no. 1823.
B. Proto-Kartvelian *$q'ur$- ‘ear’, *$q'ur$-*u*- ‘deaf, dumb’: Georgian *q’ur*- ‘ear’, *q’ru*- ‘deaf’, *q’ruoba*- ‘silence’; Mingrelian *ʔuǯ*- ‘ear’, *ʔuru*- ‘dumb’; Laz *q’uǯ*- (*-ǯ*- < *-r*- [cf. Schmidt 1962:77]), *ʔuǯ*-, *juǯ*-, *uǯ*- ‘ear’, *ʔuǯ*- ‘to hear’, *q’uǯ-a* ‘deaf’. Klimov 1964:213—214 *$\dot{q}ur$- and 1998:246 *$\dot{q}ur$- ‘ear’, 247 *$\dot{q}ur$-*u*- ‘deaf, dumb’; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:420 *$\dot{q}ur$-; Fähnrich 2007:522 *$\dot{q}ur$-; Schmidt 1962:141; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.II:898 Georgian-Zan *$\dot{q}ur$-*i* and 1995.I:793 Georgian-Zan *$\dot{q}ur$-*i* ‘ear’. Proto-Kartvelian *$q'ur$-*c’*- ‘ear of the needle’: Georgian *q’unc’*- ‘ear of the needle; cutting’ (attested in Old Georgian in the secondary form *k’urc’*-, showing the change *q’ > k’*); Mingrelian *q’urc’*- ‘ear of the needle’. Klimov 1998:247 *$\dot{q}ur$-*ç*- ‘ear of the needle’; derivative of *$q'ur$- ‘ear’ extended by the unproductive diminutive suffix *-*c’*-.
C. (?) Indo-European: Lithuanian *girdžiù*, *girdėti* ‘to hear’, *girdà* ‘hearing’; Latvian *dzìrdu*, *dzìrdêt* ‘to hear’. Pokorny 1959:476 *$g^{u}er(ə)$- ‘to raise one’s voice’; Walde 1927—1932.I:686—687 *$g^{u}er(\bar{a}^{x})$-; Mann 1984—1987:373 *$g^{u}_{\underline{r}}dh$-; Fraenkel 1962—1965.I:153; Smoczyński 2007.1:182.

Buck 1949:4.22 ear; 15.41 hear; 15.43 hearing (sb.). Bomhard—Kerns 1994:516—517, no. 364; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 1939, *$\dot{q}UR[w]V$ (= *$\dot{q}Ur\acute{}[w]V$?) ‘ear’.

594. Proto-Nostratic root (Eurasiatic only) *q'ʷatʸʰ- (~ *q'ʷətʸʰ-):
(vb.) *q'ʷatʸʰ- 'to say, to speak, to call';
(n.) *q'ʷatʸʰ-a 'call, invocation, invitation, summons'

A. Proto-Indo-European *k'ʷetʰ-/*k'ʷotʰ- 'to say, to speak, to call': Armenian *koçem* (< *k'ʷotʰ-ye-) 'to call, to name'; Gothic *qiþan* 'to say, to tell, to name, to speak'; Old Icelandic *kveða* 'to say, to utter', *kveðja* 'to call on, to summon', *kviðr* 'verdict; inquest; saying, word'; Faroese *kvøða* 'to say, to speak'; Norwegian *kveda* 'to say, to speak'; Swedish *kväda* 'to say, to speak'; Danish *kvæda* 'to say, to speak'; Old English *cweþan* 'to say, to speak', *cwide* 'speech, saying, utterance, word, sentence, phrase, proverb, argument, proposal, discourse, homily'; Old Frisian *quetha* 'to speak'; Old Saxon *queđan* 'to speak'; Old High German *quedan* 'to speak'. Rix 1998a:190 *gᵘ̯et- 'to say, to speak, to talk'; Pokorny 1959:480—481 *gᵘ̯et- 'to talk'; Walde 1927—1932.I:672 *gᵘ̯et-; Mann 1984—1987:357—358 *gᵘ̯etō, -i̯ō 'to proclaim, to pronounce, to ban', 367 *gᵘ̯ot- 'call, ban'; Watkins 1985:25 *gʷet- and 2000:34 *gʷet- 'to say, to speak'; Mallory—Adams 1997:535 (?) *gʷet- 'to say'; Orël 2003:226 Proto-Germanic *kwađjanan, 227 *kweđiz, 229 *kweþanan; Kroonen 2013:314 Proto-Germanic *kwadjan- 'to greet', 315 *kwedu- 'utterance', and 319 *kweþan- 'to say'; Feist 1939:389—390 (Armenian *koçem* < *gᵘ̯ot-i̯-); Lehmann 1986:277—278 *gʷet- 'to speak'; De Vries 1977:336; Falk—Torp 1903—1906.I:433; Onions 1966:734 Common Germanic *kweþan; Klein 1971:612; Boutkan—Siebinga 2005:312.

B. Uralic: Proto-Finno-Ugrian *kutʸʒ- 'to call, to summon' > Finnish *kutsu-* 'to call; to summon, to invite'; Lapp / Saami *goč'čo-* 'to call, to order, to bid, to ask'; Ostyak / Xanty (Southern) *hut'-*, (Nizyam) *hŭś-* 'to call, to entice, to seduce, to incite; to tease, to provoke'. Collinder 1955:93, 1960:412 *kućʒ-, and 1977:109; Rédei 1986—1988:192 *kućʒ-.

C. (?) Chukchi-Kamchatkan: Proto-Chukotian *qəððiðæ- 'to pester, to annoy, to bother, to bore' > Chukchi *qətcire-*, *qətrire-* 'to bore, to bother', *qətcera-ɣərɣən* 'nuisance'; Kerek *qəccija-* 'to bore, to annoy'. Fortescue 2005:242. Assuming semantic development as in Ostyak / Xanty (Southern) *hut'-*, (Nizyam) *hŭś-* 'to call, to entice, to seduce, to incite; to tease, to provoke' cited above.

Buck 1949:18.22 say; 18.41 call (vb. = summon). Koskinen 1980:23, no. 67; Bomhard—Kerns 1994:496, no. 343; Hakola 2000:86, no. 356.

595. Proto-Nostratic root *q'ʷur- (~ *q'ʷor-):
(vb.) *q'ʷur- 'to swallow';
(n.) *q'ʷur-a 'neck, throat'

A. Afrasian: Semitic: Śḥeri / Jibbāli *ḳɛrd* ‘throat’; Ḥarsūsi *ḳard* ‘throat’; Mehri *ḳard* ‘voice, throat’.

B. Dravidian: Tamil *kural* ‘throat, windpipe’; Malayalam *kural* ‘throat’; Kannaḍa *koral* ‘neck, throat’; Tuḷu *kurelu* ‘the nape of the neck’; Koḍagu *kora* ‘gullet, windpipe’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:161, no. 1774. Malayalam *kōruka* ‘to eat greedily’; Kannaḍa *koḷḷu* ‘to drink’; Telugu *krōlu* ‘to drink, to eat’; Kuwi *gronj-* ‘to drink, to guzzle’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:199, no. 2233.

C. Proto-Kartvelian (**q’worq’-* >) **q’orq’-* ‘throat, gullet’: Georgian *q’orq’-* ‘throat, gullet’; Mingrelian *q’orq’-el-*, *q’urq’-el-* ‘throat, gullet’; (?) Svan *q’ərq’ĭnž* ‘larynx’. Schmidt 1962:140; Klimov 1964:213 **q̇orq̇-* and 1998:244 **q̇orq̇-* ‘throat, gullet’; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:418—419 **q̇orq̇-*; Fähnrich 2007:520 **q̇orq̇-*.

D. Proto-Indo-European **k’ʷor-*/**k’ʷr̥-* (secondary *e*-grade form: **k’ʷer-*) ‘(vb.) to swallow; (n.) neck, throat’: Sanskrit *giráti*, *gr̥ṇā́ti* ‘to swallow, to eat’, *grīvā́* ‘neck, nape’, *garáḥ* ‘drink, poison’, *galaḥ* ‘throat, neck’; Prakrit *gīvā* ‘neck’, *giraï* ‘to swallow, to eat’; Greek βιβρώσκω ‘to eat’, βορά ‘food, meat’, βορός ‘devouring, gluttonous’; Latin *vorō* ‘to eat greedily, to swallow up’; Old Irish *brágе*, *brágae* ‘throat, neck’; Modern Welsh *breuant* ‘windpipe’; Old Icelandic (pl.) *kverkr* ‘throat’, *kyrkja* ‘to strangle, to choke’; Dutch *kraag* ‘neck’; Middle High German *krage* ‘neck’ (New High German *Kragen* ‘collar’); Lithuanian *geriù*, *gérti* ‘to drink’, *gìrtas* ‘drunk, tipsy’; Czech *žeru*, *žráti* ‘to devour’; Russian Church Slavic *grъlo* ‘throat’. Rix 1998a:189 **gᵘerh₃-* ‘to swallow’; Pokorny 1959:474—476 **gᵘer-*, **gᵘerə-* ‘to swallow’; Walde 1927—1932.I:682—684 **gᵘer-*; Mann 1984—1987:356—357 **gu̯er-* (**gu̯or-*) ‘food, drink, gulp, swallow, gullet, glutton’, 357 **gu̯ēros* ‘consuming; consumer’, 367 **gu̯oros*, *-ā* ‘swallowing; throat; food, herb, poison; glutton’, 371 **gu̯roghos*, *-ō(n)* (**gu̯rogĥ-*) ‘neck, craw’, 371 **gu̯ros* ‘eater, eating’, 371—372 **gu̯rosmn-* ‘eaten; eating’, 372 **gu̯rūĝos*, *-ā* ‘neck, throat; pitcher with narrow neck, pot’, 372—373 **gu̯r̥-* ‘devouring; gulp; throat’, 373 **gu̯r̥dhlom*; **gu̯r̥̄dhlom*, *-ā*, *-i̯os*, *-i̯ə* ‘crop, throat, gorging animal’, 374 **gu̯r̥gət-* (**gu̯r̥̄gət-*) ‘neck, throat, gullet’, 375 **gu̯r̥ō* ‘to gulp down, to devour’, 375—376 **gu̯r̥̄qu̯is* ‘neck, throat’, 376 **gu̯r̥qu̯tos*, *-ā* (?) ‘gulp, throat’; Mallory—Adams 1997:175 **gʷer(h₃)-* ‘to swallow’ and 391—392 **gʷrihₓu̯-ehₐ-* ‘neck’; Watkins 1985:25 **gʷerə-* and 2000:34 **gʷerə-* ‘to swallow’ (oldest form: **gʷerə̯₃-*); Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.I:231, II:702 **k’ºer-* and 1995.I:201, I:607 **k’ºer-* ‘to swallow’; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.I:335; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:175 **gʷer-* and I:264 **gʷer-*; Frisk 1970—1973.I235—236, I:251, and I:367—368 **g̑ᵘer-u̯ā*; Hofmann 1966:37 **gᵘorā* and 55 **gᵘer-u̯ā*; Boisacq 1950:126—127 **g̑ᵘer-* and 177—178 **g̑ᵘer-u̯ā*; Beekes 2010.I:213—214 **gʷerh₂-*; Ernout—Meillet 1979:753 **gʷerə-*, **gʷrē-*/**gʷrō-*; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.II:836; De Vaan 2008:690—691; Orël 2003:228 Proto-Germanic **kwerkjanan*,

228 **kwerkō*; Kroonen 2013:317 Proto-Germanic **kwerkō-* 'throat'; De Vries 1977:337 and 341; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:398—399 **gᵘer-*; Kluge—Seebold 1989:408 **gu̯erə-*; Fraenkel 1962—1965.I:148—149; Derksen 2008:198 **gʷrh₃-tlóm*, 559 **gʷerh₃-*, and 2015:172 **gʷerh₃-*; Smoczyński 2007.1:172—173 **gᵘerh₃-C*.

E. Uralic: Proto-Finno-Ugrian **k[ü]rkɜ* 'neck, throat' > Finnish *kurkku* 'throat'; Mordvin (Erza) *kirga*, *kiŕga*, *korga* 'neck'. Collinder 1955:89 (according to Collinder, Finnish *kurkku* is either a Scandinavian loan-word or is influenced by Scandinavian), 1960:411 **kürkɜ*, and 1977:105, 109; Rédei 1986—1988:161.

Buck 1949:4.28 neck; 4.29 throat; 5.11 eat; 5.13 drink (vb.). Bomhard—Kerns 1994:512—513, no. 361; Illič-Svityč 1971—1984.I:235—236, no. 91, **gurʌ* 'to swallow'.

22.32. PROTO-NOSTRATIC *t͡ɬʰ

				Eurasiatic			
Proto-Nostratic	Proto-Afrasian	Proto-Dravid.	Proto-Kartvel.	Proto-IE	Proto-Uralic	Proto-Altaic	Proto-Eskimo
t͡ɬʰ-	t͡ɬ-	c-	x-	kʰ-	sʸ-	š-	ɬ-
-t͡ɬʰ-	-t͡ɬ-	-k-	-x-	-kʰ-	-δ- (?)		-ɬ-

596. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **t͡ɬʰaħ-a* ‘(young) sheep or goat’:

A. Proto-Afrasian **t͡ɬaħ-* ‘(young) sheep or goat’: Proto-Semitic **t͡ɬa(ħ)-* ‘(young) sheep’ > Arabic *šāʔ* (coll.; n. un. *šāh*; pl. *šiwāh*, *šiyāh*) ‘sheep, ewe’; Hebrew *śeh* [שֶׂה] ‘(young) sheep, lamb’; Phoenician *š* ‘sheep’; Ugaritic *š*, *šh* ‘sheep’; Akkadian *šuʔu* ‘ram’. Klein 1987:642; Murtonen 1989:412—413. Proto-Sam **laħ-* ‘ewe’ > Rendille *laħ* ‘ewe’; Somali *laħ* ‘ewe’. Heine 1978:67. Proto-Southern Cushitic **ɬaħ-* ‘goat’ (?) > Ma’a *hlane* ‘he-goat’. Ehret 1980:328. [Orël—Stolbova 1995:121—122, no. 517, **ĉaʔ-* ‘meat’ and 489, no. 2323, **ŝaʕ-* ‘cow, bull’; Ehret 1995:428, no. 888, **ɬoʔ-* ‘cattle’.]

B. Proto-Indo-European **kʰaħ-k’-* > **kʰāk’-* ‘(young) goat, kid’: Old English *hēcen* (< Proto-Germanic **χōkjan*) ‘kid’; Middle Low German *hōken* ‘kid’; Middle Dutch *hoekijn* ‘kid’; Old Church Slavic *koza* ‘goat’; Russian *kozá* [коза] ‘goat, she-goat, nanny-goat’; Albanian *kedh* ‘kid’. Pokorny 1959:517—518 **kaĝo-*, **koĝo-*, *-ā-* ‘goat’; Mann 1984—1987:459 **kăĝ-* ‘goat, kid, goatskin’; Walde 1927—1932.I:336—337 **qaĝo-*, **qoĝo-*, *-ā-*; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.II:585, II:589 **q[ʰ]oǩ’-* and 1995.I:500—501, I:504, I:765 **qʰoǩ’-* ‘goat’; Mallory—Adams 1997:511 (?) **(s)ǩegos* ‘sheep, goat’; Orël 1998:174—175; Kroonen 2013:239 Proto-Germanic **hōkīna-* ‘kid, young goat’; Derksen 2008:242.

Buck 1949:3.25 sheep; 3.26 ram; 3.29 lamb; 3.36 goat; 3.38 kid. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:379, no. 213.

597. Proto-Nostratic root **t͡ɬʰakʷʰ-* (~ **t͡ɬʰəkʷʰ-*):
(vb.) **t͡ɬʰakʷʰ-* ‘to prick, to pierce, to stab’;
(n.) **t͡ɬʰakʷʰ-a* ‘stab, thrust, jab; thorn, spike, prong, barb’

A. Proto-Afrasian **t͡ɬakʷ-* ‘to prick, to pierce, to stab’: Proto-Semitic **t͡ɬak-ak-* ‘to pierce, to prick, to stab’ > Arabic *šakka* ‘to pierce, to transfix; to prick, to stab’, *šakka* ‘stab, thrust, jab’; Śḥeri / Jibbāli *śekk* ‘to skewer meat’, *miśkɔ́t* ‘spit, and the meat skewered on it’; Mehri *məśkīk* ‘wooden spit, skewer’; Ḥarsūsi *meśkēk* ‘bar, skewer, (wooden) spit’; Hebrew *śēχ* [שֵׂךְ] (pl. *śikkīm* [שִׂכִּים]) ‘thorn’, *śukkāh* [שֻׂכָּה] ‘barb, spear’ (a hapax legomenon in the Bible); Aramaic *sikkā* ‘thorn’. Murtonen 1989:421—

422; Klein 1987:655 and 656; Leslau 1987:529. Proto-Semitic *t͡ɬa/wa/k- ‘thorn’ > Arabic *šawk* ‘thorn(s)’, *šawkī* ‘thorny, spiky, prickly’; Aramaic *šawkā* ‘thorn’; Geez / Ethiopic *šok* [**ሦኽ**] ‘thorn, thorn bush, spine (of hedgehog), sting’; Tigre *šokät* ‘thorn’; Tigrinya *ʔəšoḵ* ‘thorn’; Gafat *əsihʷä* ‘thorn’; Amharic *əšoh* ‘thorn’; Argobba *əšoh* ‘thorn’; Harari *usux* ‘thorn’; Gurage *sox* ‘thorn’. Leslau 1963:33, 1979:541, and 1987:529; Zammit 2002:246. Berber: Tuareg *āskər* ‘nail (person or animal), hoof’, *tāskərt* ‘blade, tip; stinger (of scorpion, wasp, bee); garlic’; Nefusa *accar* ‘nail’; Ghadames *acker* ‘nail’; Tamazight *iskər* ‘nail, claw, talon, tip’, *abaccər* ‘paw, hoof’; Wargla *accar* ‘nail, talon, hoof’; Mzab *accar* ‘nail’; Tashelhiyt / Shilha *iskər* ‘nail’, *baskar* ‘claw’, *tiskərt* ‘garlic’; Riff *iccər* ‘nail, claw’; Kabyle *iccər* ‘nail, claw, point’; Chaouia *iccər* ‘nail, talon’; Zenaga *askər* ‘nail, claw’, *təskərt* ‘anything with a sharp claw’. Proto-Southern Cushitic *ɬaakʷ- ‘to stab, to pierce’ > Iraqw *hlaqw-* ‘to shoot (arrow)’, *hlakat-* ‘to hunt’; Burunge *hlakw-* ‘to shoot (arrow)’, *hlagad-* ‘to hunt’; Alagwa *hlakat-* ‘to hunt’; Asa *hlakat-* ‘to hunt’; K’wadza *hlakataʔiko* ‘hunter’; Ma’a *-hla* ‘to stab, to pierce’, *mhlaʔé* ‘thorn’. Ehret 1980:209. Ehret 1995:422, no. 874, *ɬaakʷ- ‘to pierce’. [Orël—Stolbova 1995:132, no. 569, *ĉuk- ‘to cut, to pierce’ and 132, no. 570, *ĉuk- ‘sharp weapon’.]

B. Dravidian: Kuṛux *cakkhnā* (*cakkhyas*/*cakkos*) ‘to pierce with a prick, to prick, to penetrate into, to puncture, to cause a prickly sensation’, (reflexive) *cakhrnā* ‘to get tattooed’, *cakkhtaʔānā* ‘to cause to be pierced, tattooed’; Malto *caqe* ‘to sting, to pierce, to stab’ (also applied to the sowing of certain grains for which holes are made in the earth), *caqro* ‘worm-eaten roots’, *caqtre* ‘to have the ears pierced’, *caqu* ‘shooting pains in the stomach’; Brahui *jaxxing* ‘to run into, to pierce’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:202, no. 2278. Perhaps also: Kuṛux *caknā* ‘to sharpen an edge instrument, to whet’; Malto *cake* ‘to sharpen, to whet’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:202, no. 2277.

C. Proto-Indo-European (?) *kʰakʷʰ- ‘spike, prong’: Sanskrit *śakulá-ḥ* ‘a kind of spur-like projection (behind the hoof of an ox or cow)’; Albanian *thekë* ‘fringe, tip’; Lithuanian *šãkė* ‘fork, pitchfork’; Latvian *sakas* ‘pitchfork’. Mann 1984—1987:599 *k̂akis, -i̯ə* (*k̂akus, -os, -ā*; *k̂akinā*) ‘spike, prong’. Note too Mann 1984—1987:599 *k̂aktis, -os, -ā* ‘sharp; sharpness, point, spike’. Perhaps also Proto-Indo-European *kʰăkʰH- (better ? *kʰăkʷʰH-) ‘branch, bough’ > Sanskrit *śā́khā* ‘branch’; Farsi *šāḫ* ‘branch’; Armenian *çaχ* ‘twig’; Gothic *hōha* ‘plow’ (? assimilated from *hōhva*); Old High German *huohhili* ‘wooden hooked plow made from a curved branch’; Lithuanian *šakà* ‘branch, twig’; Latvian *saka* ‘ramification of a tree’; Old Church Slavic *soxa* ‘pole, (wooden) plow’; Russian *soxá* [coxa] ‘wooden plow’. Pokorny 1959:523 *k̂ăk- ‘branch, bough, twig, pole’, nasalized *k̂ank-*; *k̂ăkhā* ‘branch, plow’; Walde 1927—1932.I:335 *k̂ăk- (or *k̂ŏk- ?), nasalized *k̂ank- (or *k̂onk-) : *k̂n̥k-*; Mann 1984—

1987:599 **k̂ăksā* ‘limb, bough, stump, stake’; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.I:97, II:690 **k̂[ʰ]ăk[ʰ]-* and 1995.I:84, I:596 **k̂ʰăkʰ-* ‘branch, pole, stake, wooden plow’; Mallory—Adams 1997:80 **k̂óh₁kōh₂* ‘(forked) branch’; Orël 1998:473 and 2003:182 Proto-Germanic **xōxōn*; Kroonen 2013:239 Proto-Germanic **hōhan-* ‘plow’; Feist 1939:266—267; Lehmann 1986:189 **k̂ăk-*, **k̂ank-* ‘branch, peg’; Derksen 2008:458; Fraenkel 1962—1965.II:957—958; Smoczyński 2007.1:621—622. Note: according to Carlton (1991:95), Old Church Slavic *soxa* ‘pole, (wooden) plow’ may be a borrowing from Iranian.

Buck 1949:8.21 plow; 8.55 branch.

598. Proto-Nostratic root **t̪ɬʰal-* (~ **t̪ɬʰəl-*):
(vb.) **t̪ɬʰal-* ‘to cut, split, or break open’;
(n.) **t̪ɬʰal-a* ‘slit, crack’

A. Proto-Afrasian **t̪ɬal-* ‘to cut, split, or break open’: Proto-Semitic **t̪ɬal-ak’-* ‘to cut, split, or break open’ > Akkadian *šalāḳu* ‘to cut open, to split’; Arabic *šalaḳa* ‘to split lengthwise’. Proto-Semitic **t̪ɬal-ax-* ‘to cut, split, or break open’ > Arabic *šalaḫa* ‘to cut to pieces with a sword’. Orël—Stolbova 1995:125, no. 536, **ĉalaḫ-* ‘to break’ and 126, no. 538, **ĉalaḳ-* ‘to cut, to slaughter’.
B. Dravidian: Tuḷu *selè* ‘chink, crack, flaw (as in a stone)’; Telugu *selagu*, *selayu*, *selãgu*, *celagu*, *celavu* ‘to cut’, *sela* ‘hole’; Kuṛux *calxnā* ‘to open, to uncover’, *calxrnā* ‘to open (intr.)’; Malto *calge* ‘to split or break open’, *calgro* ‘torn asunder’; Brahui *caling*, *calēnging* ‘to become cracked, split’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:209, no. 2377.
C. Uralic: Proto-Finno-Ugrian **sʸale-* ‘to cut, to split’ > Finnish *säle* ‘splint, lath’, *säli-* ‘to split, to slit’; (?) Lapp / Saami *čalle-* ‘to scratch; to cut; to write’; Vogul / Mansi *sil-* ‘to slit, to cut’; Ostyak / Xanty *sil-* ‘to slit, to rip, to slit’; Hungarian *szel-* ‘to slice, to cut, to carve; to cleave’, *szelet* ‘slice, piece, cut’. Collinder 1977:126; Rédei 1986—1988:459—460 **śale-*; Sammallahti 1988:459 **śälä-* ‘to cut’.

Buck 1949:9.26 break (vb. tr.); 9.27 split (vb. tr.).

599. Proto-Nostratic root **t̪ɬʰar-* (~ **t̪ɬʰər-*):
(vb.) **t̪ɬʰar-* ‘to cause harm, to injure, to cause strife’;
(n.) **t̪ɬʰar-a* ‘injury, harm, strife’

A. Proto-Afrasian **t̪ɬar-* ‘(vb.) to cause harm, to injure, to cause strife; (n.) injury, harm, strife’: Proto-Semitic **t̪ɬar-ar-* ‘(vb.) to cause harm, to injure, to cause strife; (n.) evil, harm, injury, damage’ > Arabic *šarra* ‘to be vicious, bad, evil, wicked, malicious’, *šarr* ‘evil, harm, injury, damage’;

Śḥeri / Jibbāli *eśrér* ‘to turn a sword in the air to make it flash; to choke (on food, drink)’, *śɛhr* ‘evil’; Ḥarsūsi *eśterōr* ‘to choke (on something)’, *śer* ‘ill health’; Mehri *śrūr* ‘to choke (on something)’, *śar* ‘ill health, evil’; Ugaritic *šrr* ‘evil’. Zammit 2002:237. Proto-Semitic **t͡ɬar-ay-* ‘to cause harm, to cause strife’ > Hebrew *śārāh* [שָׂרָה] ‘to contend, to strive’; Arabic *šarā* ‘to do evil’, *šariya* ‘to grow angry’; Geez / Ethiopic *šeraya* [ሠረየ] ‘to form a conspiracy, to plot’; Tigre *šira* ‘a plot’; Tigrinya *sera*, *šāra* ‘a plot’; Amharic *sēra* ‘a plot’; Gurage (Endegeñ) *sera* ‘a plot’, *(a)serä* ‘to conspire’, (Soddo) *sära* ‘to do mischievous things’. Leslau 1979:558 and 1987:536; Murtonen 1989:437; Klein 1987:681.

B. Dravidian: Kannaḍa *seragu* ‘calamity, evil, mischief, sin, crime’; Telugu *seragu* ‘calamity, misfortune’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:241, no. 2777.

C. Proto-Indo-European **k*^{h}*or-mo-* ‘injury, harm, suffering’: Hittite (3rd sg. pres.) *kar-ma-la-aš-ša-i* ‘to suffer harm, to be incapacitated’; Old Icelandic *harmr* ‘sorrow, grief’, *harma* ‘to bewail’; Old English *hearm* ‘injury, affliction, evil, loss, grief, insult’, *hearmian* ‘to injure’; Old Frisian *herm* ‘grief, sorrow, harm’; Old Saxon *harm* ‘grief, sorrow, harm’; Old High German *har(a)m* ‘grief, sorrow, harm’ (New High German *Harm* ‘grief, sorrow, affliction; injury, wrong’), *harmēn*, *hermēn* ‘to harm or injure’ (New High German *härmen* ‘to grieve’); Old Church Slavic *sramъ* ‘shame, injury’; Russian *sram* [срам] ‘shame’. Pokorny 1959:615 **k̂ormo-* ‘torment, pain’; Walde 1927—1932.I:463 **k̂ormo-*; Mann 1984—1987:636 **k̂ormos* ‘harm, shame’; Watkins 1985:32 **kormo-* and 2000:43 **kormo-* ‘pain’; Mallory—Adams 1997:413—414 (?) **(p)k̂órmos* ‘± grief, shame’; Puhvel 1984— .4:90—91; Kronasser 1966.I:555; De Vries 1977:212; Orël 2003:163 Proto-Germanic **xarmaz*, 163 **xarmiþō*, 163 **xarmōjanan*; Kroonen 2013:212 Proto-Germanic **harma-* ‘harm, sorrow’; Onions 1966:428 Common Germanic **χarmaz*; Skeat 1898:255; Klein 1971:334; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:290 **k̂ormo-*; Kluge—Seebold 1989:294 **pḱor-mo-*; Walshe 1951:92.

D. Yukaghir (Northern / Tundra) *čaraluu-* ‘to choke’. Nikolaeva 2006:126.

Buck 1949:11.28 harm, injure, damage (vb.); 16.19 misfortune; 16.31 pain, suffering; 16.32 grief, sorrow; 16.42 anger; 16.72 bad; 19.62 strife, quarrel. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:373—374, no. 206.

600. Proto-Nostratic root **t͡ɬ*^{h}*ar-* (~ **t͡ɬ*^{h}*ər-*):
(vb.) **t͡ɬ*^{h}*ar-* ‘to cut, to cut into’;
(n.) **t͡ɬ*^{h}*ar-a* ‘cut, slit, slice, slash; that which cuts: saw, knife, axe’
Extended form:
(vb.) **t͡ɬ*^{h}*ar-V-t’-* ‘to make incisions, to cut into’;
(n.) **t͡ɬ*^{h}*ar-t’-a* ‘scratch, incision’

A. Proto-Afrasian *t͡ɬar- ‘to cut, to slice’: Proto-Semitic *t͡ɬar-aħ- ‘to slice, to cut up’ > Arabic *šaraḥa* ‘to cut in slices, to slice, to cut up’; Ḥarsūsi *śēreḥ* ‘to disjoint, to separate the parts of a carcass’; Śḥeri / Jibbāli *śeraḥ* ‘to cut up (meat, etc.)’; Mehri *śōrəḥ* ‘to dismember a carcass’. Proto-Semitic *t͡ɬar-ay- ‘to skin’ > Śḥeri / Jibbāli *śéré* ‘to skin (a cow, a camel) with a knife’; Mehri *śərū* ‘to skin (a cow, a camel)’. Arabic *šarama* ‘to split, to slit, to slash’, *šarmaṭa* ‘to shred, to tear to shreds’. Śḥeri / Jibbāli *śérɔ́s* ‘to cut a slit in the ear, to tear skin off’. Proto-Semitic *wa-t͡ɬar- ‘to saw’ > Arabic *wašara* ‘to saw, to saw apart’; Hebrew *maśśōr* [מַשּׂוֹר] ‘saw’; Geez / Ethiopic *wašara*, *waššara* [ወሠረ] ‘to saw, to cut with a saw, to split with a saw’, *mošar* [ሞሠር], *mošart* [ሞሠርት] ‘saw’; Tigre *šäršära* ‘to saw’, *mäsar* ‘axe’; Tigrinya *šäršärä* ‘to saw’, *məssar* ‘axe’; Amharic *šäraššärä* ‘to saw’, *məssar* ‘axe’; Gurage *məsər* ‘horn-handle knife, knife for cutting and eating raw meat’. Leslau 1979:430 and 1987:621. West Chadic *t͡ɬar- ‘to cut (trees)’ > Hausa *saaraa* ‘to cut (trees)’. Orël—Stolbova 1995:126, no. 541, *ĉar- ‘to cut, to saw’.

B. Proto-Kartvelian *xarx- ‘saw’: Georgian *xerx-* ‘saw’; Mingrelian *xorx-* ‘saw’; Laz *xorx-* ‘to saw’. Klimov 1964:257 *xarx- ‘to saw’, 258 *xarx- ‘saw’ and 1998:326 *xarx- ‘saw’; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:545—546 *xarx-; Fähnrich 2007:678 *xarx-; Schmidt 1962:158.

Buck 1949:8.22 dig; 9.48 saw. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:376—377, no. 209.

601. Proto-Nostratic root *t͡ɬʰar- (~ *t͡ɬʰər-):
Extended form:
(vb.) *t͡ɬʰar-V-t’- ‘to make incisions, to cut into’;
(n.) *t͡ɬʰar-t’-a ‘scratch, incision’
Derivative of:
(vb.) *t͡ɬʰar- ‘to cut, to cut into’;
(n.) *t͡ɬʰar-a ‘cut, slit, slice, slash; that which cuts: saw, knife, axe’

A. Proto-Afrasian *t͡ɬarat’- ‘to cut into, to make incisions’: Proto-Semitic *t͡ɬarat’- ‘to cut into, to make incisions’ > Hebrew *śāraṭ* [שָׂרַט] ‘to incise, to scratch’, *śereṭ* [שֶׂרֶט] ‘incision’; Akkadian *šarāṭu* ‘to slit up, to slice’; Arabic *šaraṭa* ‘to tear, to make incisions (in), to scratch, to slit open, to rip open’, *šarṭ* ‘incision (in the skin), cut, rip, slash, slit; provision, condition’; Gurage *särrätä* ‘to make decorative incisions on a pot, to brand cattle’. Murtonen 1989:438; Klein 1987:682; Leslau 1979:562; Zammit 2002:237.

B. Proto-Indo-European *kʰert’- ‘(vb.) to cut into, to make incisions, to carve; (n.) craft, trade; craftsman, artisan’: Greek κέρδος ‘profit, advantage, gain’; Old Irish *cerd* ‘art, handicraft’ (Modern Irish *ceárd*, *céird* ‘trade, profession’); Welsh *cerdd* ‘song’ (Middle Welsh ‘craft, song’); Latin *cerdō* ‘workman, artisan’ (Greek loan). Pokorny 1959:579 *kerd- ‘skilled manually’; Walde 1927—1932.I:423 *kerd-; Mann 1984—

1987:489 **kerdos*, *-ā* ‘deed, activity, business, craft’; Watkins 1985:30 **kerd-* and 2000:41 **kerd-* ‘craft’; Mallory—Adams 1997:143 **kerd-* ‘to cut into, to carve’ (enlargement of **(s)ker-*); Boisacq 1950:440 **k̂erd-* or **qerd-*; Frisk 1970—1973.I:829; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:519; Hofmann 1966:140—141; Beekes 2010.I:678 **ḱerd-*; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:203 **kerd-*; Ernout—Meillet 1979:114. For the semantic development, cf. Old Church Slavic *remьstvo* ‘art, craft’, Russian *remesló* [ремесло] ‘trade, handicraft’, Lithuanian *remẽsas* ‘joiner’, Latvian *remesis* ‘craftsman, carpenter’, Old Prussian *romestud* ‘axe’, all from the same stem found in Lithuanian *ramtyti* ‘to cut, to carve’, Latvian *ramstīt* ‘to hew, to saw’ (Preobrazhensky 1951.II:197).

Buck 1949:9.41 craft, trade; 9.42 artisan, craftsman. Bomhard—Kerns 1994: 377, no. 210.

602. Proto-Nostratic root **t̪ɬʰay-* (~ **t̪ɬʰəy-*):
(vb.) **t̪ɬʰay-* ‘to grow old, to turn gray (hair)’;
(n.) **t̪ɬʰay-a* ‘old age, gray hair’

A. Proto-Afrasian **t̪ɬay-* ‘to grow old, to turn gray (hair)’: Proto-Semitic **t̪ɬay-ab-* ‘to grow old, to turn gray (hair)’ > Akkadian *šēbu* ‘old man’; Hebrew *śēβ* [שֵׂיב] ‘old age’ (a hapax legomenon in the Bible), *śēβāh* [שֵׂיבָה] ‘gray hair, old age’; Ugaritic *šbt* ‘gray hair’; Arabic *šāba* ‘to turn white or gray (hair)’, *šayb* ‘gray hair, old age’; Ḥarsūsi *śayb* ‘white hair’; Śḥeri / Jibbāli *eśśéb* ‘to have white hair’, *śub* ‘white hair’; Mehri *śyīb* ‘to go white (in the hair of the head)’, *śayb* ‘white hair’; Geez / Ethiopic *šeba* [ሠበ] ‘to have gray hair’; Tigrinya *säyyäbä*, *šäyyäbä* ‘to have gray hair’; Tigre *šäyyäba* ‘gray hair’; Gurage *šəbat* ‘gray hair’, *šäbbätä* ‘to have gray hair’; Harari *šibät* ‘gray hair’; Amharic *šäbbätä* ‘to have gray hair’; Argobba *šəbäd* ‘gray hair’. Murtonen 1989:419; Klein 1987:653—654; Leslau 1963:144, 1979:572, and 1987:539; Diakonoff 1992:85 **ĉi̯b-* ‘gray hairs; old age, old man; elder’; Zammit 2002:247. Proto-Semitic **t̪ɬay-ax-* ‘to grow old, to age’ > Arabic *šāḫa* ‘to age, to be or grow old’, *šayḫ* ‘an elderly, venerable gentleman; old man (above 50), elder; chief, chieftain, sheik, patriarch, head of a family or tribe’, *šuyūḫiyya-t* ‘old age’, *šuyayḫ* ‘little old man’; Mehri *śōx* ‘big, old, oldest, senior’; Ḥarsūsi *śōx* ‘big’. Zammit 2002:247.

B. Proto-Indo-European **kʰey-*/**kʰoy-*/**kʰi-* ‘gray-haired, old’: Sanskrit *śi-ti-ḥ* ‘white’; Old Icelandic *hárr* ‘hoary, old’; Old Danish *hår* ‘hoary, old, gray’; Old English *hār* ‘gray, hoary, old’; Old Frisian *hēr* ‘old, venerable’; Old Saxon *hēr* ‘distinguished, noble, glorious, excellent’; Old High German *hēr* ‘distinguished, noble, glorious, excellent’ (New High German *hehr* ‘noble, exalted, august, sublime’); Old Church Slavic *sěrъ* ‘gray’; Russian *séryj* [серый] ‘gray’. Pokorny 1959:540—541 **k̂ei-* ‘gray, dark,

brown'; Walde 1927—1932.I:360—361 **k̂ei-*; Mann 1984—1987:598 **k̂aisros*, *-i̯os* 'gray, hoary'; Mallory—Adams 1997:69 **k̂eir-* 'dull or brownish black'; Watkins 1985:28 **kei-* (suffixed *o*-grade form **koi-ro-* in Germanic **χairaz* 'gray-haired') and 2000:38 **kei-* referring to various adjectives of color; Kroonen 2013:201 Proto-Germanic **haira-* 'hoary, grey-haired'; Orël 2003:153 Proto-Germanic *xairaz*; De Vries 1977:212 **k̂ei-*; Klein 1971:349 **k̂oiro-*, **k̂eiro-*; Onions 1966:442—443 Common Germanic **χairaz*; Skeat 1898:267; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:297; Kluge—Seebold 1989:299; Derksen 2008:447.

Buck 1949:14.15 old. Möller 1911:112—113; Bomhard—Kerns 1994:370—371, no. 201.

603. Proto-Nostratic root **t̪ɬʰer-*:
(vb.) **t̪ɬʰer-* 'to burn, to roast';
(n.) **t̪ɬʰer-a* 'ash(es), charcoal, burnt wood; firewood'; (adj.) 'burned, heated, roasted, charred, parched'

A. Proto-Afrasian **t̪ɬ[e]r-* 'to burn, to roast': Proto-Semitic **t̪ɬar-ap-* 'to burn' > Hebrew *śāraφ* [שָׂרַף] 'to burn'; Ugaritic *šrp* 'to burn'; Akkadian *šarāpu* 'to burn'; Mehri *śərūf* 'to build up sticks for a fire'; Śḥeri / Jibbāli *śérɔ́f* 'to build a fire to heat milk-heating stones'; Ḥarsūsi *śerōf* 'to roast meat with hot stones'. Murtonen 1989:438; Klein 1987:683. Proto-Semitic **t̪ɬar-ab-* 'to burn, to parch' > Hebrew *šārāβ* [שָׂרָב] 'burning heat, parched ground' (this may be a loan from Aramaic); Aramaic *šəraβ* 'to be parched', *šəraβ* 'heat, drought'. Murtonen 1989:437; Klein 1987:680; Militarëv 2010:56 Proto-Semitic **ŝrp*. Egyptian *srf* (< **šrf*) '(vb.) to warm; (n.) warmth'. Hannig 1995:729; Faulkner 1962:236; Erman—Grapow 1921:166 and 1926—1963.4:195—196; Gardiner 1957:591.

B. (?) Dravidian: Telugu *ce̲raku* in *vaṇṭace̲raku* 'firewood for cooking' (*vaṇṭa* = 'cooking, anything cooked'; *vaṇḍu* 'to cook, to dress, to boil, to prepare'); Gondi *herk* 'a bundle of firewood'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984: 242, no. 2794.

C. Proto-Kartvelian **xr-ak'-* 'to char, to become charred': Georgian *xrak'-* 'to become charred, to overroast'; Mingrelian *xirok'-* 'to roast (by turning over an open flame)'. Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:555 **xraḳ-*; Klimov 1964:261 **xraḳ-* and 1998:331 **xr-aḳ-* 'to char, to become charred; to bend, to warp (in flames)'; Fähnrich 2007:691—692 **xraḳ-*/**xreḳ-*/**xriḳ-*. Proto-Kartvelian **xr-ek'-*/**xr-ik'-* 'to roast, to fry, to char': Georgian *xrek'-*/*xrik'-* 'to roast, to fry, to char'; Mingrelian *xirak'-*/*xirik'-* 'to roast (by turning over an open fire)'; Laz *xrak'-* 'to roast, to fry'. Klimov 1964:261 **xreḳ-*/**xriḳ-* and 1998:331 **xr-eḳ-* : **xr-iḳ-* 'to char, to become charred; to warp (in flames)'.

D. Proto-Indo-European *k^her-/*k^hr̥- (secondary *o*-grade form: *k^hor-) ‘to burn, to roast’: Latin *carbō* ‘burning or burnt wood’, *cremō* ‘to burn, to consume by fire’; Welsh *crasu* ‘to bake’; Gothic **hauri* ‘coal’; Old Icelandic *hyrr* ‘fire’; Swedish (dial.) *hyr* ‘glowing ashes’; Old English *heorð* ‘hearth’, *hierstan* ‘to fry, to roast, to scorch’; Old Frisian *herth*, *hirth*, *hird* ‘hearth’; Old Saxon *herth* ‘hearth’; Dutch *haard* ‘hearth’; Old High German *herd* ‘hearth’ (New High German *Herd*), *herstan* ‘to roast’; Lithuanian *kárštas* ‘hot’. Rix 1998a:329 (?) **kremH-* ‘to burn’; Pokorny 1959:571—572 **ker(ə)-* ‘to burn’; Walde 1927—1932.I:418—419 **ker-*; Mann 1984—1987:478 **karst-* (**krast-*) ‘hot, parched, roasted’; Watkins 1985:30 **ker-* and 2000:41 **ker-* ‘heat, fire’; Mallory—Adams 1997:88 (?) **ker-* ~ **kerh$_x$-* ‘to burn, to roast’; Ernout—Meillet 1979:99 **ker-* and 148—149; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:165—166 **ker-* and I:287 **ker-*; De Vaan 2008:91—92 and 142; Fraenkel 1962—1965.I:223; Orël 2003:170 Proto-Germanic **xerþaz*; Kroonen 2013:222 Proto-Germanic **herþa-* ‘hearth’; Feist 1939:250—251 **ker-*; Lehmann 1986:**kerH-* ‘to burn, to glow’; De Vries 1977:275—276; Skeat 1898:259; Klein 1971:338 **ker-*; Onions 1966:433 West Germanic **χerþa*; Boutkan—Siebinga 2005:175 Proto-Germanic **herþa-*; Vercoullie 1898:101; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:304—305; Kluge—Seebold 1989:305—306.

E. (?) Uralic: Proto-Finno-Ugrian *$s^y ar_3$- ‘to dry up; to become dry, parched, or arid’ > Hungarian *szárad-* ‘to dry up, to become dry’, *száraz* ‘dry, arid’; Cheremis / Mari *sərək* ‘dry, parched’; Votyak / Udmurt *ćyrs*, *ćirs*, *ćõrõs* ‘sour, bitter’; Zyrian / Komi *ćir-* ‘to become sour, bitter, rancid’, *ćirõm* ‘sun-dried (of flesh, fish), rancid (of fat)’; Vogul / Mansi *šurr-*, *sur-* ‘to become dry or parched’; Ostyak / Xanty *sar-* ‘to become dry’. Collinder 1955:117 and 1960:414 *$\check{s}ar_3$-; Rédei 1986—1988:466 *$śar_3$-; Sammallahti 1988:549 **śorå-* ‘to wither, to dry’.

F. Proto-Altaic **šero-* ‘to roast, to broil’: Proto-Tungus **čere-* (~ *š-*) ‘to bake (close to fire)’ > Evenki *čere-* ‘to bake (close to fire)’. Proto-Mongolian **sira-* ‘to roast, to broil’ > Written Mongolian *sira-* ‘to roast, to broil, to fry; to scorch, to burn (the sun)’; Khalkha *šara-* ‘to roast, to broil’; Buriat *šara-* ‘to roast, to broil’; Kalmyk *šar-* ‘to roast, to broil’; Ordos *šara-* ‘to roast, to broil’; Monguor *śirā-* ‘to roast, to broil’. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:1326—1327 **šero* ‘to bake, to boil’.

Buck 1949:5.21 cook (vb.); 5.22 boil; 5.23 roast, fry; 5.24 bake; 7.31 fireplace (hearth); 15.84 dry. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:374—375, no. 207. Slightly different etymology in Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 2215, **[ŝ]ERV* ‘to roast’.

604. Proto-Nostratic root *t͡ɬʰiʕ- (~ *t͡ɬʰeʕ-):
Extended form:
(vb.) *t͡ɬʰiʕ-*V*-*r*-;
(n) *t͡ɬʰiʕ-*r*-*a* ‘hair’:

Note: The original meaning of the stem *$t\underline{ɬ}^{h}iʕ$- (~ *$t\underline{ɬ}^{h}eʕ$-) may have been ‘to scratch, to scrape’ (> ‘to comb’ > ‘hair’); this stem may be preserved in Cushitic: Proto-Cushitic *$ɬaʕf$-/*$ɬiʕf$- or *$laʕf$-/*$liʕf$- ‘to claw, to scratch’ (cf. Ehret 1995:429, no. 891). For derivation of the word for ‘hair’ from a stem with the meaning ‘to scratch, to scrape’, cf. Old Church Slavic *kosa* ‘hair’, Serbo-Croatian *kòsa* ‘hair, wool’, etc., *o*-grade of the root found in Common Slavic **česati* ‘to scratch, to comb’ > Russian *česát'* [чесать] ‘to scratch, to comb’ (cf. Derksen 2008:86 and 238).

A. Proto-Afrasian *$t\underline{ɬ}iʕ(a)r$- ‘hair’: Proto-Semitic *$t\underline{ɬ}aʕr$-/*$t\underline{ɬ}iʕr$- ‘hair; hairy’ > Hebrew *śēʿār* [שְׂעָר] ‘hair’; Syriac *saʿrā* ‘hair’; Mandaic *sara* ‘hair’; Arabic *šaʿr* ‘hair; bristles; fur, pelt’, *šaʿrānī* ‘hairy’; Akkadian *šārtu* ‘hairy skin’; Ugaritic *šʿrt* ‘hair’; Ḥarsūsi *śōr* ‘hair, wool’; Mehri *śēr* ‘straw’; Śḥeri / Jibbāli *śáʿər* ‘dry grass, straw’; Soqoṭri *śáʿar* ‘straw’; Geez / Ethiopic *šəʿərt* [ሥዕርት] ‘hair of body or head’, *mašʿərt* [መሥዕርት] ‘comb, wooden headrest’. Murtonen 1989:433; Militarëv 2008a:199 and 2011:73 Proto-Semitic **ŝaʕar(-t)*-; Diakonoff 1992:18 **ĉaʕar*- ‘hair’; Klein 1987: 673; Leslau 1987:525; Zammit 2002:239—240. Note: Egyptian (Demotic) *sʿrt* ‘wool’, Coptic *sort* [ⲥⲟⲣⲧ] ‘wool’ are Semitic loans (cf. Černý 1976:162; Vycichl 1983:197). West Chadic (*$t\underline{ɬ}iʕar$- >) *$t\underline{ɬ}aHar$- ‘hair’ > Hausa *šaari* ‘hair on the chest of a ram’; Bokkos *syah*- ‘hair’. Omotic (*$t\underline{ɬ}iʕar$- >) *$šaHar$- ‘hair’ > Maji *saaru* ‘hair’. Assimilation of vowels in West Chadic and Omotic. Militarëv 2011:73 Proto-Afrasian **ĉVʕar)*-; Orël—Stolbova 1995:123—124, no. 538, **ĉaʕar*- ‘hair’. [Ehret 1995:429, no. 889, **$ɬ$-ʔr*- or **$ɬ$-rʔ*- ‘hair’: Proto-Semitic **$ɬʕr$-.]

B. (?) Dravidian: Tamil *īr*, *īrppi* ‘nit’; Malayalam *īr* ‘nit’, *īruka* ‘to comb hair’; Kota *ci·r* ‘nit’; Toda *ti·r* ‘nit’; Kannaḍa *īr*, *īpi*, *sīr* ‘nit’, *īr* ‘to comb out nits’, *īr-aṇige*, *sīr-aṇige* ‘to comb for nits or lice’; Koḍagu *ci·rï* ‘nit’; Tuḷu *tīrṵ*, *cīrṵ*, *sīrṵ* ‘nit’, *tiruvaṇa* ‘to nit-pick’; Telugu *īru*, *īpi* ‘nit’, *īr(u)cu* ‘to comb out nits’, *īr(u) pena* ‘comb for removing nits’; Kolami *si·r* ‘nit’; Naikṛi *śīr* ‘nit’; Naiki (of Chanda) *sīrku* (pl.) ‘nits’; Gadba *īrs*- (*īris*-) ‘to comb’; Gondi *sīr*, *hīṛ*, *hīr*, *īr* ‘nit’, *sīṛ* ‘louse’, *cirnī* ‘comb for removing nits’, *īrs*- ‘to comb out nits’; Pengo *hīr* ‘nit’; Manḍa *hīr* ‘nit’; Kui *sīreni*, *sīreṛi* ‘comb’; Kuwi *hīru* ‘nit’; Kuṛux *cīr* ‘nit’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984: 228, no. 2625. For the semantics, cf. Old English *hnitu* ‘nit’; Dutch *neet* ‘nit’; Old High German *(h)niz* ‘nit’ (New High German *Niß*, *Nisse*) < Proto-Indo-European **$k^{h}nit'$*- ‘louse, nit’, ultimately from **$k^{h}en$*- ‘to scratch’. Greek κονίς ‘eggs of lice, nits’ is from the same root (cf. κνίζω ‘to scratch, to scrape; to chop, to grate’). Note also Old Icelandic *gnit* ‘nit’ from the same stem found in *gniða* ‘to rub, to scrape’.

C. Proto-Indo-European *$k^{h}i\underline{ʕ}\underline{h}r$- [*$k^{h}e\underline{ʕ}\underline{h}r$-] (> *$k^{h}ēr$-) ‘hair’: Old Icelandic *hár* ‘hair’; Faroese *hár* ‘hair’; Norwegian *haar* ‘hair’; Swedish *hår* ‘hair’; Danish *haar* ‘hair’; Old English *hær*, *hēr* ‘hair’; Old Frisian *hēr* ‘hair’; Old Saxon *hār* ‘hair’; Dutch *haar* ‘hair’; Old High German *hār* ‘hair’ (New

High German *Haar*). Perhaps also Old Irish *cír* ‘comb, rake’. Pokorny 1959:583 **k̂er(s)-* ‘to bristle’; Walde 1927—1932.I:427 **k̂er(s)-*; Mallory—Adams 1997:252 **k̂er(es)-* ‘(rough) hair, bristle’ (Germanic forms < **k̂ēro-*); Orël 2003:172 Proto-Germanic **xēran*, 172 **xērjōn*; Kroonen 2013:220 Proto-Germanic **hēra-* ‘hair’; De Vries 1977:210; Falk—Torp 1903—1906.I:264—265; Klein 1971:331; Onions 1966:423 Common Germanic **χæram*; Boutkan—Siebinga 2005:165; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:278; Kluge—Seebold 1989:284 **ḱer-*, **ḱr̥-*.

Buck 1949:4.14 hair. Möller 1911:120 (Proto-Indo-European **k̂ēr-*); Bomhard—Kerns 1994:372, no. 204. Different (improbable) etymology in Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 2220, **ŝäɣoy[i]RV* ‘hair’.

605. Proto-Nostratic root **t͡ɬʰil-* (~ **t͡ɬʰel-*) or (?) **t͡ɬʰid͡ɮ-* (~ **t͡ɬʰed͡ɮ-*):
(vb.) **t͡ɬʰil-* or (?) **t͡ɬʰid͡ɮ-* ‘to see’;
(n.) **t͡ɬʰil-a* or (?) **t͡ɬʰid͡ɮ-a* ‘eye’

A. Afrasian: Proto-Highland East Cushitic **lell-* ‘to appear, to be seen’ > Gedeo / Darasa *lell-* ‘to appear, to be seen’, *lell-iš-* ‘to show, to uncover, to reveal’; Kambata *lall-* ‘to appear, to be seen’; Sidamo *leell-* ‘to appear, to be seen’, *leell-iš-* ‘to show’. Hudson 1989:21.
B. Proto-Kartvelian **xel-*/**xil-* ‘to open the eyes, to see’: Georgian *xil-* ‘to see’ (also *xed-* ‘to see’), *xel-*/*xil-* ‘to open the eyes’; Mingrelian *xil-* ‘to open the eyes’. Schmidt 1962:36, 79, and 158. According to Schmidt (1962:79), the *l* ~ *d* alternation in Georgian may point to an earlier lateral. If this suggestion is indeed correct, the Kartvelian data may provide evidence for a third (voiced) lateralized affricate in Proto-Nostratic, which means that the Proto-Nostratic form may have been **t͡ɬʰid͡ɮ-* (~ **t͡ɬʰed͡ɮ-*) instead.
C. Proto-Uralic **sʸilmä* ‘eye’: Finnish *silmä* ‘eye’; Estonian *silm* ‘eye’; Lapp / Saami *čâl'bme*/*čâlme-* ‘eye’; Mordvin *sel'me* ‘eye’; Cheremis / Mari (Western) *sinzä*, (Eastern) *šińʒa* (derivative) ‘eye’; Votyak / Udmurt *śin*/*śinm-*, *śim-* ‘eye’; Zyrian / Komi *śin* ‘eye’; Vogul / Mansi *šäm*, *säm* ‘eye’; Ostyak / Xanty *sem* ‘eye’; Hungarian *szëm* ‘eye’; Yurak Samoyed / Nenets *sõw*, *saew*, *haem* ‘eye’; Tavgi Samoyed / Nganasan *śajme*, *śɛjme* ‘eye’; Yenisei Samoyed / Enets *sej* ‘eye’; Selkup Samoyed *sajï* ‘eye’; Kamassian *sajma*, *sima* ‘eye’. Collinder 1955:57, 1960:408 **šil'mä*, and 1977:74; Rédei 1986—1988:479 **śilmä*; Décsy 1990:108 **sjilmä* ‘eye’; Sammallahti 1988:540 **śilmä* ‘eye’; Janhunen 1977b:132 **sə̂jmä*.

Buck 1949:4.21 eye; 15.51 see. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:377—378, no. 211; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 2200, **ŝilV(-ma)* ‘eye; to look, to examine’.

606. Proto-Nostratic root **t͡ɬʰir-* (~ **t͡ɬʰer-*):

(vb.) *$\underset{\frown}{t}ɬ^{h}ir$- ‘to be highly esteemed, eminent, illustrious, glorious’;
(n.) *$\underset{\frown}{t}ɬ^{h}ir$-*a* ‘high rank, chief, chieftain, ruler’

A. Proto-Afrasian *$\underset{\frown}{t}ɬ$*[i]r*- ‘(vb.) to be highly esteemed, eminent, illustrious; (n.) high rank, chief, chieftain, ruler’: Proto-Semitic *$\underset{\frown}{t}ɬ$*arr*- ‘chieftain, ruler’ > Hebrew *śar* [שַׂר] ‘chieftain, chief, ruler, official, captain, prince’; Akkadian *šarru* ‘king’; Ugaritic *šr* ‘prince, ruler’; Phoenician *šr* ‘prince’. Murtonen 1989:437; Klein 1987:680; Diakonoff 1992:86 **ĉarr*- ‘chief’. Proto-Semitic *$\underset{\frown}{t}ɬ$*ar-ap*- ‘to be highborn, noble’ > Arabic *šarufa* ‘to be highborn, noble’, *šaraf* ‘high rank, nobility’; Śḥeri / Jibbāli *eśśórf* ‘to honor (guests), to give generous hospitality’; Mehri *śōrəf* ‘to honor, to respect’.
B. Dravidian: Tamil *ci̲ra* ‘to be eminent, illustrious; to surpass; to be abundant; to be auspicious; to be graceful; to rejoice’, *ci̲rantōr* ‘the great, the illustrious, gods, relatives, ascetics’, *ci̲rappu* ‘pre-eminence, pomp, abundance, wealth, happiness, esteem’, *ci̲ravu* ‘meritorious deed’; Malayalam *ci̲rakka* (*ci̲rannu*) ‘to be glorious’; Kannaḍa *se̲rapu* ‘hospitality, honor, festival’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:225, no. 2589.
C. Proto-Indo-European *k^{h}*reyH-*/*k^{h}*riH*- (> *k^{h}*rī*-) ‘(adj.) better, superior, glorious, illustrious; (n.) high rank’: Sanskrit *śréyas*- ‘more splendid or beautiful, more excellent or distinguished, superior, preferable, better’, *śrī*- ‘high rank, power, might, majesty, royal dignity; light, luster, radiance, splendor, glory, beauty, grace, loveliness’; Avestan *srayah*- ‘fairer, more beautiful’, *srī*- ‘beauty, fairness’, *srīra*- ‘fair, beautiful’; Greek κρείων, κρέων ‘ruler, lord, master’. Pokorny 1959:618 **k̂rei*- ‘to shine forth’; Walde 1927—1932.I:478 **k̂rei*-; Mann 1984—1987:637 **k̂reiu̯o*- (**k̂rēu̯o*-) ‘superior’; Boisacq 1950:513; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:580; Frisk 1970—1973.II:12; Hofmann 1966:159 **k̂rei*-; Beekes 2010.I:774 **ḱreiH*-.
D. (?) Proto-Eskimo postbase *$ɬəʁ$ ‘one that is more or most’: Alutiiq Alaskan Yupik *ɬəq* (possessed *ɬxa*, etc.) ‘one that is more — (than possessor)’, *ɬqə* (tr.) ‘have — be more than (subject)’; Central Alaskan Yupik *ɬəq* (possessed *ɬxa*, etc.) ‘one that is more or most —’; Central Siberian Yupik *ɬəXpiɣaq* ‘most’; North Alaskan Inuit *ɬXaaq* ‘one that is more, most —’; Western Canadian Inuit (Siglit) *ɬʁuq* ‘the most —’ (on adjectival verb bases); Eastern Canadian Inuit *laaq* ‘one that is the most —’. Fortescue—Jacobson—Kaplan 1994:409.

Buck 1949:19.32 king. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:369—370, no. 200.

607. Proto-Nostratic root *$\underset{\frown}{t}ɬ^{h}u$ŋ- (~ *$\underset{\frown}{t}ɬ^{h}o$ŋ-):
Extended form:
(vb.) *$\underset{\frown}{t}ɬ^{h}u$ŋ-*V*-$k^{h}$- ‘to hook up, to hang up, to suspend (tr.); to dangle, to hang (intr.)’;
(n.) *$\underset{\frown}{t}ɬ^{h}u$ŋ-$k^{h}$-*a* ‘peg, hook’

A. Afrasian: Semitic: Arabic *šankala* (< **t͡ɬank-al-*) ‘to hook up’, *šankal* ‘peg, hook’.
B. Dravidian: Tamil *cuṅku* ‘end of cloth left hanging out in dressing, pleat or fold of garment’; Kannaḍa *cuṅgu*, *juṅgu* ‘end of a turban sticking out, a small part torn and hanging to the thing, a dangling tatter’; Telugu *cuṅgulu* ‘the end(s) of a garment’, *cuṅgu* ‘a skirt, the end of a cloth’; Kolami *juŋe* ‘cloth’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:229, no. 2648.
C. Proto-Indo-European **kʰonkʰ-* ‘(vb.) to hook up, to hang up; (n.) peg, hook’: Hittite (3rd sg. pres. act.) *ga-an-ki* ‘to hang’; Sanskrit *śaṅkú-ḥ* ‘peg, nail, spike’, *śáṅkate* ‘to waiver, to hesitate’; Latin *cūnctor* ‘to delay, to linger, to hesitate’; Gothic *hāhan* ‘to hang, to keep in suspense’; Old Icelandic *hanga* ‘to hang, to be suspended’, *hengja* ‘to hang up, to suspend’; Faroese *hanga* ‘to hang’; Norwegian *hanga* ‘to hang’, *hengja* ‘to hang up’; Swedish *hänga* ‘to hang’; Danish *hænge* ‘to hang’; Old English *hangian* ‘to hang’, *hengan(n)* ‘death or punishment by hanging, hanging, torture; gallows, cross, rack; prison, confinement’; Old Frisian *hangia* ‘to hang’; Old Saxon *hangōn* ‘to hang’; Dutch *hangen* ‘to hang’; Old High German *hangēn* ‘to hang’ (New High German *hangen*, *hängen*). Rix 1998a:290 **k̂enk-* ‘to hang, to suspend’; Pokorny 1959:537—538 **kenk-* ‘to dangle’, 566 **k̂enk-*, **k̂onk-* ‘to dangle’; Walde 1927—1932.I:382—383 **kenk-*; Mann 1984—1987:469 **kank-* (**kanḵō*) ‘to raise, to hang’, 470 **kankəl-* ‘hook, hanger’, 601 **k̂ankos*, *-is* ‘spike, limb, branch, peg’; Watkins 1985:32 **konk-* and 2000:43 **konk-* ‘to hang’; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.II:927 **k̂[ʰ]ank[ʰ]-* and 1995.I:821 **k̂ʰankʰ-* ‘stake, peg’; Mallory—Adams 1997:255 *k̂onk-* ‘to hang’; Ernout—Meillet 1979:157; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:307 **k̂enq-*, **k̂onq-*; De Vaan 2008:153; Puhvel 1984— .4:48—51 **k̂enke(y)-*, **k̂n̥k-*; Kloekhorst 2008b:437—438; Orël 2003:160 Proto-Germanic **xanǯjanan*, 160 **xanxanan* ~ **xanǯanan*, 160 **xanxēnan* ~ **xanǯēnan*; Kroonen 2013:208 Proto-Germanic **hangjan-* ~ **hankjan-* ‘to (make) hang’ and 208 **hanhan-* ‘to hand’; Feist 1939:230—231 **k̂aŋk-*; Lehmann 1986:168 **k̂enk-*; De Vries 1977:208 and 222; Falk—Torp 1903—1906.I:319 **ke(n)k-*; Onions 1966:426 Common Germanic **χaŋχan*; Klein 1971:333 **kenq-*, **konq-*; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:288; Kluge—Seebold 1989:292 **ḱonk-*.
D. Yukaghir (Northern / Tundra) *čuŋnel'e-* ‘to fall down a little (of trousers)’. Nikolaeva 2006:145.

Buck 1949:12.75 hook. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:371—372, no. 203.

608. Proto-Nostratic root **t͡ɬʰut'-* (~ **t͡ɬʰot'-*):
(vb.) **t͡ɬʰut'-* ‘to cut, to split’;
(n.) **t͡ɬʰut'-a* ‘cut, split’

A. Proto-Afrasian **tɬ[u]t'-* ‘to cut, to split’: Proto-Semitic **tɬat'-ar-* ‘to cut, to split’ > Arabic *šaṭara* ‘to halve, to divide into equal parts, to bisect, to cut through, to cut off, to sever’, *šaṭr* ‘partition, division, separation, halving, bisecting’; Mehri *śəṭráyr* ‘rag, strip of cloth’; Soqoṭri *śeṭar* ‘to tear’; Ḥarsūsi *śeṭeráyr* ‘bundle of rags or cloth’; Śḥeri / Jibbāli *śəṭrér* ‘rag, strip of cloth’; Gurage (Chaha) *säṭärä* ‘to split wood into half or into big pieces, to plow a field for the first time’, (Endegeñ) *(a)šṭäṭṭärä* ‘to split wood into small pieces’, (Muher) *šäṭṭärä* ‘to cut, to split’; Tigre *säṭra* ‘to split, to crack’; Harari *sēṭära* ‘to split along the grain into splinters’, *säṭra* ‘crack, split’, *säčīr* ‘splinter’. Leslau 1963:137, 144 and 1979:588; Zammit 2002:238—239. Proto-Semitic **tɬat'-ak'-* ‘to cut, to split’ > Akkadian *šatāḳu* ‘to cut, to separate’; Geez / Ethiopic *šaṭaḳa* [ሠጠቀ] ‘to cut, to split, to tear asunder, to break through, to open a way’; Tigre *šäṭṭäḳa* ‘to split’; Gurage *säṭṭäḳä* ‘to split wood in half, to plow a field for the first time’. Leslau 1979:567 and 1987:537—538. Proto-Semitic **tɬat'-at-* ‘to cut, to split, to tear’ > Arabic (Daṯina) *šaṭṭa* ‘to cut, to split, to tear’; Geez / Ethiopic *šaṭaṭa* [ሠጠጠ] ‘to tear (apart), to rend, to rip up’; Tigre *säṭṭa* ‘to rend’, *šäṭṭa* ‘to tear’; Tigrinya *šäṭäṭä*, *säṭäṭä* ‘to break’; Amharic *säṭṭäṭä* ‘to tear noisily or quickly’. Leslau 1987:538. Arabic *šaṭaba* ‘to cut in slices or strips; to make an incision, a longitudinal cut, a slit, a slash’, *šaṭb* ‘cut, slash, incision, scratch’. Geez / Ethiopic *šaṭaya* [ሠጠየ] ‘to tear, to lacerate, to rend, to be terror-stricken, to be dismayed’. Leslau 1987:538. Berber: Tuareg *tasəṭṭa* ‘branch cut from a thorny tree’; Tamazight *asəṭṭa* ‘branch, limb’; Tashelhiyt / Shilha *tasəṭṭat* ‘branch’; Riff *tasəṭṭa* ‘branch’; Kabyle *tasəṭṭa* ‘branch, limb’; Chaouia *ciḍuw* ‘branch, limb’; Zenaga *cəd* ‘to split (wood)’, *əccad* ‘stick’, *tacodda* ‘branch, cut tree’.

B. (?) Dravidian: Tamil *cutti*, *cuttiyal* ‘small hammer’; Malayalam *cutti*, *cuttika*, *tutti* ‘hammer’; Kannaḍa *suttige* ‘hammer’; Tuḷu *sutti*, *suttigè*, *suttiyè*, *suttè*, *suttyè* ‘hammer’; Telugu *sutte* ‘hammer’; Gondi *sutte* ‘hammer’; Kuwi *suthi* ‘hammer’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:231, no. 2668. Cf. Marathi *sutkī* ‘an instrument of stone-splitters’.

C. Proto-Kartvelian **xot'r-* ‘to cut, to clip’: Georgian *xot'r-* ‘to cut (close to the skin)’; Mingrelian *xot'or-*, *xut'or-*, *xuč'or-* ‘to cut, to clip’; Laz *xot'or-*, *xut'or-*, *xoč'or-* ‘to cut, to clip’. Klimov 1964:261 **xoṭr-* and 1998:330 **xoṭr-* ‘to clip, to shear’; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:554 **xoṭr-*; Fähnrich 2007:690—691 **xoṭr-*.

Buck 1949:9.22 cut (vb.); 9.27 split (vb. tr.); 9.28 tear (vb. tr.). Bomhard—Kerns 1994:378, no. 212.

22.33. PROTO-NOSTRATIC *t͡ɬ’

				Eurasiatic			
Proto-Nostratic	Proto-Afrasian	Proto-Dravid.	Proto-Kartvel.	Proto-IE	Proto-Uralic	Proto-Altaic	Proto-Eskimo
t͡ɬ’-	t͡ɬ’-	t-	k’-	k’-	δʸ-		
-t͡ɬ’-	-t͡ɬ’-	-t(ṭ)-	-k’-	-k’-	-δʸ-		

609. Proto-Nostratic root *t͡ɬ’ar- (~ *t͡ɬ’ər-):
(vb.) *t͡ɬ’ar- ‘to bite, to gnaw’;
(n.) *t͡ɬ’ar-a ‘bite’
Extended form (in Semitic and Indo-European):
(vb.) *t͡ɬ’ar-V-s- ‘to bite, to gnaw’;
(n.) *t͡ɬ’ar-s-a ‘tooth; morsel bitten, food, nourishment’

A. Afrasian: Proto-Semitic *t͡ɬ’aras- ‘to bite’, *t͡ɬ’irs- ‘molar tooth’ > Arabic *ḍarasa* ‘to bite firmly or fiercely’, *ḍirs* ‘molar tooth’; Sabaean *ḍrs* ‘molar tooth’; Śḥeri / Jibbāli *məźrés* ‘molar tooth’; Geez / Ethiopic *ḍərs* [ፅርስ] ‘molar tooth’; Tigrinya *ṭərsi* ‘tooth’; Amharic *ṭərs* ‘tooth’, *ṭärräsä* ‘to break the teeth’; Harari *ṭirsi* ‘molar tooth’; Gurage (Wolane) *ṭäräsä* ‘to break off a piece, *to chip the rim of a utensil’. Leslau 1963:156, 1979: 633, and 1987:153.
B. Proto-Kartvelian *k’rč’- ‘to gnash or grind one’s teeth’: Georgian *k’rč’-* in *k’rč’-en-a* ‘to gnash or grind one’s teeth’; Laz *k’irč’-* in *o-k’irč’-ol-u* ‘to crunch with the teeth, to munch’. Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:211 *ḳrčˇ-; Fähnrich 2007:256 *ḳrčˇ-.
C. Proto-Indo-European *k’ras- ‘to bite, to gnaw, to eat’: Sanskrit *grásate*, *grásati* ‘to swallow, to consume, to eat, to devour’, *grāsa-ḥ* ‘food, nourishment, morsel bitten’; Greek γράω ‘to gnaw, to eat’; (?) Latin *grāmen* (if not from *g^hra-s-men*) ‘grass’. Rix 1998a:170—171 *gres- ‘to eat, to devour’; Pokorny 1959:404 *gras- : *grŏ̄s- ‘to eat’; Walde 1927—1932.I:657—658 *grēs- : *grōs- : *grəs-; Mann 1984—1987:291—292 *grasō ‘to devour, to consume’; Watkins 1985:24 *gras- and 2000:33 *gras- ‘to devour’; Mallory—Adams 1997:175 *gras- ‘to eat, to graze’; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.I:352 *gréseti*, (older paradigm) *gr-és-mi : *gr̥-s-més*; Boisacq 1950:155 *ǧer-; Frisk 1970—1973.I:326 *ǧr̥s-ō; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:237 *gr̥s- or *gres- (?); Hofmann 1966:47—48 *grəsō; Beekes 2010.I:286 *gres-; Ernout—Meillet 1979:280; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:616—617; De Vaan 2008:269—270.

Buck 1949:4.27 tooth; 4.58 bite; 5.11 eat. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:381, no. 216.

610. Proto-Nostratic root *t͡ɬ’il- (~ *t͡ɬ’el-):

(vb.) *$t\underline{ɬ}$'il- ‘to be bent, curved, round’;
(n.) *$t\underline{ɬ}$'il-a ‘bent, curved, round thing or object’; (adj.) ‘bent, curved, round’

A. Proto-Afrasian *$t\underline{ɬ}$'il-aʕ- ‘to be bent, curved, round’, *$t\underline{ɬ}$'il-(a)ʕ- ‘rib’: Proto-Semitic *$t\underline{ɬ}$'alaʕ- ‘to be bent, curved, round’, *$t\underline{ɬ}$'ilʕ- ‘rib’ > Akkadian *ṣēlu* ‘rib, side’; Hebrew *ṣēlāʿ* [צֵלָע] ‘rib’; Ugaritic *ṣlʿt* ‘ribs’; Arabic *ḍaliʿa* ‘to be crooked, bent, curved; to curve; to bend’, *ḍilʿ* ‘rib’; Śḥeri / Jibbāli *ź̲alʿ* ‘rib’; Mehri *źālaʾ* ‘rib’; Soqoṭri *źalʿ* ‘rib’. Murtonen 1989:361; Klein 1987:549. Proto-East Cushitic *$ɗ_1$*in(a)ʕ- (< *$ɗ_1$*il(a)ʕ-) ‘rib’ > Burji *dîn-áa* ‘rib, ribs, side of body’; Somali *ḍinaʿ* ‘side’; Gidole *dînaʾ-itt* ‘rib’; Galla / Oromo *c'ina-a* ‘rib, side of body’; Gedeo / Darasa *c'inaacca* ‘ribs, side’. Sasse 1982:64; Hudson 1989:123.

B. Proto-Indo-European **k'el-/*kl-* ‘bent, curved, round’: Sanskrit *gulī* ‘globe, pill’, *gláu-ḥ* ‘round lump’; Greek γίγγλυμος ‘a hinge joint’, γλουτός ‘rump, buttocks’; Latin *globus* ‘a round ball, globe, sphere’, *glomus* ‘ball of yarn’, *glēba* ‘a lump or clod of earth’, *glomerō* ‘to form into a sphere’; Old English *clīwen* ‘ball of thread, clew; anything in the shape of a ball’, *clympre* ‘lump of metal, metal’; Low German *klump* ‘clump, lump’; Dutch *klomp* ‘lump, mass’, *kluwen* ‘clew, ball’; Old High German *klumpe* ‘lump, mass’ (New High German *Klumpen*), *kliuwa*, *chliwa* ‘clew, ball’ (initial cluster dissimilated from *kl-* to *kn-* in New High German *Knäuel*); Slovenian *glúta* ‘boil, tumor, lump, swelling’. Pokorny 1959:357—364 **gel-* ‘to form into a ball’; Walde 1927—1932.I:612—621 **gel-*; Mann 1984—1987:275 **glau̯os* ‘ball, lump’, 276 **glembō*, *-i̯ō* ‘to compress’, 279 **glīu̯-* (**gləu̯-*) ‘ball, clump’, 279 **globos*, *-ā* ‘lump, mass’, 280 **glombos*, *-i̯os* ‘mass, lump, clump’, 281 **glomos*, **glom-* ‘compact; mass’, 281 **gloud-* ‘compact; ball, lump, huddle’, 282—283 **glūd-* ‘bundle, bunch, clot; to ball up, to huddle, to bunch’, 283 **glund-* (**glundh-*) ‘lump’; Watkins 1985:18 **gel-* ‘to form into a ball’; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.I:341 and I:354—355; Boisacq 1950:147 and 151 **g̑leu-*, based upon **g̑el-* ‘to form into a ball’; Frisk 1970—1973.I:306 and I:313—314; Beekes 2010.I:272 and I:277 (pre-Greek); Hofmann 1966:44 and 46 **gl-eu-*; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:221 Greek γίγγλυμος, without etymology, and I:228 **glout-*; Ernout—Meillet 1979:276 and 277; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:606—607 **gelebh-* (lengthened-grade **glēbh-*), I:608—609 **g(e)leb(h)-*, and I:609 **gel-* ‘to form into a ball’; De Vaan 2008:264 and 265; Orël 2003:216 Proto-Germanic **klewōn* (related to **klaujanan*); Kroonen 2013:292 Proto-Germanic **klewan-* ‘lump, ball’ (< **gleuh$_2$-on-*); Onions 1966:181 and 184; Klein 1971:142 **gleu-* and 144; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:380 and 381; Kluge—Seebold 1989:380 and 382; Walshe 1951:123 **gle(m)b-/*glo(m)b-*.

C. Yukaghir (Southern / Kolyma) *čilgə* ‘bough’, (Northern / Tundra) *čilge* ‘bough, willow branches used as bedding’, *čilge-raal* ‘dried branch used as fuel’. Nikolaeva 2006:131.

Buck 1949:12.81 round; 12.82 circle; 12.83 sphere. Bomhard—Kerns 1994: 381—382, no. 217.

611. Proto-Nostratic root *tɬ’im- (~ *tɬ’em-):
(vb.) *tɬ’im- ‘to join, bind, press, or unite together’;
(n.) *tɬ’im-a ‘bond, tie, union, connection’; (adj.) ‘joined, bound, pressed, or united together; tied, harnessed, glued, etc.’

A. Proto-Afrasian *tɬ’[i]m- ‘to join, bind, or unite together’: Proto-Semitic *tɬ’am-ad- ‘to join together, to yoke, to harness’ > Akkadian *ṣamādu* ‘to yoke, to harness’; Hebrew *ṣāmaḏ* [צָמַד] ‘to press together; to join, to couple’, *ṣemeḏ* [צֶמֶד] ‘couple, pair’; Aramaic *ṣəmaḏ* ‘to bind together, to yoke’; Mandaic *ṣmd* ‘to bind, to join, to couple’; Ugaritic *ṣmd* ‘to harness’; Arabic *ḍamada* ‘to dress a wound, to twist a bandage around the head’; Sabaean *ḍmd* ‘to yoke, to unite’; Geez / Ethiopic *ḍamada* [ፀመደ], *ṣamada* [ጸመደ] ‘to yoke, to harness, to bind together, to join, to link, to subjugate’; Tigre *ṣämda* ‘to yoke’; Tigrinya *ṣämädä* ‘to yoke’; Gurage *ṭämädä* ‘to join, to unite, to put together, to bring together’; Amharic *ṭämmädä* ‘to yoke oxen’; Argobba *ṭämmäda* ‘to yoke oxen’. Murtonen 1989:361—362; Klein 1987:550; Leslau 1979:621 and 1987:149—150. Proto-Semitic *tɬ’am-am- ‘to join together’ > Arabic *ḍamma* ‘to bring together, to join, to draw together, to contract; to gather, to collect, to reap, to harvest; to unite; to embrace; to combine, to close, to compress; to grasp, to grip, to grab, to seize’; Hebrew *ṣāmam* [צָמַם] ‘to be pressed together, restrained; (hif.) to restrain, to tie up’, *ṣammāh* [צַמָּה] ‘woman’s veil’; Śḥeri / Jibbāli *ẕ́imm* ‘to enlist; to be reunited’; Mehri *źəm* ‘to join up, to enlist’; Geez / Ethiopic *ḍamama* [ፀመመ] ‘to bind, to tie around, to patch up, to restrain (appetite)’; Amharic *č̣ämäč̣č̣ämä* ‘to bind’, *ṭämäṭṭämä* ‘to wrap (a scarf around the head or neck), to wind (a bandage, turban, etc.), to tie a package with a string, to coil up (tr.)’; Tigre *ṣämma* ‘to squeeze together’. Murtonen 1989:361; Klein 1987:550; Leslau 1987:150; Zammit 2002:265. Egyptian *dmm* ‘to unite with’, *dmꜣ* ‘to bind together’, *dmỉ* ‘to join, to bring together’, *dmḏ* ‘to assemble, to bring together, to unite’; Coptic *tōōme* [ⲧⲱⲱⲙⲉ] ‘to join’. Gardiner 1957:602; Hannig 1995:978, 979, and 979—980; Faulkner 1962:312 and 313; Erman—Grapow 1921:214 and 1926—1963.5:451, 5:453—455, 5:457—459; Vycichl 1983:215; Černý 1976:187. Berber: Tuareg *əẓmi* ‘to sew, to be sewn’, *aẓamay* ‘the act of sewing, being sewn, sewing’; Siwa *əẓmi* ‘to sew’, *aẓəmma* ‘rattan’; Ghadames *əẓmək* ‘to sew’; Tamazight *aẓmu* ‘rattan’; Tashelhiyt / Shilha *tasmi* ‘small needle’, *aẓẓmay* ‘rattan’; Zenaga *azməy* ‘to sew’, *azməy* ‘sewing’.

B. Proto-Indo-European *k’em-/*k’m̥- (secondary *o*-grade form: *k’om-) ‘(vb.) to join together, to unite (in marriage); to wed, to marry; (n.) the one who is married, son-in-law’: Sanskrit *jāmí-ḥ* ‘related (brother or sister)’, *jā́mātar-* ‘son-in-law (daughter’s husband)’; Avestan *zāmātar-* ‘son-in-

law’; Farsi *dāmād* ‘son-in-law’; Greek γαμέω ‘to marry’, γάμος ‘wedding’, γαμβρός ‘son-in-law’; Latin *gener* (for **gemer*) ‘son-in-law’; Lithuanian *žéntas* ‘son-in-law’; Old Church Slavic *zętъ* ‘son-in-law’; Albanian *dhëndhër*, *dhëndhri*, *dhëndhurë* ‘son-in-law, bridegroom’. Pokorny 1959:369—370 **ĝem(e)-* ‘to marry’; Walde 1927—1932.I:574—575 **ĝem(e)-*; Mann 1984—1987:396 **ĝəmros*; Mallory—Adams 1997:369 **ĝemh$_x$-* ‘to marry (from the male point of view)’ and 533 **ĝomh$_x$-ter-* ‘son-in-law’, **ĝm̥mh$_x$-ro-s*, **ĝm̥-ro-s* ‘son-in-law’, **ĝemh$_x$- to-s* ‘son-in-law’; Watkins 1985:19 **gemə-* and 2000:26 **gemə-* ‘to marry’ (oldest form: **gemə$_1$-*); Mayrhofer 1956—1980.I:430; Boisacq 1950:140 and 140—141; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:208—209 and I:209; Frisk 1970—1973.I:287 and I:287—288; Hofmann 1966:54; Beekes 2010.I:259 **ǵ(e)m-*; Huld 1984:58—59 **ĝamH-* ‘to marry’; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:590—591 **ĝem(e)-* ‘to marry’; Ernout—Meillet 1979:270; De Vaan 2008:258 **ǵ(e)m-ro-* ‘son-in-law’; Orël 1998:82; Smoczyński 2007.1:779 **ǵm̥h$_3$-C*; Fraenkel 1962—1965.II:1301; Derksen 2008:543—544 **ǵenh$_3$-ti-* and 2015:516—517 **ǵnh$_3$-ti-* (?); Wodkto—Irslinger—Schneider 2008:136—139 **ĝemH-*.

C. Proto-Uralic **δ^{y}imä* ‘glue’: Finnish *tymä* ‘glue’; Lapp / Saami *dâbme/dâme-* ‘glue’; Cheremis / Mari *lümö* ‘glue’; Votyak / Udmurt *l'em* ‘glue’; Zyrian / Komi *l'em* ‘glue’; Yurak Samoyed / Nenets *jiibe*, *jiimeä* ‘glue’; Tavgi Samoyed / Nganasan *jimi* ‘glue’; Yenisei Samoyed / Enets *jii* ‘glue’; Selkup Samoyed *t'üme*, *t'eu* ‘glue’; Kamassian *nəmɛ* ‘glue’. Sammallahti 1988:537 **d'ümä* ‘glue’; Rédei 1986—1988:66 **δ'imä* (**δ'ümä*); Collinder 1955:64, 1960:409 **δ'ümä*, and 1977:81; Décsy 1990:98 **dhjimä* ‘lime’.

Sumerian *dim* ‘band, binding; rope, cord; knot’, *dim-ma* ‘to tie together, to fasten, to bind’, *dim-má* ‘band, rope, cord’.

Buck 1949:2.33 marry; 2.63 son-in-law; 10.78 yoke. Möller 1911:73—74; Bomhard—Kerns 1994:380—381, no. 215.

612. Proto-Nostratic root **t̪ɬ’uk^h-* (~ **t̪ɬ’ok^h-*):
(vb.) **t̪ɬ’uk^h-* ‘to push, to shove, to thrust (in), to press (in)’;
(n.) **t̪ɬ’uk^h-a* ‘push, shove, thrust’

A. Afrasian: Semitic: Arabic *ḍakka* ‘to press, to press upon’, *ḍakaza* ‘to press violently with the hand’, (reduplicated) *ḍakḍaka* ‘to press; to walk apace’.

B. Dravidian: Kannaḍa *dūku* ‘to push’; Kuṛux *tukknā* ‘to give a push to, to shove’; Malto *tuke* ‘to push, to remove’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:287, no. 3286.

C. Uralic: Proto-Finno-Ugrian **δ^{y}ukkɜ-* (**δ^{y}okkɜ-*) ‘to put (in), to stick (in), to thrust (in)’ > (?) Finnish *tokkaa-* ‘to put in, to stick’; Cheremis / Mari *loγe-* ‘to butt, to ram’; Votyak / Udmurt *l'ekal-* ‘to but, to ram, to stick’; Zyrian /

Komi *l'ukal-*, *l'ukaav-*, *lukaal-* ‘to butt, to ram’. Rédei 1986—1988:66 **δ'ɤkkɜ-*.

Buck 1949:9.342 press (vb.); 10.67 push, shove (vb.); 12.12 put (place, set, lay). Bomhard—Kerns 1994:382, no. 218.

				Eurasiatic			
Proto-Nostratic	Proto-Afrasian	Proto-Dravid.	Proto-Kartvel.	Proto-IE	Proto-Uralic	Proto-Altaic	Proto-Eskimo
ʔ-	ʔ-	Ø-	Ø-	ʔ-	Ø-	Ø-	Ø-
-ʔ-	-ʔ-	-Ø-	-Ø-	-ʔ-	-Ø-	-Ø-	-Ø-

613. Proto-Nostratic 1st singular personal pronoun stem **ʔa-* (~ **ʔə-*), **ʔi-* (~ **ʔe-*) ‘I, me’:

No doubt originally the same as the deictic particles **ʔa-*, **ʔi-* listed below.

A. Proto-Afrasian **ʔa-* 1st singular personal pronoun prefix: Proto-Semitic **ʔa-* 1st singular personal pronoun prefix > Classical Arabic *ʾa-*; Śḥeri / Jibbāli *e-*, *ə-*, *Ø-*; Mehri *ə-*; Akkadian *a-*; Hebrew *ʾe-*/*ʾă-* [-אֶ/-אֲ]; Aramaic *ʾi-*; Ugaritic *ả-*/*ỉ-*; Geez / Ethiopic *ʾə-* [አ-]; Amharic *ə-*. O’Leary 1923:244; Lipiński 1997:376—377. Proto-Berber **ʔa-nak-* > **Ønak-* > Tuareg *nək* ‘I, me’; Ghadames *nəc*, *nəccan* ‘me’; Mzab *nəc*, *nəcci*, *nəccin* ‘me’; Kabyle *nəkk*, *nəkki*, *nəkkini* ‘me’; Tamazight *nəkk*, *nəç* ‘me’. Proto-Cushitic **ʔ(a)-* 1st singular personal pronoun prefix > Beja / Beḍawye *ʾa-*; Proto-Sam **Ø-*. Heine 1978:34—36. Diakonoff 1988:80—82. According to Militarëv (2011:77), this prefix is also found in Proto-Afrasian **ʔa-na(-k/tV)* ‘I’.

B. Proto-Indo-European **ʔe-* in: **ʔe+kʼ-*, **ʔe+g^{h}-*, **ʔe+k^{h}-* 1st singular personal pronoun stem: ‘I’: Greek ἐγώ, ἐγών ‘I’ (Laconian ἐγώνη ‘I’; Boeotian ἰώ(ν) ‘I’); Latin *egŏ* ‘I’; Faliscan *eko*, *eqo* ‘I’; Venetic *.e.go* ‘I’; Gothic *ik* ‘I’; Runic *eka* ‘I’; Old Icelandic *ek* ‘I’; Faroese *eg* ‘I’; Swedish *jag* ‘I’; Danish *jeg* ‘I’; Old English *ic* ‘I’; Old Frisian *ik* ‘I’; Old Saxon *ik* ‘I’; Dutch *ik* ‘I’; Old High German *ih*, *ihha* ‘I’ (New High German *ich*); Armenian *es* ‘I’; Old Prussian *es*, *as* ‘I’; Lithuanian *àš* ‘I’ (Old Lithuanian *eš*); Latvian *es* ‘I’; Old Church Slavic *azъ*, (rare) *jazъ* ‘I’; Czech *ja* ‘I’; Polish *ja* ‘I’; Serbo-Croatian *jâ* ‘I’; Russian *ja* [я] ‘I’; Sanskrit *ahám* ‘I’; Avestan *azəm* ‘I’; Old Persian *adam* ‘I’. Pokorny 1959:291 **eĝ-*, **eĝ(h)om*, **eĝō* ‘I’; Walde 1927—1932.I:115—116 **eĝ(h)om*; Mann 1984—1987:233 **eĝō*, **eĝōne* ‘I’, 236 **eḱ* ‘I’, 238 **eḱhō* ‘I’; Watkins 1985:16 **eg-* and 2000:22 **eg-* nominative form of the first person singular personal pronoun; Mallory—Adams 1997:454 **h$_1$eĝ* ‘I’ (emphatic **h$_1$eĝóm*); Fortson 2004:127 **eĝoh$_2$*, **eĝh$_2$-om*; Brugmann 1904:407 **eĝh-*, **eĝ-*; Szemerényi 1996:213 **egō*, **eg(h)om*; Meillet 1964:333; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.I:68 **eǵhom*, **eǵom*, **eǵō(m)*, **eǵ*, **eǵo(m)* (?); Boisacq 1950:214—215 **eĝ-*, **eĝh-*, **eĝ(h)óm*; Hofmann 1966:68 **eĝ(h)om*; Frisk 1970—1973.I:441 **eĝō*, **eĝom*; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:311; Beekes 2010.I:373 **h$_1$eǵ-+e/oH*, *-h$_1$-om*; Ernout—Meillet 1979:192—193 **eĝŏ*; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I 395—396 **eĝ(h)om*, **eĝom*, **eĝ*, **eĝ(h)*, **egō*; De Vaan 2008:287; Orël 2003:83 Proto-Germanic **eka* (< **eĝō*), (acc. sg.) **meke*; Kroonen 2013:116 Proto-Germanic **ek(a)* ‘I’; Feist

1939:291—292 **eĝ(h)om*, **eĝō*, **eĝ*; Lehmann 1986:204—205 **eĝ-ō*, **eĝom*, **eĝh-(om)*; De Vries 1977:98—99 **eĝ*, **eĝh*; Falk—Torp 1903—1906.I:336; Onions 1966:457; Klein 1971:363; Walshe 1951:107; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:323—324 **eĝom*, **eĝhom*; Kluge—Seebold 1989:324 **eǵ*, **eǵom*; Boutkan—Siebinga 2005:191; Fraenkel 1962—1965.I:18; Derksen 2008:31 **h_1eǵ-H-om* and 2015:63 **h_1eǵ-H-om*.

C. (?) Chukchi-Kamchatkan: Chukchi *i-* ~ *e-* in (predicative forms): *-iɣəm* ~ *-eɣəm* 'I' (the shorter form *ɣəm* is used as an independent personal pronoun 'I'), *-iɣət* ~ *-eɣət* 'you' (the shorter form *ɣət* is used as an independent personal pronoun 'you'). Greenberg 2000:78—80. Fortescue (2005:146—147) reconstructs Proto-Chukchi-Kamchatkan **kəm* 'I' and (2005:142—143) **kəð* 'you'.

Sumerian *a-a_A* 'I'.

Note: The Chukchi forms indicate that we are dealing with what was originally a deictic particle here inasmuch as the same patterning is found in both the first and second person predicative pronoun stems. Moreover, it is the proximate deictic form **ʔi-* (~ **ʔe-*) that is represented in Chukchi-Kamchatkan as opposed to the distant form **ʔa-* (~ **ʔə-*) found in Afrasian (the Indo-European forms are phonologically ambiguous). This seems to indicate that independent developments were involved in each branch, using the same basic elements.

Möller 1911:64; Dolgopolsky 1984:89—90 and 94; Bomhard—Kerns 1994: 567, no. 433; Greenberg 2000:77—81.

614. Proto-Nostratic demonstrative stems (originally deictic particles):
Proximate: **ʔi-* (~ **ʔe-*) 'this';
Intermediate: **ʔu-* (~ **ʔo-*) 'that';
Distant: **ʔa-* (~ **ʔə-*) 'that yonder, that over there'

Note: These stems regularly combined with other deictic particles: **ʔa/i/u+na-*, **ʔa/i/u+ša-*,**ʔa/i/u+ma-*,**ʔa/i/u+t^ha-*, **ʔa/i/u+k^ha-*, **ʔa/i/u+ya-*, etc.

A. Afrasian: For Proto-Southern Cushitic, Ehret (1980:50) reconstructs the following suffixes: (a) **-i* nearness marker, (b) **-a* farness marker, (c) **-o* marker of reference (indefinite distance):

a) Proto-Southern Cushitic **-i* nearness marker > Iraqw *-i* in *wi*/*ri*/*ti* 'this' (m./f.); Burunge *-i* in *ki*/*ti* 'this' (m./f.), *-i-* in *tiʔi* 'here'; Alagwa *-i* in *wi*/*ti* 'this' (m./f.); Ma'a *i-* in *ilaʔi* 'this direction', *iʔi* 'here'.
b) Proto-Southern Cushitic **-a* farness marker > Iraqw *-a* in *qa* 'that', *da* 'that aforementioned'; Burunge *-a* in *kaʔa*/*taʔa* 'that' (m./f.), *taʔi* 'there'; Ma'a *-a* in *twaʔi* 'there'.

c) Proto-Southern Cushitic *-*o* marker of reference (indefinite distance) > Iraqw -*o* in *wo*/*ro*/*to* ‘this being talked about’ (m./f./n.); Alagwa -*o* in *qo* ‘that’; K’wadza -*o* in -*uko* masculine gender marker, -*eto*, -*ito* feminine gender marker.

North Cushitic: Beja / Beḍawye *ʔūn* ‘this’. Reinisch 1895:20—21.

Proto-Agaw base **ʔə+n-* ‘this’ > Bilin *ʔəna* ‘this’; Xamir *ən*/*ənin*/*ənyän*, (f.) *ənčän* ‘this’; Kemant *ən*/*əndän* ‘this’; Awngi / Awiya *ə́n* ‘this’. Appleyard 2006:136; Reinisch 1887:32—33 (*en*, *in*).

B. Proto-Dravidian (a) **ă̄* distant demonstrative stem (Burrow—Emeneau 1984:1—3, no. 1; Krishnamurti 2003:253—258 and 390 **aH* ‘that’), (b) **ĭ̄* proximate demonstrative stem (Burrow—Emeneau 1984:38—40, no. 410; Krishnamurti 2003:253—258 and 390 **iH* ‘this’), and (c) **ŭ̄* intermediate demonstrative stem (Burrow—Emeneau 1984:54—55, no. 557; Krishnamurti 2003:253—258 and 391 **uH* ‘yonder, not too distant’). Krishnamurti derives these stems from deictic bases and notes that they carry gender and number and are inflected for case. Finally, he notes that time (‘now, then, when’) and place (‘here, there, where’) adverbs are also derived from these deictic bases. Similar usage is found in other Nostratic languages. Examples (this is but a small sampling):

a) Proto-Dravidian **ă̄* distant demonstrative stem: Tamil *a* demonstrative base expressing the remoter person or thing; prefixed to nouns to express remoteness; Malayalam *a*, *ā* ‘that, yonder’; Kota *a*- distant from the speaker in space or time; Toda *a*- distant from speaker in space or time; Kannaḍa *a*- remote demonstrative base; Kui *a*- ‘that over there’; Kuwi (adj.) *ā* ‘that most remote’; Kuṛux *a*- ‘that most remote’.
b) Proto-Dravidian **ĭ̄* proximate demonstrative stem: Tamil *i* demonstrative base expressing the nearer or proximate person or thing; prefixed to nouns to express nearness; Malayalam *i*, *ī* ‘this’; Kota *i*- demonstrative base expressing nearness to the speaker; Manḍa *ī* ‘this’; Toda *i*- demonstrative base expressing nearness to the speaker; Kannaḍa *i*- proximate demonstrative base.
c) Proto-Dravidian **ŭ̄* intermediate demonstrative stem: Tamil *u* demonstrative base expressing a person, place, or thing occupying an intermediate position, neither far nor near, and meaning yonder or occupying a position near the person or persons spoken to; demonstrative particle before nouns expressing intermediate position or position near the person or persons spoken to; Kannaḍa *u*- base indicating intermediate place, quantity, or time; Kuwi *ū* (adj.) ‘that’ (intermediate).

C. a) Proto-Kartvelian **a-* proximate demonstrative stem: Georgian *a-*; Mingrelian *a-*; Laz *(h)a-*; Svan *a-*. Klimov 1964:41 **a-* and 1998:1 **a-* pronominal stem, proximal. Proto-Kartvelian **a-ma-* 'that, this': Georgian *a-ma-*, *a-m-* 'that, this'; Mingrelian *a-mu-* 'that, this'; Laz *(h)a-mu-* 'that, this'; Svan *a-m(a)-* 'this', *a-me* 'here'. Klimov 1964:44 **a-ma-* 1998:2 **a-ma-* 'that, this'. Proto-Kartvelian **a-ša-* deictic stem: Georgian *a-se* 'so'; Mingrelian [*a-š-*]; Laz [*a-š-*]; Svan *a-š* 'so'. Klimov 1964:46 **a-s_1-* and 1998:4 **a-s_1-* deictic stem. Proto-Kartvelian **a-k-* 'here': Georgian *a-k* 'here'; Mingrelian *ak*, *tak*, *atak-* 'here'; Laz *a-k*, *a-ko* 'here'. Klimov 1964:46 **a-k-* and 1998:4 **a-k-* 'here'.

b) Proto-Kartvelian **e-* demonstrative stem: Georgian *e-*; Mingrelian *e-*; Laz *(h)e-*; Svan *e-*. At the present time, it usually occurs as a bound demonstrative element (cf. Georgian *e-s* 'so', *-e-g* 'this; he, she, it'; [dial.] *e-ma-*; etc.; Mingrelian *e-na-*; *e-ši* 'so'; Laz *he-a-*; *he-s*; *e-še* 'so, there'; Svan [*e-ž-*] in *e-ži*, *e-že*, *e-žä* 'he, she, it; that'; *e-š* 'so'); however, note Laz *he* in *he bigate…* 'with that stick…'). Klimov 1964:77 **e-*, 78 **e-g-*, 80 **e-s_1-*, and 80 **e-k-* 'there'; 1998:45 **e-* pronominal element, 45 **e-g-* pronominal stem, and 47 **e-s_1-* pronominal stem.

c) Proto-Kartvelian **i-* distant demonstrative stem: Georgian *i-*; Mingrelian *i-*; Laz *(h)i-*; Svan *i-*. Klimov 1964:99 **i-* and 1998:80 **i-* deictic stem (denoting remote objects in contrast to **a-*). Proto-Kartvelian **i-ma-* distant demonstrative stem: Georgian *i-ma-*; Mingrelian *i-mu-*; Laz *(h)i-mu-*; Svan [*i-m-*]. Klimov 1964:101—102 **i-ma-* and 1998:81 **i-ma-* a pronominal stem of demonstrative semantics (in contrast to **a-ma-*, it denotes remote objects). Proto-Kartvelian **i-š-* deictic element: Georgian *i-s-* 'that; he'; Mingrelian [*i-š-*] in *iš-o*, *viš-o* 'there'; Laz [*(h)i-š-*] in *(h)iš-o* 'this way, over there'. Klimov 1964:102—103 **i-s_1-* and 1998:82 **i-s_1-* deictic element. Proto-Kartvelian **i-k-* 'there, over there': Georgian *i-k(a)* 'there, over there'; Mingrelian *i-k* 'there, over there'; Laz *(h)i-k* 'there, over there'. Klimov 1964:104 **i-k-* and 1998:83 **i-k-* 'there, over there'.

Note: The Nostratic pattern **ʔa-* (distant) ~ **ʔi-* (proximate) was changed to **a-* (proximate) ~ **i-* (distant) in Kartvelian.

D. Proto-Indo-European demonstrative stem **ʔe-/*ʔo-*, **ʔey-/*ʔoy-/*ʔi-* (< **ʔe-/*ʔo-+-y/i-*): Sanskrit *ayám* 'this' (gen. sg. m./n. *a-syá*, *á-sya*; f. *a-syáḥ* [cf. Burrow 1973:276—278]), *idám* 'this', (f.) *iyám* 'she, this', *á-taḥ* 'from this, hence' (< **e-to-s* [cf. Mayrhofer 1956—1980.I:26]), (n.) *e-tát* 'this, this here', *ihá* 'here' (Pāḷi *idha* 'here, in this place, in this connection, now'), *e-ṣá* (f. *e-ṣā*) 'this'; Old Persian *a-* 'this', *aita-* 'this', *ima-* 'this', *iyam* this', *idā* 'here'; Avestan *a-* 'this', *aētaŋ* 'this', *ima-* 'this', *iδa* 'here';

Hittite enclitic demonstrative particle (nom. sg.) *-aš*, (acc. sg.) *-an*, (n. sg.) *-at* ‘he, she, it’; (dat. sg.) *e-di*, *i-di*, *e-da-ni* ‘to or for him, her, it’; Latin *is*, *ea*, *id* ‘he, she, it; this or that person or thing’; Oscan *eiso-* ‘this’; Umbrian (dat. sg.) *esmei* ‘to this, to it’; Old Irish *é* ‘he, they’, *ed* ‘it’; Gothic anaphoric pronoun *is* ‘he’, *ita* ‘it’; Old Icelandic relative particle *es* (later *er*) ‘who, which, what’; Old Saxon *et*, *it* ‘it’; Old High German *er*, *ir* ‘he’, *ez*, *iz* ‘it’ (New High German *er* ‘he’, *es* ‘it’); Lithuanian *jìs* (< **is*) ‘he’. Pokorny 1959:281—286 **e-*, **ei-*, **i-*, (f.) **ī-* demonstrative particle; Walde 1927—1932.I:96—102 **e-*, **i-*, (f.) **ī-*, **ā-*; Mann 1984—1987:235—236 **ei̯ā* (**i̯ā*) ‘she, it’, 236 **ei̯o*, **eii̯o* (**eii̯os*) ‘his, her(s)’, 427 **id* ‘it, that’, 433 **is* (**i̯ā*, **i̯ə* f.) ‘this, he (she)’, 437 **i̯ā* ‘she, it’; De Vaan 2008:309—310; Watkins 1985:26 **i-* and 2000:35—36 **i-* pronominal stem; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.I:291 **is*, **it’*, I:385—387 and 1995.I:253 (m./f.) **is*, (n.) **it’* ‘this’; Mallory—Adams 1997:458; Tischler 1977— .1:1—2 and 1:118—119; Kloekhorst 2008b:162—164 and 220—221; Puhvel 1984— .1/2:3—6 and 1/2:6—7; Orël 2003:203 Proto-Germanic **iz*, (neuter) **it*; Kroonen 2013:268 Proto-Germanic **i-* ‘he/she, that one’; Feist 1939:296; Lehmann 1986:207—208; De Vries 1977:105; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:169—170; Kluge—Seebold 1989:183; Smoczyński 2007.1:234 **Hi̯ó-*; Szemerényi 1996:206—207; Brugmann 1904:401—402; Meillet 1964:326—327. Proto-Indo-European **-i* deictic particle meaning ‘here and now’ added to verbs to form so-called “primary” endings (cf. Burrow 1973:314; Fortson 2004:85; Kerns—Schwartz 1972:4). Proto-Indo-European adverbial particle **ʔe̯ˇ-*/**ʔo̯ˇ-* ‘near, by, together with’: Sanskrit *á* ‘hither, near to, towards’; Greek prefixes *ἐ-* and *ὀ-*; Old High German prefix *ā-*; Old Church Slavic prefix *ja-*.

E. Proto-Uralic **e-* demonstrative particle: Finnish *e-* in *että* ‘that’; Estonian *et* ‘that’, *iga* ‘every’; Mordvin *e-* in *esë* (inessive) ‘these’, *estë* (elative) ‘from there’, *eśt'a* ‘so’, *eśt'amo* ‘such’, *ete* (*e*+*te*) ‘this’, *ese* (*e*+*se*) ‘that, that one’, *embɛ* ‘if, when, after’; Zyrian / Komi *e-* in *esy* ‘this, that’; Hungarian *ez* ‘this’, *itt* ‘here’, *innen* ‘from here’, *ide* ‘hither’, *így* ‘so’, *ilyen* ‘such’; Yenisei Samoyed / Enets *eke*, *eko* ‘this, this here’, *eoˀ* ‘hither’, *inoo* ‘that there’; Kamassian *iidə* ‘that there’. Greenberg 2000:89; Collinder 1955:9 and 1977:31; Rédei 1986—1988:67—68 **e*; Décsy 1990:98 **e* ‘this’. Yukaghir (Northern / Tundra) *a-n* ‘that’, contrasting with *ten* ‘this’; (Southern / Kolyma) *a-da*, *a-da:* ‘there’, *a:n* ‘here it is’, *e-diŋ* (< **en*+*tiŋ*) ‘this’, *ej-tiŋ* ‘this’. Nikolaeva 2006:104, 152, and 159.

F. a) Proto-Altaic **a-* deictic stem: Proto-Mongolian **a-nu-* 3rd person plural possessive pronoun > Written Mongolian *anu* originally the genitive form of the obsolete pronoun **a-*; in Modern Mongolian, it has almost completely lost its pronominal meaning and is used postpositionally to indicate that what precedes it is the syntactical subject of a sentence — it is now used interchangeably with *inu*. Note

Poppe (1955:219): “The pronoun of the third person plural was *_a_ in Common Mongolian. The stem of the oblique cases was *_an_. Only the genitive is preserved in Written Mongolian, but in Middle Mongolian (in the _Secret History_ and _Hua-i i-yü_) the genitive _anu_, the dative-locative _andur_, and the accusative _ani_ occur. None of these forms occur in spoken Mongolian.”

b) Proto-Altaic *_e_- deictic stem: ‘this, that’: Proto-Tungus *_e_- ‘this’ > Evenki _er_, _eri_ ‘this’; Lamut / Even _er_ ‘this’; Negidal _ey_ ‘this’; Manchu _ere_ ‘this’; Spoken Manchu (Sibo) _erə_ ‘this’; Jurchen _e(r)se_ ‘this’; Ulch _ey_ ‘this’; Orok _eri_ ‘this’; Nanay / Gold _ei_ ‘this’; Oroch _ei_ ‘this’; Udihe _eyi_ ‘this’; Solon _er_ ‘this’. Proto-Mongolian *_e-ne_- ‘this’ > Written Mongolian _ene_ ‘this’; Khalkha _ene_ ‘this’; Buriat _ene_ ‘this’; Kalmyk _enə_ ‘this’; Ordos _ene_ ‘this’; Moghol _enä_ ‘this’; Dagur _ene_ ‘this’; Dongxiang _ene_ ‘this’; Shira-Yughur _ene_ ‘this’; Monguor _ne_ ‘this’. Proto-Turkic *_ạn_- ‘that (oblique cases); here’ > Old Turkic (Orkhon, Old Uighur) (loc.) _aŋ-ta_, (dat.) _aŋ-ar_ ‘that’; Karakhanide Turkic (loc.) _an-da_, (dat.) _aŋ-a_ ‘that’; Turkmenian _ana_ ‘here’; Karaim (loc.) _an-da_, (dat.) _an-ar_ ‘that’; Tatar (loc.) _an-da_, (dat.) _aŋ-a_, _an-ar_ ‘that’; Bashkir (loc.) _an-da_, _an-ta_, (dat.) _aŋ-a_ ‘that’; Kirghiz (loc.) _an-ta_, (dat.) _a-(γ)a_ ‘that’; Sary-Uighur (nom.) _a_ ‘that’; Oyrot (Mountain Altai) (loc.) _an-da_, (dat.) _o-(γ)o_ ‘that’; Tuva (loc.) _in-da_, (dat.) _a(ŋ)-a_ ‘that’; Chuvash (loc.) _on-da_, (dat.) _ъʷn-a_ ‘that’; Yakut _ana-rā_ ‘that’. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:487 *_e_ ‘that’ (deictic root).

c) Proto-Altaic *_i_- deictic stem: Proto-Tungus *_i_- 3rd person deictic stem > Manchu _i_ ‘he, she’, _ineku_ ‘the same; this (day, month, year)’; Spoken Manchu (Sibo) _ī_ ‘he, she’; Jurchen _in_ 3rd person deictic stem; Solon _ini_ ‘his’. Proto-Mongolian *_i-nu_- 3rd person singular possessive pronoun > Written Mongolian _inu_ originally the genitive form of the extinct pronoun *_i_ ‘he, she, it’; in Modern Mongolian, it has almost completely lost its pronominal meanings and is used postpositionally to indicate that what precedes it is the syntactic subject of a sentence — it is now used interchangeably with _anu_. Note Poppe (1955:214): “The pronoun of the third person of the singular was *_i_ in Common Mongolian. The stem of the genitive was *_in_- and in all the remaining oblique cases the stem was *_ima_-. This pronoun has disappeared.”; Khalkha _ń_ possessive pronoun; Buriat _ń_ possessive pronoun; Kalmyk _ń_ possessive pronoun; Moghol _ini ~ ni ~ ne ~ i_ possessive pronoun; Dagur _īn_ ‘he; this, that’. Proto-Turkic *_ï-na_- ‘that’ > Turkmenian _ïna-ru_ ‘that’; Tuva _ïnda_ ‘there’, _ïndïγ_ ‘such’. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:577 *_i_ a deictic root.

d) Proto-Altaic *_o_- deictic stem: ‘this, that’: Proto-Tungus *_u_- ‘this; that’ > Manchu _u-ba_ ‘this; here, this place’; Spoken Manchu (Sibo) _evā_ ‘this’; Udihe _u-ti_ ‘that’. Proto-Mongolian *_o-n_- ‘other, different’ > Written Mongolian _ondu_ ‘another, other; different(ly); apart, separate’, _ončuγui_ ‘peculiar, unusual; specific; separate; special; particular,

different; remote, isolated; strange'; Khalkha *ondō* 'other, different'; Buriat *ondō* 'other, different'; Ordos *ondōn* 'other, different'; Dagur *enčū* 'other'; Shira-Yughur *ondōn* 'other, different'. Proto-Turkic **o(-l)-* 'that' > Old Turkic (Orkhon, Old Uighur) *o-l* 'that'; Turkish *o* 'that'; Gagauz *o* 'that'; Azerbaijani *o* 'that'; Karakhanide Turkic *o-l* 'that'; Turkmenian *ol* 'that'; Uzbek *ụ* 'that'; Uighur *u* 'that'; Karaim *o* 'that'; Tatar *u-l* 'that'; Bashkir *u*, *o-šo* 'that'; Kirghiz *o-šo* 'that'; Kazakh *o-l* 'that'; Noghay *o-l* 'that'; Sary-Uighur *o-l*, *o* 'that'; Oyrot (Mountain Altai) *o-l* 'that'; Tuva *ol* 'that'; Chuvash *vъ*^{w}*-l* 'that'; Dolgan *ol* 'that'. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:1040 **o* 'this, that' (deictic particle).

G. Gilyak / Nivkh (Amur) distant demonstrative *a-d′* 'that, even more distant from the speaker but visible'. Gruzdeva 1998:26; Greenberg 2000:91.
H. Etruscan *i-* in: *i-ca* 'this', *i-n*, *i-nc* 'it', *i-ta* 'this'.

Sumerian *e* 'hither, here'.

Bomhard—Kerns 1994:576—577, no. 444; Illič-Svityč 1971—1984.I:257—258, no. 121, **ʔa* demonstrative pronoun indicating distant object: 'that' and I:270—272, no. 134, **ʔi*/(?)**ʔe* demonstrative pronoun indicating near object: 'this'; Greenberg 2000:81—87, §8. Third Person I ~ E, and 87—91, §9. Demonstrative A ~ E; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 751, **ha* deictic pronominal particle ('ille', distal deixis), no. 753, **h[e]* 'this', no. 754, **[h]i* 'iste' (or 'hic'), and no. 755, **[h]u* 'iste', demonstrative particle (intermediate deixis ?).

615. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **ʔab-a* 'strength, power'; (adj.) 'strong, mighty':

A. Afrasian: Proto-Semitic **ʔab-ar-* 'strong, mighty' > Akkadian *abāru* 'strength'; Hebrew *ʾāβīr* [אָבִיר] 'the strong one', *ʾabbīr* [אַבִּיר] 'strong, mighty, valiant'; Ugaritic *ỉbr* 'bull'; Ya'udic *ʾbrw* 'force, power'; Gurage (Chaha) *abər* 'young person or animal in his prime'. D. Cohen 1970— :5; Murtonen 1989:81; Klein 1987:3; Leslau 1979:9.
B. Proto-Indo-European **ʔab*^{h}*-ro-* 'strong, powerful, mighty': Gothic *abrs* 'strong, violent, great, mighty'; Old Icelandic *afar-* 'very, exceedingly', *afr* 'strong'; Old Irish *abar-* 'very' (Middle Irish *abor-*); Welsh *afr-* 'very'. Pokorny 1959:2 **abhro-* 'strong'; Walde 1927—1932.I:177—178 **ŏbh-*; Mann 1984—1987:1 **abhros* 'powerful, gigantic'; Orël 2003:1—2 Proto-Germanic **abraz*; Kroonen 2013:1—2 **h*$_{3}$*ep-ró-*; Lehmann 1986:1—2; Feist 1939:1—2; De Vries 1977:2 and 2—3; Vendryès 1959— :A6—7.
C. Proto-Altaic **abga* 'strength, power': (Manchu-)Tungus: Manchu *abgari* 'idle, without occupation; retired official'; Lamut / Even *abgar*, *abgor* 'healthy'; Evenki *awgara* (< **abga-ra*) 'healthy'. Mongolian: Written Mongolian *auγ-a* 'strength, power; mighty, powerful', *auγatai* 'strong, powerful'; Khalkha *ūgā* 'strength, power'; Kalmyk *ūgɒ* 'strength, power'.

Poppe 1960:44, 89, and 95; Street 1974:7 **abga* ‘strength, power’. Not in Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003.

Buck 1949:4.81 strong, mighty, powerful. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:573—574, no. 441; Brunner 1969:27, no. 72.

616. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **ʔab(b)a* ~ **ʔapʰ(pʰ)a* ‘father, forefather’ (nursery word):

A. Proto-Afrasian **ʔab-* ‘father, forefather, ancestor’: Proto-Semitic **ʔab-* ‘father, forefather, ancestor’ > Akkadian *abu* ‘father; (in pl.) forefathers, ancestors’; Amorite *ʔabum* ‘father’; Eblaite *a-bù* ‘father’, *a-bu* ‘elder’; Hebrew *ʔāβ* [אָב] ‘father’; Phoenician *ʔb* ‘father’; Punic *ʔb* ‘father’; Nabatean *ʔb* ‘father’; Ugaritic *ảb* ‘father’; Aramaic *ʔabbā* ‘my father’; Liḥyānite *ʔb* ‘father’; Arabic *ʔab* ‘father, ancestor, forefather’; Sabaean *ʔb* ‘father, forefather’; Mehri *ḥáyb* ‘father’; Śḥeri / Jibbāli *ʔiy* ‘father’; Geez / Ethiopic *ʔab* [አብ] ‘father, forefather, ancestor’; Tigrinya *ʔab* ‘father’; Tigre *ʔab* ‘father’; Amharic *abbat* ‘father’, *ab* ‘elder, forefather’; Argobba *aw* ‘father’; Harari *āw* ‘father’; Gurage *ab* ‘father’; Gafat *abʷā* ‘father’. D. Cohen 1970— :1; Diakonoff 1992:85 **ʔab(b-)* (?) ‘father’; Murtonen 1989:80; Klein 1987:1; Leslau 1963:37, 1979:4—5, and 1987:2; Zammit 2002:67—68. Egyptian *ȝbt* ‘family; relatives (on the father’s side of the family)’. Hannig 1995:6; Faulkner 1962:2; Erman—Grapow 1921:1 and 1926—1963.1:7; Gardiner 1957:549. Berber: Tuareg *aba* ‘father’; Siwa *aba* ‘father’; Tamazight *ibba* ‘father’; Mzab *aba* ‘papa’; Tashelhiyt / Shilha *ibba* ‘father’; Chaouia *ibba* ‘father’. Proto-East Cushitic **ʔa(a)bb-* ‘father’ > Saho-Afar *abb-a* ‘father’; Somali *aabb-e* ‘father’; Rendille *ab-a* ‘father’; Bayso *abb-o* ‘father’; Galla / Oromo *abb-aa* ‘father’; Hadiyya *aabb-a* ‘father’; Burji *aabb-óo* ‘father, father’s brother, mother’s sister’s husband’, *abi* ‘maternal uncle’; Konso *aapp-a* ‘father’; Sidamo *aabb-o* ‘father’, *abbo* ‘maternal uncle’; Gedeo / Darasa *aabbo* ‘maternal uncle’. Hudson 1989:62; Sasse 1979:15 and 1982:21. Central Cushitic: Bilin (voc.) *ʔabbắ* ‘O father!’; Kemant *aba* ‘father’. Appleyard 2006:64—65; Reinisch 1887:5. Proto-Southern Cushitic **ʔaba* or **aba* ‘father’ (term of address) > Asa *aba* ‘father’; Ma’a *aba* ‘father’. Central Chadic: Buduma *aba* ‘father’. Ehret 1980:281. Orël—Stolbova 1995:1, no. 2, **ʔab-* ‘father’.

B. Dravidian: Tamil *appaṉ*, *appu* ‘father’; Malayalam *appan* ‘father’; Kannaḍa *appa* ‘father’, *apa* ‘father’; Koḍagu *appë* ‘father’; Tuḷu *appa*, *appè* affix of respect added to proper names of men; Telugu *appa* ‘father’; Gondi *āpōṛăl* ‘father’; Konḍa *aposi* ‘father’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984: 15—16, no. 156; Krishnamurti 2003:10 **app-a-* ‘father’.

C. Proto-Indo-European **ʔabʰ-* ‘father, forefather, man’: Gothic *aba* ‘man, husband’; Old Icelandic *afi* ‘grandfather, man’; Old English personal names *Aba*, *Abba*, *Afa*; Old High German personal name *Abo*. Orël 2003:1 Proto-Germanic **aƀōn*; Kroonen 2013:1 Proto-Germanic **aban-* ‘man, husband’; Lehmann 1986:1; Feist 1939:1; De Vries 1962:2. Note: Greek

ἀββᾶ ‘father’ is borrowed from Aramaic *ʔabbā* ‘my father’. Proto-Indo-European **ʔapʰpʰa* ‘father’: Greek ἄππα, ἄπφα ‘father’; Tocharian A *āp*, B *āppo* ‘father’; Prakrit *appa-* ‘father’; Gujarati *āpɔ* ‘father’ (used by shepherds); Marathi *āpā* term of respect for an elder or of endearment for a son or junior; Assamese *āp* term of address by lower classes for a father, grandfather, or old man, *āpaṭi* ‘father’. Note: The Indo-Aryan forms cited above may be loans from Dravidian. Pokorny 1959:52 **appa* ‘father’ (nursery word); Walde 1927—1932.I:47 **apa*; Turner 1966—1969.I:23; Boisacq 1950:72; Frisk 1970—1973.I:126 and I:127; Beekes 2010.I:119 (onomatopoeic); Hofmann 1966:21; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:99 and I:100; Adams 1999:44; Van Windekens 1976—1982.I:166.

D. Proto-Uralic **ẹppi* ‘father-in-law’: Finnish *appi* ‘father-in-law’; Lapp / Saami *vuop'pâ* ‘father-in-law’; Cheremis / Mari *owõ* ‘father-in-law’; Hungarian *ip(a)-* ‘father-in-law’; Vogul / Mansi *up* ‘father-in-law’; Ostyak / Xanty *op* ‘father-in-law’. Rédei 1986—1988:14 **appe*; Collinder 1955:72, 1960:410 **appõ*, and 1977:89; Aikio 2020:55—56 **ẹppi* ‘father-in-law’; Sammallahti 1988:536 **ɨppɨ* ‘father-in-law’.

E. Proto-Altaic **aba* ~ **apʰa* ‘father’: Common Mongolian **ab(u)* ‘father’ > Written Mongolian *abu* ‘father’; Monguor *āba*, *āwa* ‘father’; Khalkha *av* ‘father’; Buriat *aba* ‘father’; Kalmyk *āwə* ‘father’. Poppe 1955:74. Derivative: **aba-ka* ‘paternal uncle’ (< **aba* ‘father’) > Written Mongolian *abaγ-a* ‘paternal uncle’; Khalkha *avga* ‘paternal uncle’; Buriat *abgay* ‘paternal uncle’; Kalmyk *awγə* ‘paternal uncle’; Ordos *awaɢa*, *aɢā* ‘paternal uncle’; Monguor *āɢa* ‘paternal uncle’. Mongolian loans in: Chagatay *abaqa* ‘paternal uncle’; Yakut *abaγa* ‘paternal uncle’; Evenki *awaga* ‘paternal uncle’. Poppe 1960:56; Street 1974:7 **aba-ka* ‘paternal uncle’. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak (2003:310) reconstruct Proto-Altaic **apʻa* ‘father’. However, such a reconstruction cannot account for the *-b-* found in the Mongolian forms cited above, which point, instead, to Proto-Altaic **aba* ‘father’. It is better to assume two separate forms at the Proto-Altaic level: **aba* ~ **apʰa* ‘father’, the first of which was the ancestor of the Mongolian words for ‘father’, the second of which was the ancestor of the (Manchu-)Tungus and Turkic words. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak cite the following forms from (Manchu-)Tungus and Turkic: Proto-Tungus **apa* ‘grandfather, uncle (elder brother of father, mother)’ > Negidal *apa* ‘grandfather, uncle (elder brother of father, mother)’; Nanay / Gold (reduplicated) (Naikhinsk) *papa*, (Bikin) *fafa* ‘grandfather, uncle (elder brother of father, mother)’. Proto-Turkic **apa* (**appa*) ‘father’ > Old Turkic (Orkhon, Old Uighur) *apa* ‘ancestors’; Karakhanide Turkic *apa* ‘father, bear; ancestor’; Turkish *aba* ‘father’; Azerbaijani (dial.) *aba* ‘father’; Turkmenian (dial.) *aba* ‘father’; Tatar (dial.) *aba* ‘father’; Bashkir (dial.) *apa* ‘father’; Kirghiz *aba* ‘father’; Sary-Uighur *awa* ‘father’; Oyrot (Mountain Altai) *aba* ‘father, bear’; Tuva *ava* ‘father’; Chuvash *oba* ‘bear’.

F. Proto-Chukchi-Kamchatkan **æpæ* ‘grandfather’ (?) or ‘any older male relative’ (?): Chukchi *apajŋən*, (Southern) *epe*, *epapə* ‘grandpa’ (children’s

word); Kerek *apappij* ‘grandfather’, *appa* ‘daddy’, *appakku* ‘parents’; Koryak *apappo* ‘uncle’, *appa* ‘daddy’ (children’s word); Alyutor *apapa* ‘daddy’; Kamchadal / Itelmen (Southern) *apac* ‘father’. Fortescue 2005: 36—37.

G. Proto-Eskimo **ap(p)a* ‘grandfather’: Central Alaskan Yupik *apa(q)*, *appa* ‘grandfather’; Alutiiq Alaskan Yupik *apa*, *apaaq* ‘grandfather’; Naukan Siberian Yupik *apa*, *apaya* ‘grandfather’; Central Siberian Yupik *apa* ‘grandfather’; Sirenik *apa* ‘grandfather’; Seward Peninsula Inuit *ava* ‘grandfather’; Western Canadian Inuit *aappak* ‘father’; North Alaskan Inuit *aapa* ‘father’. Fortescue—Jacobson—Kaplan 1994:36.

H. Etruscan *apa* ‘father, husband’, *apana* ‘related to the father, paternal’.

Sumerian *a-ba*, *ab*, *ab-ba* ‘father’.

Buck 1949:2.31ff. words for family relationship. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:572—573, no. 440; Dolgopolsky 1998:93—94, no. 118, **ʔaba* ~ **ʔaṗa* ‘daddy, father’ (nursery word) and 2008, no. 5, **ʔaba* ~ **ʔaṗa* ‘daddy, father’; Caldwell 1913:606 and 613; Hakola 2000:22—23, no. 38; Fortescue 1998:152.

617. Proto-Nostratic root **ʔad-* (~ **ʔəd-*):
(vb.) **ʔad-* ‘to be strong, mighty, powerful, exalted’;
(n.) **ʔad-a* ‘lord, master’; (adj.) ‘strong, mighty, powerful, exalted’

A. Proto-Afrasian **ʔad-* ‘(vb.) to be strong, mighty, powerful, exalted; (n.) lord, master’: Proto-Semitic **ʔad-ān-* ‘lord, master’ > Hebrew *ʔāḏōn* [אָדוֹן] ‘lord, master’; Phoenician *ʔdn* ‘lord, master’; Ugaritic *ảdn* ‘lord, father’. D. Cohen 1970— :9; Klein 1987:8; Tomback 1978:5—6. Proto-Semitic **ʔad-īr-* ‘strong, mighty, powerful, exalted’ > Phoenician *ʔdr* ‘to be powerful’; Hebrew *ʔaddīr* [אַדִּיר] ‘great, mighty, powerful, majestic’, *ʔeḏer* [אֶדֶר] ‘splendor, magnificence’, **ʔāḏar* [אָדַר] ‘to be glorious, mighty, exalted’; Ugaritic *ảdr* ‘mighty’. Klein 1987:8; Murtonen 1989:83; D. Cohen 1970— :10; Tomback 1978:6. Berber: Tamazight *addur* ‘good reputation, honor, glory, fame’; Zenaga *təydart* ‘fatness, wealth’. Central Cushitic: Bilin *ʔadärā́* ‘master, lord’; Xamir *adära*, *iederā* ‘god’; Kemant *adära* ‘master, lord; god’; Quara *adarte* ‘master, lord’. Appleyard 2006: 97—98. Lowland East Cushitic **ʔader-* ‘uncle’ > Galla / Oromo *adeeraa* ‘uncle’; Somali *adeer* ‘uncle’. Appleyard 2006:97—98. Southern Cushitic: Rift **daʔar-* (< **ʔadar-* through metathesis) ‘chief’ > Gorowa *daari* ‘chief’. Highland East Cushitic: Hadiyya *adila* ‘chief, (clan) leader, king’. Hudson 1989:268. Orël—Stolbova 1995:6, no. 19, **ʔader-* ‘master, lord’.

B. Proto-Altaic **ĕdV* (with **ĕ-* for expected **ă-*) ‘lord, master, husband’: Proto-Tungus **edi-* ‘husband’ > Evenki *edī* ‘husband’; Lamut / Even *edi* ‘husband’; Negidal *edī* ‘husband’; Ulch *edi(n)* ‘husband’; Orok *edi* ‘husband’; Nanay / Gold *eži* ‘husband’; Oroch *edi* ‘husband’. Proto-Mongolian **ežen* ‘lord, master’ > Written Mongolian *ežen* ‘lord, master,

ruler, owner'; Khalkha *eʒen* 'lord, master, ruler, owner, proprietor'; Buriat *ezen* 'lord, master'; Kalmyk *ezn̥* 'lord, master'; Ordos *eǯin* 'lord, master'; Moghol *eǯän* 'lord, master'; Dongxiang *eǯen* 'lord, master'; Dagur *eǯin* 'master, ruler'. Poppe 1955:47, 57, 115, and 169. Proto-Turkic **Edi* 'lord, host' > Old Turkic (Old Uighur) *edi* 'master, proprietor'; Karakhanide Turkic *iδi* 'lord, host'; Turkish *iye*, *ıs*, *is* 'lord, host'; Azerbaijani *yiyä* 'lord, host'; Turkmenian *eye* 'lord, host'; Uzbek (dial.) *äyä* 'lord, host'; Karaim *iye*, *ye* 'lord, host'; Tatar *iyä* 'lord, host'; Bashkir *ĭyä* 'lord, host'; Kirghiz *ē* 'lord, host'; Kazakh *ĭye* 'lord, host'; Noghay *iye* 'lord, host'; Sary-Uighur *ise* 'lord, host'; Oyrot (Mountain Altai) *ē* 'lord, host'; Tuva *ē* 'lord, host'; Yakut *ičči* 'lord, host'. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003: 493—494 **ĕdV* 'host, husband'.

Sumerian *ad* 'father'.

Buck 1949:19.36 noble (sb.), nobleman; 19.41 master. Dolgopolsky 1998:91, no. 115, **ʔediNV* 'pater familias' (or 'owner') and 2008, no. 14, **ʔediNV* 'pater familias'.

618. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **ʔad^{y}-a* 'thorn'; (adj.) 'pointed, sharp, prickly':

A. Dravidian: Kuṛux *acc* 'thorn'; Malto *acu* 'thorn', *ac-acro* 'prickly'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:6, no. 45.
B. Proto-Indo-European **ʔed^{h}-*/**ʔod^{h}-* 'pointed, sharp, prickly': Old Prussian *addle* 'fir(-tree), spruce'; Lithuanian *ẽglė* (< **edlē*) 'fir(-tree), spruce', *adýti* 'to darn', *ãdata* 'needle'; Old Church Slavic *jela* (< **edlā*) 'fir(-tree), spruce'; Polish *jodła* 'spruce'; Old Czech *jedla* 'spruce'; Russian *jel'* [ель] (< **edli-*) 'fir(-tree) spruce'; Latin *ebulus* (< **ed^{h}-los*) 'the dwarf elder'. Pokorny 1959:289—290 **edh-* 'tip, point'; Mann 1984—1987:232 **edhlā*, *-i̯ə* (?) 'firtree'; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.II:633 **ed[^{h}]-*, **ed[^{h}]lo-* and 1995.I:545 **ed^{h}-* 'to darn, to use a needle', **ed^{h}lo-* 'spruce; sharp, prickly'; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:388—389 **edh-* 'tip, point'; Ernout—Meillet 1979:190; De Vaan 2008:185; Smoczyński 2007.1:3 and 1:141—142 **h$_{1}$ed^{h}-lo-*; Fraenkel 1962—1965.I:118; Derksen 2008:139 **h$_{1}$ed^{h}-l-i*.

Sumerian ^{ĜIŠ}*ád* 'thorny bushes or undergrowth', *ád* 'a briar, bramble'.

Buck 1949:12.351 point. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:569—570, no. 436.

619. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **ʔaħ-a* 'cow':

A. Proto-Afrasian **ʔaħ-* 'cow': Semitic: Ethiopic / Geez *ʔaḥā* [**ኦሓ**], *ʔaḥā* [**ኦኃ**] 'cattle, cows'; Tigre *ʔaḥa* 'cattle'; Tigrinya *ʔaḥa* 'cattle'. D. Cohen 1970— :15; Leslau 1987:12. Egyptian *i̯ḥ* 'bull', (f.) *i̯ḥt* 'cow'; Coptic *ehe* [**ⲉϩⲉ**] 'ox, cow'. Hannig 1995:96; Erman—Grapow 1921:17 and 1926—

1963.1:119—120; Faulkner 1962:28; Gardiner 1957:554; Černý 1976:41; Vycichl 1983:50. M. Cohen 1947:78, no. 11.

B. Dravidian: Tamil *ā*, *āṉ* ‘female of ox, sambur, and buffalo’, *āyaṉ* ‘herdsman’, (f.) *āytti*, *āyam* ‘a herd of cows’, *ā-ppi* ‘cow dung’; Malayalam *ā*, *ān* ‘cow’, *āyan* ‘cowherd’; Kota *a·v* ‘cow’; Kannaḍa *ā*, *āvu* ‘cow’; Koḍagu (pl.) *atta* ‘cattle’; Telugu *āvu* ‘cow’; Kuṛux *ōy* ‘cow’; Malto *óyu* ‘cow, ox’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:31—32, no. 334; Krishnamurti 2003:12, 92, and 278 **ā(m/n)-* ‘cow’.

Buck 1949:3.20 cattle; 3.21 bull; 3.22 ox; 3.23 cow. Bomhard 1996a:222, no. 632.

620. Proto-Nostratic root **ʔax-* (~ **ʔəx-*):
(vb.) **ʔax-* ‘to be young, youthful, tender, fresh’;
(n.) **ʔax-a* ‘a youth, young man, younger brother’; (adj.) ‘young, tender’

A. Proto-Afrasian **ʔax-* ‘(adj.) young, tender; (n.) youth, young man, younger brother’: Proto-Semitic **ʔax-* ‘brother, companion, friend’ > Ugaritic *aḫ* ‘brother’; Eblaite *a-ḫu-um* ‘brother’; Akkadian *aḫu* ‘brother, colleague, associate’; Phoenician *ʾḥ* ‘brother’; Hebrew *ʾāḥ* [אָח] ‘brother, kinsman’; Syriac *ʾaḥā* ‘brother, friend, companion, associate’; Arabic *ʾaḫ*, *ʾaḫū* ‘brother, companion, friend’; Sabaean *ʾḫ*, *ʾḫw* ‘brother’; Mehri *ġā* ‘brother’; Soqoṭri *ʾəʿhi* ‘brother’; Śḥeri / Jibbāli *ʾaġá* ‘brother’; Ḥarsūsi *ġā(h)* ‘brother’; Ethiopic / Geez *ʾəḫəw* [እኀው], *ʾəḫʷ* [እኁ], *ʾəḫ* [እኅ] ‘brother, blood relation, kinsman’; Tigre *ḥu* ‘brother’; Tigrinya *ḥaw* ‘brother’; Argobba *äh* ‘brother’; Harari *əḥ* ‘younger brother’. D. Cohen 1970— :15; Klein 1987:16; Murtonen 1989:86—87; Zammit 2002:70. West Chadic **ʔah(ya)-* ‘uncle, brother’ > Kulere *ahy-* ‘uncle’; Warji *yahə-* ‘brother’ (according to Orël—Stolbova [1995:7], Warji initial *ya-* is due to the influence of the second syllable); Hausa *wáà/yààyáá* ‘elder brother’. Central Chadic **ʔaγ-* ‘son’ > Musgu *aḫī* ‘son’. Orël—Stolbova 1995:7, no. 23, **ʔaḫ-* ‘brother’.

B. Kartvelian: Georgian *ax-al-i* ‘young, new, fresh’; Svan *m-ax-e* ‘new’, *m-ax-änd* ‘anew, again’, *m-ax-eγwäž* ‘a brave man, a youth’. Palmaitis—Gudjedjiani 1985:215; Schmidt 1962:94. Not related to Proto-Kartvelian **xal-/*xl-* ‘to be near’ as hesitatingly suggested by Schmidt (1962:94), Klimov (1964:260 and 1998:328), Fähnrich—Sardshweladse (1995:544—545), and Fähnrich (2007:676—677).

Buck 1949:2.44 brother; 14.13 new; 14.14 young. Bomhard 1996a:223—224, no. 634.

621. Proto-Nostratic root **ʔak^h-* (~ **ʔək^h-*):
(vb.) **ʔak^h-* ‘to eat’;
(n.) **ʔak^h-a* ‘food, meal; fodder, feed, morsel’

A. Proto-Afrasian *ʔak- ‘to eat’: Proto-Semitic *ʔak-al- ‘to eat’ > Akkadian *akālu* ‘to eat’; Hebrew *ʔāχal* [אָכַל] ‘to eat’; Aramaic *ʔəχal* ‘to eat’; Arabic *ʔakala* ‘to eat, to consume’, *ʔakl* ‘food; meal, repast; fodder, feed’; Eblaite *a-kà-lum* ‘(vb.) to eat; (n.) food’; Ugaritic *ảkl* ‘to eat, to consume’; Sabaean *ʔkl* ‘meal or grain, cereal crops’; Geez / Ethiopic *ʔəkl* [**እክል**] ‘food, bread, corn, grain, fodder, bait, produce of the field’; Tigre *ʔəkəl* ‘corn’; Tigrinya *ʔəkli* ‘cereals’; Amharic *əhəl* ‘grain, cereal, crops, food’; Argobba *əhəl* ‘grain, cereal, crops, food’; Harari *əxi* ‘cereal, sorghum’; Gurage (Soddo) *äkəl* ‘cereal, barley’. D. Cohen 1970— :18; Murtonen 1989:90; Klein 1971:27; Leslau 1963:23, 1979:33, and 1987:15; Militarëv 2010:23 Proto-Semitic **ʔkl*; Zammit 2002:75—76. [Orël—Stolbova 1995:37, no. 148, **ʔVkul-* ‘to eat’.]

B. Proto-Indo-European *ʔak^{h}- ‘to eat’: Sanskrit *aśnā́ti* ‘to eat’, *aśúṣa-ḥ*, *áśna-ḥ* ‘voracious’; Old Icelandic *agn* ‘bait’, *æja* ‘to rest and bait’; (?) Greek ἄκολος ‘a bit, morsel’ (this may be a Phrygian term — cf. βεκος ακκαλος τι in a Phrygian inscription). Pokorny 1959:18 **aḱ-* ‘to eat’; Walde 1927—1932.I:112—113 **aḱ-*; Mann 1984—1987:236 **eḱno-*, **eḱən-* ‘to eat, to swallow, to drink’; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.I:60 Proto-Indo-European **eḱ(u- ?)* or **aḱ-* if Sanskrit *aśnā́ti* is related to Greek ἄκολος; Boisacq 1950:36; Frisk 1970—1973.I:55; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:48; Hofmann 1966:10; Beekes 2010.I:53; De Vries 1977:3 **eḱ-* ‘to eat’ and 681; Orël 2003:4 Proto-Germanic **aɣnan*, 5 **axjanan*; Kroonen 2013:3 Proto-Germanic **agana-* ‘bait’.

Buck 1949:5.11 eat. Brunner 1969:36, no. 139; Bomhard—Kerns 1994:559, no. 420.

622. Proto-Nostratic root *ʔak^{h}- (~ *ʔək^{h}-):
(vb.) *ʔak^{h}- ‘to be evil, wicked, bad; to hurt, to harm’;
(n.) *ʔak^{h}-a* ‘evil, wickedness, harm’

A. Afrasian: Proto-Semitic *ʔak-ay- ‘(vb.) to be evil, wicked, bad; to hurt, to harm; (n.) evil, wickedness, harm’ > Geez / Ethiopic *ʔakaya* [**አከየ**], *ʔakya* [**አክየ**] ‘to be bad, evil, wicked’, *ʔaʔkaya* [**አእከየ**] ‘to make bad, to make evil, to do harm, to treat badly, to afflict, to deprave, to pervert, to corrupt’, *taʔakaya* [**ተአከየ**] ‘to be bad, to be hurtful’, *ʔəkkuy* [**እኩይ**] (f. *ʔəkkit* [**እኪት**]) ‘bad, wicked, villainous, evil, noxious, vile’; Tigre *ʔaka* ‘to be bad, evil; to deteriorate’; Tigrinya *ʔakäyä* ‘to be bad, evil’. Semitic loans in: Bilin *ʔekáy* ‘evil’; Beja / Beḍawye *ʔaka* ‘harm, mischief’. Reinisch 1895:12. D. Cohen 1970— :18; Leslau 1987:17.

B. Dravidian: Tamil *akaṭu* ‘wickedness’; Kannaḍa *agaḍu* ‘viciousness, savageness, meanness’; Telugu *agaḍu* ‘blame, exposure, fault’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:3, no. 4.

C. Proto-Indo-European *ʔak^{h}- ‘evil, pain, trouble, misfortune’: Sanskrit *ákam* ‘unhappiness, pain, trouble’; Avestan *akō* ‘bad’; Farsi *āk-* ‘insult,

misfortune'. Mayrhofer 1956—1980.I:14. Pokorny (1959:23) reconstructs Proto-Indo-European *ak^{u}- 'to harm, to hurt, to injure, to damage, to wrong' (?) on the basis of a comparison of the Indo-Iranian forms cited above plus several alleged Greek cognates (such as, for example, ἀπάτη 'trick, fraud, deceit'). However, according to Frisk (1970—1973.I:118) and Chantraine (1968—1980.I:95), the Greek forms cited by Pokorny have no known cognates in other Indo-European daughter languages and should, therefore, be removed from the comparison.

Buck 1949:11.28 harm, injure, damage (vb.); 16.31 pain, suffering; 16.72 bad. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:578—579, no. 447.

623. Proto-Nostratic root *$ʔak^{h}$- (~ *$ʔək^{h}$-):
(vb.) *$ʔak^{h}$- 'to dig';
(n.) *$ʔak^{h}$-*a* 'that which is dug: digging, ditch, trench, hole; that which is used to dig: carving tool, chisel, cutter, gouge'

A. Proto-Afrasian *ʔak- 'to dig' (> 'to plow, to till'): Proto-Semitic *ʔak-ar- 'to till', *ʔikkar- 'farmer' > Arabic *ʔakara* 'to plow, to till, to cultivate the land', *ʔakkār* 'plowman'; Akkadian *ikkaru* 'plowman, farm worker, farmer'; Hebrew *ʔikkār* [אִכָּר] 'plowman, farm worker'; Aramaic *ʔikkārā* 'plowman, farm worker'; Mandaic *ʔkr* 'to plow, to till, to cultivate'. D. Cohen 1970— :19; Klein 1987:27 (Klein considers Hebrew *ʔikkār* [אִכָּר] to be a loan from Akkadian). Egyptian *ȝkr* name of the earth-god. Hannig 1995:16; Faulkner 1962:6; Erman—Grapow 1921:4 and 1926—1963.1:22; Gardiner 1957:550. Orël—Stolbova 1995:8, no. 26, *ʔakür- 'to till' and 20, no. 70, *ʔekar- 'farmer'.

B. Dravidian: Tamil *akaṛ* '(vb.) to excavate, to dig out, to pluck out (as eye), to uproot; (n.) moat, tank, reservoir', *akaṛi* 'moat'; Malayalam *akaṛuka*, *akiṛuka* 'to dig out, to excavate', *akiṛ*, *akaṛi* 'moat, ditch, trench', *akiḷ*, *akil* 'moat, earth wall'; Kannaḍa *agaṛ* (*agaṛd*-), *aguṛ* (*aguṛd*-) 'to dig', *agaṛ* 'what has been dug', *agaṛte* 'digging, pit, ditch', *agaṛata*, *agaṛate* 'digging, ditch, moat', *agalte* 'ditch, moat', *agi*, *age* 'to dig, to burrow, to make a hole in the ground'; Tuḷu *agarų*, *agaḷų* 'ditch, trench, moat', *agate* 'overturning the soil by spade'; Telugu *agaḍta* 'ditch, moat, trench'; Kolami *agul*- (*agult*-) 'to dig'; Naiki (of Chanda) *agul*-/*agl*- 'to dig', *agulmur* 'digging'; Gadba *aḍg*-, *aṛg*- 'to dig'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:4, no. 11.

C. Proto-Indo-European *$ʔok^{h}$- '(vb.) to dig; (n.) furrow': Hittite (acc. sg.) *ak-ka-a-la-an*, *ag-ga-la-an* 'furrow'. Perhaps also Greek ὄγμος 'furrow', if from *ὄκ-μο-ς. Benveniste 1962:107—108; Puhvel 1984— .1/2:23; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:773; Frisk 1970—1973.II:347—348; Mallory—Adams 1997:434—435 *$h_{1/4}okéteh_a$ 'rake, harrow', *$h_{1/4}ek$- 'to rake, to harrow'. Older etymologies in Boisacq 1950:684, Hofmann 1966:224, and Beekes 2010.II:1045.

D. Proto-Altaic *$ăk^hu$- ‘to dig, to delve’: Proto-Tungus *$aχiri$- ‘to sweep, to rake up snow’ > Ulch $aχiri$- ‘to sweep, to rake up snow’; Orok $aχiri$- ‘to sweep, to rake up snow’; Nanay / Gold $aχiri$- ‘to sweep, to rake up snow’. Proto-Mongolian *uku- ‘(vb.) to dig, to delve; (n.) adze, notch (on animal’s ear), axe’ > Mongolian uqu- ‘to dig, to excavate’, $uqumi$ ‘carving tool, chisel, cutter, gouge’, $uqumal$ ‘dug out, excavated, hollowed out, scooped out’, $uqudasu(n)$ ‘an excavated hole’, $uqumida$- ‘to cut with a chisel’; Khalkha $uχu$- ‘to dig, to delve’, $uχmi$ ‘adze, notch (on animal’s ear)’; Buriat $uχami$ ‘adze’; Kalmyk $uχə$- ‘to dig, to delve’; Ordos $uχa$- ‘to dig, to delve’. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:282—283 *$ăk‘u$ ‘to dig, to delve’.

Buck 1949:8.15 cultivate, till; 8.21 plow (vb.; sb.); 8.22 dig.

624. Proto-Nostratic (n.) *$ʔak^hk^ha$ ‘older female relative’ (nursery word):
Note also:
(n.) *$ʔak^hk^ha$ ‘older male relative’

A. Proto-Afrasian *$ʔakk$- ‘grandmother’: Proto-East Cushitic *$ʔaakk$- ‘mother’s mother, grandmother’ > Galla / Oromo akk-oo ‘grandmother’; Hadiyya $aakk$-o ‘mother’s mother’; Burji $aakk$-$óo$ ‘grandmother’; Bayso akk-o ‘grandmother’; Konso $aakk$-a ‘grandmother’. Sasse 1982:21. Proto-Highland East Cushitic *$akako$ ‘grandfather, grandmother’ > Gedeo / Darasa $akkaʔo$ ‘grandfather, grandmother’; Sidamo $ahaahe$ ‘grandmother’, $ahaaho$ ‘grandfather’. Hudson 1989:72.

B. Dravidian: Tamil $akkā$, $akkai$, $akka\underline{n}$, $akkātai$, $akkacci$, $akkaicci$, $akkāḷ$ ‘elder sister’; Malayalam $akka$ ‘elder sister, wife of an elder brother, elderly maternal or paternal cousin’; Kota akn ‘elder sister or female parallel cousin’; Kannaḍa $akka$ ‘elder sister’; Koḍagu $akkë$ ‘elder sister or female parallel cousin’; Tuḷu $akka$, $akkè$ ‘elder sister’; Telugu $akka$ ‘elder sister’; Kolami $akkābāī$ ‘elder sister’; Gondi $akkā$, $akkal(i)$ ‘elder sister’. Krishnamurti 2003:10 *$akka$- ‘elder sister’; Burrow—Emeneau 1984:4, no. 23.

C. Proto-Indo-European (f.) (*$ʔak^hk^heA$ [*$ʔak^hk^haA$] >) *$ʔak^hk^hā$ ‘female relative, mother’: Sanskrit $akkā$ ‘a mother (used contemptuously)’; Prakrit $akkā$ ‘sister, baud’; Marathi $akā$ ‘respectful term for elder sister or any elderly woman’; Greek Ἀκκώ ‘the (wet-)nurse of Demeter (*mater Cereris*)’; Latin *Acca* in *Acca Lārentia* ‘the wife of the shepherd Faustulus, who nursed and brought up the twins Romulus and Remus; mother of the twelve *Arvales Fratres*’. Pokorny 1959:23 *$akkā$ ‘mother’; Walde 1927—1932.I:34 *$akkā$; Mallory—Adams 1997:386 *h_aekkeh_a- ‘mother’; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.I:15; Turner 1966—1969.I:1; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:48; Frisk 1970—1973.I:53; Hofmann 1966;10; Boisacq 1950:35—36; Beekes 2010.I:52 (nursery word); Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:5; Ernout—Meillet 1979:4. Note: The Indo-Aryan terms cited above are sometimes taken to be loans from Dravidian.

D. Uralic: Finnish *akka* ‘old woman’; Lapp / Saami *akku* ‘grandmother’; Cheremis / Mari *aka* ‘older sister’.

E. Proto-Altaic **ĕkʰa* (~ *-o*) (with **ĕ-* for expected **ă-*) ‘elder sister’: Proto-Tungus **eKe*, **keKe* ‘woman, wife; elder sister’ > Evenki *ekīn* ‘woman, wife’; Lamut / Even *ekъn* ‘elder sister’; Negidal *eχe* ‘woman, wife’, *eχīn* ‘elder sister’; Manchu *χeχe* ‘woman, female’; Spoken Manchu (Sibo) *χeχə* ‘woman, female’; Jurchen *χeχe-e* ‘woman, wife’; Ulch *ēqte* ‘woman, wife’; Orok *ekte* ‘woman, wife’; Nanay / Gold *ekte* ‘woman, wife’; Oroch *eki* ‘elder sister’; Udihe *eχi(n)* ‘woman, wife; elder sister’; Solon *χeχe* ‘woman, wife’. Proto-Mongolian **eke* ‘mother’, **egeče* ‘elder sister’ > Written Mongolian *eke* ‘mother’, *egeče* ‘elder sister’; Khalkha *eχ* ‘mother’, *egč* ‘elder sister’; Buriat *eχe* ‘mother’, *egeše* ‘elder sister’; Kalmyk *ekə* ‘mother’, *egəčə*, *ekčə* ‘elder sister’; Ordos *eke* ‘mother’, *egeči* ‘elder sister’; Dagur *eg* ‘mother’, *egči*, *ekē* ‘elder sister’; Dongxiang *eɢečə* ‘elder sister’; Shira-Yughur *he* ‘mother’, *əγeči* ‘elder sister’; Monguor *kaźi*, *āźī* ‘elder sister’. Poppe 1955:146. Proto-Turkic **eke* ‘elder sister’ > Old Turkic (Old Uighur) *eke* ‘elder sister’; Karakhanide Turkic *eke* ‘elder sister’, *ege-t* ‘female servant of bride’; Turkmenian *ekeži* ‘elder sister’; Chuvash *akka* ‘elder sister’. Poppe 1960:55, 103, and 128; Street 1974:12 **eke* ‘some older female relative’; Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:499—500 **ĕkʻa* (~ *-o*) ‘elder sister’. As noted by Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak (2003:500), some of these forms may be borrowings.

F. Proto-Eskimo **a(a)kaʁ* ‘older female relative’ (expressive gemination of initial vowel): Alutiiq Alaskan Yupik *aakaaq* ‘older sister’; Central Alaskan Yupik *aakaq* ‘mother’; Naukan Siberian Yupik *aakaq* ‘older sister’; Central Siberian Yupik *aakaq* ‘older sister or female’; Sirenik *aakaX* ‘older sister’; Seward Peninsula Inuit *aaka* ‘mother’; North Alaskan Inuit *aaka* ‘mother’, *aaxxaa* ‘eldest sister’; Western Canadian Inuit (Siglit) *aakaq*, *aakaaʁaaluk* ‘older sister’. Fortescue—Jacobson—Kaplan 1994:10.

Buck 1949:2.22 woman; 2.24 female; 2.31ff. words for family relationship; 2.36 mother. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:557—558, no. 417; Hakola 2000:18, no. 19; Caldwell 1913:567 and 611—612.

625. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **ʔakʰkʰa* ‘older male relative’ (nursery word):
Note also:
(n.) **ʔakʰkʰa* ‘older female relative’

A. Proto-Afrasian **ʔak-* ‘older male relative’: Proto-Highland East Cushitic **akako* ‘grandfather, grandmother’ > Gedeo / Darasa *akkaʾo* ‘grandfather, grandmother’; Sidamo *ahaahe* ‘grandmother’, *ahaaho* ‘grandfather’. Hudson 1989:72. Southern Cushitic: Proto-Rift **ʔako* ‘old man’ > Iraqw *ako* ‘old man’; Asa *ʔagok* ‘mother’s brother’. Ehret 1980:377. Omotic: Bench / Gimira *akas* ‘grandfather’. Takács 2011a:146.

B. Dravidian: Parji *akka* ‘mother’s father’; Gondi *akkō* ‘mother’s father (said by granddaughter)’, *akko* ‘great grandfather’, *akko* ‘daughter’s son or daughter, grandson’s wife’, *ukko* (that is, *akko*) ‘maternal grandfather’; Pengo *ako* ‘maternal grandfather’; Kui *ake* ‘grandfather, ancestor’, *akenja* ‘grandfather’; Kuwi *akku* ‘grandfather’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:4, no. 24.

C. Yukaghir (Northern / Tundra) *akaa* ‘elder brother’, *akaadie* ‘the eldest among brothers’. Nikolaeva 2006:99.

D. Proto-Altaic **āk^{h}a* ‘older male relative’: Proto-Tungus **akā*, **kakā* ‘man; elder brother’ > Evenki *akā* ‘akin; elder brother’; Lamut / Even *aqa*, *aqъn* ‘elder brother’; Negidal *aga*, *aχa* ‘elder brother’; Manchu *χaχa* ‘male, man’, *aχun* ‘elder brother’; Spoken Manchu (Sibo) *hahə* ‘man’; Ulch *aɢa* ‘elder brother’; Jurchen *χaχa-ay* ‘man’, *aχun* (*aχun-un*) ‘elder brother’; Orok *aɢa*, *aqa* ‘elder brother’; Nanay / Gold *ā* ‘elder brother’; Oroch *aka*, *akin* ‘elder brother’; Udihe *aga* ‘elder brother’; Solon *aχā*, *aχin* ‘elder brother’. Proto-Mongolian **aka* ‘elder brother’ > Written Mongolian *aqa* ‘older brother; senior, older, elder’; Khalkha *aχ*, *aχay* term of respectful address: ‘aunt’; Buriat *aχa* ‘elder brother’; Kalmyk *aχə* ‘elder brother’; Ordos *aχa* ‘elder brother’; Dagur *akā*, *aga* ‘elder brother’; Dongxiang *aγa* ‘elder brother’; Shira-Yughur *aʁa* (or *aɢa*) ‘elder brother’; Monguor *aɢa* ‘elder brother’. Poppe 1955:88. Proto-Turkic **(i)āka* ‘elder male relative: elder brother; elder uncle; father; grandfather’ > Old Turkic (Old Uighur) *aqa* ‘elder male relative: elder brother; elder uncle; father; grandfather’; Turkish *ağa* term of respectful address: ‘lord, master, gentleman’; Azerbaijani *aγa* ‘elder male relative: elder brother; elder uncle; father; grandfather’, also used as a term of respectful address; Turkmenian *aɢā* ‘elder male relative: elder brother; elder uncle; father; grandfather’; Uzbek *ɔγa* ‘elder male relative: elder brother; elder uncle; father; grandfather’; Uighur *aγa* ‘elder male relative: elder brother; elder uncle; father; grandfather’; Karaim *aqa* term of respectful address, *aγa* ‘elder’, also used as a term of respectful address; Tatar *aγa* ‘elder male relative: elder brother; elder uncle; father; grandfather’, also used as a term of respectful address; Bashkir *aγay* ‘elder male relative: elder brother; elder uncle; father; grandfather’, also used as a term of respectful address; Kirghiz *aγa* ‘elder male relative: elder brother; elder uncle; father; grandfather’; Kazakh *aγa* ‘elder male relative: elder brother; elder uncle; father; grandfather; elder’; Noghay *aγa* ‘elder male relative: elder brother; elder uncle; father; grandfather’, also used as a term of respectful address; Sary-Uighur *aqa* ‘elder male relative: elder brother; elder uncle; father; grandfather’, also used as a term of respectful address; Oyrot (Mountain Altai) *aqa* ‘elder male relative: elder brother; elder uncle; father; grandfather’, also used as a term of respectful address; Tuva *aqï* ‘elder male relative: elder brother; elder uncle; father; grandfather’; Yakut *aγa* ‘father’; Dolgan *aga* ‘father’. Poppe 1960:55, 94, 124, and 146; Street 1974:7 **aka* ‘some older male relative’; Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:281—282 **āk‘a* ‘elder brother’.

Buck 1949:2.35 father; 2.46 grandfather; 2.51 uncle. Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 21, *ʔaḴa ‘elder relative, grandfather’; Fortescue 1998:152.

626. Proto-Nostratic root *ʔak^{wh}- (~ *ʔək^{wh}-):
(vb.) *ʔak^{wh}- ‘to be hot, to burn; to warm oneself’;
(n.) *ʔak^{wh}-*a* ‘heat, fire’

A. Proto-Afrasian *ʔak^{w}- ‘(vb.) to be hot, to burn; (n.) fire’: Semitic: Arabic *ʔakka* ‘to be very hot; to push back; to press; to be oppressed, contracted with anxiety’, *ʔakka-t* ‘suffocating heat; plight; tumult; hatred, envy; death’; Syriac *ʔakkəθā* ‘wrath, anger’. D. Cohen 1970— :18. East Cushitic: Arbore *ʔoog-* ‘to burn’. Proto-Southern Cushitic *ʔak^{w}- or *ʔaak^{w}- ‘to be bright, to be brightly colored’ > K’wadza *kamisayo* ‘chameleon’; Ma’a *ʔá-* ‘to be white’, *ʔáku* ‘white’, *ʔakúye* ‘clean’. Ehret 1980:287, no. 43. West Chadic: Tsagu *áàkwé* ‘fire’; Kariya *àkú* ‘fire’; Miya *àkù* ‘fire’; Jimbin *akwá* ‘fire’; Diri *áukòwà*, *akúwá* ‘fire’; Ngizim *ákâ* ‘fire’; Bade *ákà* ‘fire’. East Chadic: Sokoro *óko*, *òkó* ‘fire’; Dangla *ako* ‘fire’; Migama *ókkò* ‘fire’; Jegu *ʔɔ́ɔ́k* ‘fire’; Birgit *ʔàkù* ‘fire’. Jungraithmayr—Ibriszimow 1994.II:138—139; Newman 1977:26, no. 48, *aku/*ak^{w}a ‘fire’. Ehret 1995:361, no. 717, *ʔaak^{w}- ‘(vb.) to burn (of fire); (n.) fire’ and 520, no. 717.

B. Dravidian: Kuṛux *axrnā* ‘to warm oneself (by the fire, in the sun)’; Malto *awge* ‘to expose to the heat of the sun or fire’, *awgre* ‘to bask in the sun, to warm oneself at a fire’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:4, no. 18.

C. Proto-Eskimo *əkə- ‘to burn’: Central Alaskan Yupik *əkə-* ‘to burn’, *əka* ‘fire, conflagration’; Seward Peninsula Inuit *iɣi-* ‘to burn’; North Alaskan Inuit *ikɨ* ‘to burn’; Western Canadian Inuit (Siglit) *iki-* ‘to be burnt’; Greenlandic *iki-* ‘to be lit, to smoke (lamp)’. Aleut *hiɣ-* ‘to burn’ (with secondary *h-*), *ikla-X* ‘firewood’. Fortescue—Jacobson—Kaplan 1994:101. Proto-Inuit *əkət- ‘to ignite’ > Seward Peninsula Inuit *iɣit-* ‘to ignite’; North Alaskan Inuit *ikɨt-* ‘to ignite, to be ignited’; Western Canadian Inuit *ikit-* ‘to ignite’; Greenlandic *ikit-* ‘to ignite’. Fortescue—Jacobson—Kaplan 1994:101. Proto-Eskimo *əknəbəɣ- ‘to catch or strike fire’: Alutiiq Alaskan Yupik *kənəŋə-* ‘to build a fire’; Central Alaskan Yupik *kənŋə-* ‘to start to burn’; Western Canadian Inuit *iŋnak-* ‘to catch fire’, *iŋnait* ‘flintstones’; Eastern Canadian Inuit *inna(k)-* ‘to strike fire’, *innaq* ‘flintstone’; Greenlandic *innaɣ-* ‘to strike fire, to catch fire’. Fortescue—Jacobson—Kaplan 1994:101. Proto-Eskimo *ək(ə)nəʁ ‘fire’: Alutiiq Alaskan Yupik *kənəq* ‘fire’; Central Alaskan Yupik *kənəq** ‘fire’; Naukan Siberian Yupik *əkn̥əq* ‘fire, star’; Central Siberian Yupik *kənəq** ‘fire’; Sirenik *əkn̥əX* ‘fire’; Seward Peninsula Inuit *ikniq* ‘fire’; North Alaskan Inuit *iɣniq** ‘fire’; Western Canadian Inuit *iɣniq* ‘fire’; Eastern Canadian Inuit *inniq* ‘fire struck with stone, spark from lighter’; Greenlandic *inniq** ‘fire’. Fortescue—Jacobson—Kaplan 1994:101. Proto-Inuit *əkuala- ‘to burn brightly’ > Seward Peninsula Inuit *iɣuaɬak-* ‘to burst into flames’;

North Alaskan Inuit *ikuala-* ‘to blaze, to burn brightly’, *ikuallak-* ‘to burst into flames’; Western Canadian Inuit *ikuallak-* ‘to burst into flames’; Eastern Canadian Inuit *ikuala-* ‘to be smoking (lamp that has burnt too much)’; Greenlandic *ikuala-* ‘to burn’, *ikuaɬɬaɣ-* ‘to flare up’. Fortescue—Jacobson—Kaplan 1994:101. Proto-Eskimo **əkuma-* ‘to be burning’: Alutiiq Alaskan Yupik *kumaq* ‘light (for example, lamp)’; Central Alaskan Yupik *kuma-* ‘to be lit’, *kumaXtə-* ‘to ignite’; Naukan Siberian Yupik *əkuma-* ‘to burn’, *əkumaXtə-* ‘to ignite’; Central Siberian Yupik *kumaʁ-* ‘to burn, to ignite’, (Chaplinski) *kumaq* ‘fire, conflagration’; Sirenik *kuməŋə-* ‘to burn’, *kumərʁ-* ‘to blaze up’, *kumə X-* ‘flame, glow’; Seward Peninsula Inuit *iɣuma-* ‘to be burning’; North Alaskan Inuit *ikuma-* ‘to be burning’; Western Canadian Inuit *ikuma-* ‘to be burning’; Eastern Canadian Inuit *ikuma-* ‘to be burning’; Greenlandic *ikuma-* ‘to be burning’. Fortescue—Jacobson—Kaplan 1994:101. Proto-Yupik **kəniʁ-* ‘to cook’ > Alutiiq Alaskan Yupik *kəniʁ-* ‘to cook’; Central Alaskan Yupik *kəniʁ-* ‘to cook’. Fortescue—Jacobson—Kaplan 1994:101.

D. Proto-Chukchi-Kamchatkan (?) **əkəka* ‘hot’: Alyutor *n-əkəka-qin* ‘hot’, *əkəka-sʔən* ‘hottest’; Kamchadal / Itelmen *xka-laX* ‘hot’, *xkakkəm* ‘heat (in summer)’, *akika* ‘(it is) hot!’, (Eastern) *kekalu* ‘hot’, *kekak* ‘heat’, (Southern) *kika* ‘not’. Fortescue 2005:339.

Buck 1949:1.81 fire; 1.85 burn (vb.); 15.85 hot, warm.

627. Proto-Nostratic root **ʔal-* (~ **ʔəl-*):
(vb.) **ʔal-* ‘to purify, to cleanse’ (> ‘to sift, to clean grain’ in the daughter languages);
(n.) **ʔal-a* ‘the act of washing, cleaning; that which is washed, cleaned’

Semantics as in Sanskrit *punā́ti* ‘to make clean, clear, pure, or bright; to cleanse, to purify, to purge, to clarify; (with *sáktum*) to cleanse from chaff, to winnow; to sift, to discriminate, to discern’, (passive) *pūyáte* ‘to be cleaned, washed, or purified’; related to Old High German *fowen* ‘to sift, to clean grain’ and Latin *pūrus* ‘clean, pure’ (cf. Pokorny 1959:827; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.II:237—238; Ernout—Meillet 1979:546—547).

A. Proto-Afrasian **ʔaal-* ‘to purify, to cleanse; to sift, to clean grain’: Highland East Cushitic: Kambata *aa’l-* ‘to wash oneself’. Hudson 1989:306. Proto-Southern Cushitic **ʔaal-* ‘to sift (grain from chaff), to clean; (figuratively) to separate out useless from useful’, **ʔaala* ‘clean, pure’ > Alagwa *ila* ‘grain of corn’; Iraqw *al-* ‘to reject’, *ilmo* ‘individual grain (of maize)’; K’wadza *ana* (< **alVmV*) ‘maize’, *ela* ‘good’; Asa *ʔila* ‘good, ripe’, *ʔelala* ‘suitable’; Dahalo *ʔeel-* ‘to sift (grain from chaff)’, *ʔeelaawuð-* ‘to rinse’. Ehret 1980:284—285.
B. Dravidian: Tamil *alampu* (*alampi-*) ‘to wash, to rinse’, *alacu* (*alaci-*) ‘to rinse’, *alaicu* (*alaici-*) ‘to wash, to rinse’, *alaittal* ‘to wash clothes by

moving them about in water'; Malayalam *alakkuka* 'to wash clothes by beating', *alakku* 'washing', *alampuka* 'to shake clothes in water'; Toda *aṣ̲p-* (*aṣ̲py-*) 'to clean'; Kannaḍa *alambu*, *alumbu*, *alabu*, *alubu* 'to rinse, to wash', *ale* 'to wash', *alasu* 'to shake or agitate water (as a cloth, vegetables, etc., for cleansing)'; Telugu *alamu* 'to wash'; Tuḷu *alambuni* 'to wash', *alumbuni*, *lumbuni* 'to plunge, to wash, to rinse'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:24, no. 246.

C. Proto-Altaic **ălgi* 'net, sieve': Proto-Tungus **alga* 'net' > Evenki *alga* 'net'; Manchu *alɢan* 'a net for catching quail'; Ulch *arɢa* 'net'; Nanay / Gold *alɢa* 'net'; Oroch *agga* 'net'; Solon *alga* 'net'. Proto-Turkic **ĕlge-* '(vb.) to sift; (n.) sieve' > Old Turkic (Old Uighur) *elge-* 'to sift'; Karakhanide Turkic *elge-* 'to sift', *ele-* 'to sift', *elek* 'sieve'; Turkish *ele-* 'to sift', *elek* 'sieve', *eleme* 'sifted'; Gagauz *iele-* 'to sift', *ielek* 'sieve'; Azerbaijani *älä-* 'to sift', *äläk* 'sieve'; Turkmenian *ele-* 'to sift', *elek* 'sieve'; Uzbek *ela-* 'to sift', *elak* 'sieve'; Uighur *ägli-* 'to sift', *älgäk* 'sieve'; Karaim *ele-*, *öle-* 'to sift', *elek*, *ölek* 'sieve'; Tatar *ilɛ-* 'to sift', *ilɛk* 'sieve'; Bashkir *ile-* 'to sift', *ilek* 'sieve'; Kirghiz *ele-*, *elge-* 'to sift', *elek*, *elgek* 'sieve'; Noghay *ele-* 'to sift', *elek* 'sieve'; Oyrot (Mountain Altai) *elge-* 'to sift', *elgek* 'sieve'; Tuva *egle-*/*elge-* 'to sift'; Chuvash *alla-* 'to sift', *alla* 'sieve'. Turkic loans in Mongolian *elkeg* 'sieve, sifter, strainer, bolter', *elkegde-* 'to sift, to bolt, etc.'. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:287—288 **ălgi* 'net, sieve'.

Buck 1949:9.36 wash; 15.87 clean. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:583—584, no. 453.

628. Proto-Nostratic root **ʔal-* (~ **ʔəl-*) (perhaps also **ʔel-*, **ʔul-*):
(vb.) **ʔal-* 'to be not so-and-so or such-and-such';
(n.) **ʔal-a* 'nothing'

Originally a negative verb stem meaning 'to be not so-and-so or such-and-such' — later used in some branches as a negative particle.

A. Afrasian: Proto-Semitic **ʔal-*/**ʔul-* (< **ʔəl-*) element of negation > Akkadian *ūl* 'not'; Ugaritic *ảl* 'not'; Hebrew *ʔal* [אַל] (negative particle) 'certainly not', (as prefix) 'not, non-, un-', (n.) 'nothing' (Job 24:25); Phoenician *ʔl* element of negation; Arabic *lā* (negative particle) 'not', (with apoc. expressing negative imptv.) 'no!'; Sabaean *ʔl* (negative particle) 'not, no one'; Ḥarsūsi *ʔel* 'not'; Śḥeri / Jibbāli *ʔɔl* 'not'; Mehri *ʔəl* 'not'; Geez / Ethiopic *ʔal-* [**አል**-] element of negation in *ʔalbə-* [**አልብ**-], *ʔalbo* [**አልቦ**]; Tigre *ʔalä-* in *ʔalä-bu* 'there is not'; Amharic *al-* used to express a negative verb in the perfect. D. Cohen 1970— :19, no. 3, prohibitive particle; Klein 1987:28; Leslau 1987:17 and 18; Zammit 2002:363. Berber: Kabyle *ala* 'no'. Central Cushitic: negative element *-lā* in: Bilin *ʔillā* 'no'; Awngi / Awiya *əlla* 'no'. Appleyard 2006:105; Reinisch 1887:26, 32, and 250. Militarëv 2012:80 Proto-Afrasian **ʔa/ul-*.

B. Proto-Dravidian **al-* ‘to be not so-and-so’: Tamil *al-* ‘to be not so-and-so’; Malayalam *alla* ‘is not that, is not thus’; Kolami *ala·* ‘to be not so-and-so’; Kannaḍa *alla* ‘to be not so-and-so, to be not fit or proper’; Koḍagu *alla* ‘to be not so-and-so’; Malto *-l-* negative morpheme; Brahui *all-* base of past negative tenses of *anning* ‘to be’, *ala*, *alavā* ‘certainly not, not a bit of it’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:22, no. 234; Krishnamurti 2003:354—356 Proto-South Dravidian **al-* ‘to be not’.

C. Indo-European: Hittite *li-e* element used with the present indicative to express a negative command. The Hittite form is isolated within Indo-European. Many scholars take it to be from Proto-Indo-European **ne* (cf. Puhvel 1984— .5:74—77), but see Koekhorst 2008b:523.

D. Proto-Uralic **elä* imperative of the negative auxiliary verb (cf. Collinder 1977:26). Marcantonio (2002:239) describes the patterning in Finnish as follows: “A negative verbal form is used in Finnish also in the Imperative, as shown by the pair *lue* ‘read’ vs *älä lue* ‘do=not read’ (2nd Person Singular). The negative form *älä* is often compared with the equivalent Yukaghir *el* ~ *ele*. Equivalent negative verbs and related isomorphic constructions are found in the majority of the Tungusic languages (*e-* ~ *ä-*), in Mongolian (*e-se*) (UEW 68; SSA 100) and in Dravidian.” Rédei (1986—1988:68—70) treats the negative verb **e-* and the imperative **elä* together, as do many others, including Collinder and Tailleur. As noted by Greenberg (2000:214), these two forms are so closely intertwined, often through suppletion, that it is difficult to distinguish one from the other. In the closely-related Yukaghir, all verbs except *le-* ‘to be; to live, to become’ form the negative by means of a prefix *el-* (cf. Greenberg 2000:214—215). Clearly, we are dealing with two separate forms here. The first is the Proto-Nostratic negative particle **ʔe* ‘no, not’, and the second is the negative verb *ʔal-* (~ **ʔəl-*) ‘to be not so-and-so’. The latter is to be distinguished from the Uralic verb **elä-* ‘to live, to be’ (cf. Rédei 1986—1988:73; Collinder 1955:10 and 1977:31). Greenberg’s (2000:215) analysis of the situation is as follows: “As we have just seen, the Yukaghir verb ‘to be’ is *l'e*, a form that has cognates in other Eurasiatic languages. The theory tentatively suggested to account for this and other intricate facts is that there was a Eurasiatic negative verb **e(i)* that, when combined with the positive verb ‘to be’ *le*, formed a negative existential verb **e-le* that in some instances lost either its initial or final vowel.” Contrary to Greenberg, the Proto-Nostratic verb under discussion here must be reconstructed as **ʔil-* (~ **ʔel-*) ‘to live, to be alive; to be, to exist’ (cf. Illič-Svityč 1965:341 жить[1] ‘to live’: **elʌ*), not **le*. To complicate matters further, there may have also been a separate Proto-Nostratic negative particle **li* (~ **le*) ‘no, not’ as well as a separate verb stem **liʔ-* (~ **leʔ-*) ‘to become’. The relationship among these forms is extremely complex and not yet fully understood.

E. Proto-Altaic **ule* (~ *-i*) negative particle: Proto-Mongolian **ülü-* negative element preceding verbs > Written Mongolian *ülü*; Khalkha *ül*; Buriat *üle*; Kalmyk *üle*; Ordos *üle*, *ülü*; Moghol *la*, *lü*, *lɛ*; Dagur *ul*, *ule*; Dongxiang

ulie; Shira-Yughur *lə*; Monguor *li*, *lĭ*. Poppe 1955:287, 288, 289, 290, and 291; Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:1493 **ule* (~ *-i*) negative particle.

F. Chukchi-Kamchatkan: According to Greenberg (2000:216): "In the Koryak group reflexes of **ele* form sentence negations or are equivalent to English 'no!,' a natural use for a negative existential. Examples are Palana Koryak *elle* and Kerek *ala* 'not.' Kerek has lost its vowel harmony system through merger so that *a* is the expected reflex of **e*. Aliutor has gone through similar phonetic changes and has *al*, *alla* 'no, not'. In addition, for prohibitives, Kerek uses the imperative of a negative auxiliary verb *illa*, which follows the negative infinitive…" Fortescue (2005:31) reconstructs Proto-Chukchi-Kamchatkan **æl(læ)* 'not': Chukchi *etlə* 'not'; Kerek *ala* 'not'; Koryak [*elvelʁin* 'not']; Alyutor *alla* 'not' (Palana *el(le)* 'not'); Kamchadal / Itelmen *il-* in: *il-puvakax* 'don't threaten!', *il-masys* 'don't hinder!'.

G. Gilyak / Nivkh: Greenberg (2000:215) compares the Gilyak / Nivkh verb stem *ali-* 'to be unable', "which may be considered to represent the full form of the negative existential **ele*."

Sumerian: *li* negative particle: 'not, un-'.

Caldwell 1913:607 and 614; Illič-Svityč 1971—1984.I:263—264, no. 128, **ʔäla* particle of categorical negation; Bomhard—Kerns 1994:580—581, no. 449; Greenberg 2000:214—217, §58. Negative E/ELE; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 22, **ʔäla* particle of negation and categorical prohibition.

629. Proto-Nostratic root **ʔam-* (~ **ʔəm-*):
(vb.) **ʔam-* 'to seize, to grasp, to take, to touch, to hold (closely or tightly)';
(n.) **ʔam-a* 'grasp, hold, hand(ful)'; (adj.) 'seized, grasped, touched, held, obtained'

A. Proto-Afrasian **ʔam-* 'to seize, to touch, to hold': Egyptian *ȝm*, *ȝmm* 'to seize, to grasp'. Hannig 1995:9; Faulkner 1962:3; Erman—Grapow 1921:2 and 1926—1963.1:10; Gardiner 1957:550. Berber: Ghadames *uməẓ* 'to take a handful', *tamməst* 'a handful of …'; Tamazight *aməẓ* 'to take, to seize, to grasp', *tummiẓt* 'fist; punch'; Mzab *timmiẓt* 'handful'; Tashelhiyt / Shilha *aməẓ* 'to take, to seize, to grasp'; Riff *aməẓ* 'to take, to seize'; Kabyle *tummaẓ* 'fist; punch; handful'; Chaoia *tummiṣt* 'handful'. Cushitic: Beja / Beḍawye *ʔamit-*, *ʔamid-* 'to seize'. Reinisch 1895:19. Highland East Cushitic: Hadiyya *amad-* 'to hold, to seize, to start, to begin, to touch'; Sidamo *amad-* 'to hold, to seize, to touch'. Hudson 1989:80. Central Chadic **ʔam-*/**ʔim-* 'to catch, to seize' > Tera *ōom-* (< **Hwa-ʔam-*) 'to catch, to seize'; Musgu *ima-*, *ime-* 'to catch, to seize'. East Chadic **ʔam-* 'to catch' > Lele *ōm-* 'to catch'; Kabalay *am-* 'to catch'. Orël—Stolbova 1995:10, no. 35, **ʔam-* 'to catch, to seize'.

B. Dravidian: Tamil *amar* ‘to get close to, to resemble, to be suitable, to wish, to desire, to do, to perform’, *amai* (*-v-*, *-nt-*) ‘to crowd together, to be close; to be attached, connected, joined; to suffice, to prepare (oneself); to be suitable, appropriate; to be complete, to prepare; (*-pp-*, *-tt-*) to effect, to accomplish, to create, to appoint, to institute, to bring together, to prepare, to get ready’, *amai* ‘fitness, beauty’, *amaiti* ‘being attached, joined; nature of a thing, abundance, occasion, opportunity, deed, action’, *amaippu* ‘structure, constitution, destiny, fate’, *amaivu* ‘being acceptable, suitable, fitting’; Kannaḍa *amar* (*amard-*) ‘to be closely united, to gather in a mass, to be connected with, to be produced, to arise, to appear, to be fit or agreeable, to be nice or becoming, to be known or famous, to fit, to agree with, to seize firmly, to embrace’, *amarike*, *amarke* ‘fitness, agreeing with (as a ring with the size of the finger), state of being closely joined’, *amarisu*, *amarcu* ‘to cause a person to join or stick by, to prepare, to do in a fit manner, to make ready’; Tuḷu *amarige* ‘heap’, *amariyuni*, *amaryuni* ‘to cleave to’, *amaruni* ‘to seize, to touch, to hold’, *amāruni* ‘to suit, to fit, to embrace, to hold, to twine (a plant)’; Telugu *amayu* ‘to be useful or serviceable’, *amaraṅgā*, *amara(n)* ‘properly, fitly, duly, agreeably’, *amaru* ‘to suit; to be fit, suitable, or agreeable; to be prepared or ready’, *amarincu*, *amar(u)cu* ‘to prepare, to make ready, to adjust, to arrange, to provide’; Kuwi *ambrinai* ‘to suit’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:16, no. 162.

C. Proto-Indo-European **ʔem-*/**ʔm̥-* ‘to take, to obtain’: Latin *emō* ‘to purchase, to buy’; Umbrian (past. ptc.) *emps* ‘taken’; Old Irish *-em-* in *ar-fo-em-at* ‘they take’; Lithuanian *imù*, *ĩmti* ‘to take, to accept, to receive, to get’; Old Church Slavic *imǫ, jęti* ‘to take’. Pokorny 1959:310—311 **em-*, **ₑm-* ‘to take’; Walde 1927—1932.I:124—125 **em-*; Rix 1998a:209—210 **h₁em-* ‘to take’; Mann 1984—1987:240 **emō* (**ĭmō*, **m̥ō*) ‘to take, to get’; Watkins 1985:17 **em-* and 2000:23 **em-* ‘to take, to distribute’; Mallory—Adams 1997:564 **h₁em-* ‘to take, to distribute’; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.II:754 **em-* and 1995.I:187, I:194, I:657 **em-* ‘to take, to have’; De Vaan 2008:188—189; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:400—402 **em-* ‘to take’; Ernout—Meillet 1979:195—196; Derksen 2008:158 **h₁m-* and 2015:200—201 **h₁m-*; Smoczyński 2007.1:220—221 **h₁em-*/**h₁m̥-*; Fraenkel 1962—1965.I:184—185.

Buck 1949:11.13 take; 11.14 seize, grasp, take hold of; 11.81 buy. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:563, no. 426; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 38, **ʔemV* ‘to seize, to hold’; Illič-Svityč 1971—1984.I:270, no. 133, **ʔemʌ* ‘to seize, to take’.

630. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **ʔam-a* ‘time, moment, point of time’; (particle) ‘now’:

A. Proto-Afrasian **ʔam-* ‘time, moment, point of time; now’: Semitic: Geez / Ethiopic *ʔama* [**አመ**] ‘at the time of, when’, *ʔamehā* [**አሜሃ**] ‘at that time, then, next’; Amharic *ama* ‘when’ (Geez loan); Gurage *-äm(m)ʷä* suffix expressing time, as in (Chaha) *yärbat-ämʷä* ‘time of the evening meal’

(from *yärbat* ‘evening meal, dinner’), (Chaha) *zäft-ämʷä*, (Eža, Muher) *zäft-ämmʷä* ‘time around midnight’ (from *zäft* ‘calm’). Leslau 1979:41 and 1987:21. Proto-East Cushitic **ʔamm(-an)-* ‘time, now’ > Galla / Oromo *amm-a* ‘now’; Somali *amm-in-ka*, *imm-in-ka*, *imm-i-ka* ‘now’; Hadiyya *amm-an-i* ‘time, when’; Gidole *amm-an-n-e* ‘now’; Konso *amm-a* ‘now’. Sasse 1979:25. Proto-Southern Cushitic **ʔami* ‘when?’ > Iraqw *-ami* in *hami* ‘now’; K’wadza *-ami-* in *hamiso* ‘then’; Ma’a *ámi* ‘when?’. Ehret 1980:281.

B. Elamo-Dravidian: Middle Elamite *a-am*, *am* ‘now’. Paper 1955:107.

C. Indo-European: Proto-Celtic **am-o-*; **amstero-*, *-ā* ‘time, moment’ > Old Irish *amm* (also written *ám*) ‘time, moment, point of time’, (acc.) *i n-am*, (dat.) *i n-aim* ‘when’, *i n-ám sin* ‘at this moment’, *aimser* ‘time, moment, epoch’; Welsh *amser* ‘timely’, *amserach* ‘more timely’; Cornish *amser* (Middle Cornish *anser*) ‘timely’; Breton (Middle Breton *amser*) *amzer* ‘timely’. Mann 1984—1987:19 **ambhmn-* (**əmbhmn-*, **m̥bhmn-*) ‘circuit, period’; Vendryès 1959— :A35 and A67; Lewis—Pedersen 1937:21; Matasović 2009:33 Proto-Celtic **amo-* ‘time’.

D. Yukaghir (Southern / Kolyma) *amunde* (< **am-un-* ?) ‘here; soon after’. Nikolaeva 2006:103.

E. Proto-Altaic **ămV* ‘on time, timely, now’: Proto-Tungus **am-* ‘quick, quickly; to be on time, to catch up; to reach’ > Evenki *ama*, *ama-kān* ‘quick, quickly’, *amin-*, *ami-ltän-* ‘to be on time, to catch up’; Lamut / Even *āmrъq* ‘quick, quickly’, *āmъltъn-* ‘to be on time, to catch up’; Manchu *am-bu-* ‘to overtake and catch’, *am-ča-* ‘to pursue, to chase, to catch up to; to hurry, to rush’, *am-čana-* ‘to go to pursue, to rush (over)’, *am-čata-* ‘to strive to overtake’, *am-čaŋga* ‘pertaining to pursuit’; Spoken Manchu (Sibo) *aməčə-* ‘to pursue, to chase, to catch up to’; Nanay / Gold *am-qa-čị-* ‘to reach, to touch’; Solon *amarī* ‘quick, quickly’. Proto-Mongolian **(h)am-* ‘sudden, quick; to be on time’ > Written Mongolian *am-ǯi-* ‘to do something in the required time, to be on time; to be successful, to make progress’, *ama-γai* ‘sudden, quick’; Khalkha *am-ǯi-* ‘to be on time’; Buriat *am-ža-* ‘to be on time’; Kalmyk *am-γā̆* ‘sudden, quick’; Ordos *am-ǯi-* ‘to be on time’. Proto-Turkic **(i)am-* ‘now; recent’ > Old Turkic (Orkhon, Old Uighur) *am-dï* ‘now’; Sary-Uighur *am-γo*, *am-dö-ko* ‘recent’; Khakas *am* ‘now’, *am-dï-γï*, *am-γï* ‘recent’; Tuva *am* ‘now’, *am-γï*, *am-dī̆* (< *am-dï-γï*) ‘the same’; Yakut *anï* (< **am-dï*) ‘now’; Dolgan *anï* ‘now’. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:298 **ămV* ‘quick, timely’.

Buck 1949:14.11 time. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:578, no. 446.

631. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **ʔam(m)a* ‘mother’ (nursery word):
Note also:
(n.) **ʔema* ‘older female relative; mother; (older) woman’

A. Proto-Afrasian *ʔam(m)a ‘mother’: Proto-Semitic *ʔumm- (< *ʔəmm-) ‘mother’ > Akkadian *ummu* ‘mother’; Amorite *ʔummum*, (very rare) *ʔimmum* ‘mother’; Ugaritic *ỉm* ‘mother’; Eblaite *ù-mu-mu* ‘mother’; Phoenician *ʔm* ‘mother’; Hebrew *ʔēm* [אֵם] ‘mother’; Aramaic *ʔēm*, *ʔimmā* ‘mother’; Syriac *ʔemmā* ‘mother’; Arabic *ʔumm* ‘mother’; Sabaean *ʔmm* ‘mother’; Mehri (indef.) *ḥām*, (constr.) *ʔēm* ‘mother’; Ḥarsūsi *ḥām* ‘mother’; Śḥeri / Jibbāli *ʔém(é)* ‘mother’; Geez / Ethiopic *ʔəmm* [እም] ‘mother’; Tigre *ʔəm* ‘mother’; Argobba *əm* ‘mother’; Gafat *əmʷit* ‘mother’; Gurage *əmm* ‘female, mother’; Amharic *əmmo*, *əmmamma*, *əmməyye* ‘mother!’. D. Cohen 1970— :22—23; Klein 1987:33; Murtonen 1989:92—93; Leslau 1979:42 and 1987:22; Diakonoff 1992:86 *ʔəmm- ‘mother’; Zammit 2002:79. Berber: Tuareg *ma* ‘mother’; Nefusa *əmmi* ‘mother’; Wargla *mamma* ‘mother, mommy’; Mzab *mamma* ‘mother, mommy’; Ghadames *ma* ‘mother’, *imma* ‘mommy’; Tamazight *imma*, *mma*, *ma* ‘mother, mommy’; Kabyle *yəmma* ‘mother, mommy’, *tayəmmaṭ* ‘mother’; Chaouia *imma*, *yəmma* ‘mother, mommy’. Proto-Highland East Cushitic **ama* ‘mother’ > Gedeo / Darasa *ama* ‘mother’; Burji *am-á* ~ *aam-á* ‘adult woman, wife, mother’; Hadiyya *ama* ‘mother’; Kambata *ama-ta* ‘mother’; Sidamo *ama* ‘mother’. Sasse 1982:25—26; Hudson 1989:102. Proto-Southern Cushitic *ʔaama- ‘female, female relative’ (term of address ?) > Burunge *ama* ‘sister, female cousin’; Iraqw *ameni* ‘woman’, *ama* ‘grandmother’; K’wadza *ama* ‘mother’; Asa *ʔamama* ‘grandmother’, *ʔamaʔeto* ‘older girl’. Ehret 1980:282. West Chadic *ʔam- ‘woman’ > Ngizim *ámâ* ‘woman, wife’; Warji *ámʌ́*, *ámái*, *ʔám-áy* ‘woman’; Tsagu *óómév* ‘woman’; Kariya *âm* ‘woman’; Miya *ám* ‘woman’; Jimbin *ámá* ‘woman’. Jungraithmayr—Ibriszimow 1994.II:346—347. Orël—Stolbova 1995:10, no. 34, *ʔam- ‘woman’.

B. Proto-Elamo-Dravidian **amma* ‘mother’: Middle Elamite *am-ma* ‘mother’. McAlpin 1981:141. Dravidian: Tamil *ammā* ‘mother’; Malayalam *amma* ‘mother’; Kannaḍa *amma*, *ama* ‘mother’; Telugu *amma*, *ama* ‘mother, matron’; Tuḷu *amma* ‘mother, lady’; Kolami *amma* ‘mother’; Koṇḍa *ama* ‘grandmother’; Brahui *ammā* ‘mother, grandmother’. Krishnamurti 2003:10 **amm-a* ‘mother’; Burrow—Emeneau 1984:18, no. 183.

C. Proto-Indo-European *ʔam(m)a ‘mother’: Greek ἀμμάς, ἀμμία, ἀμμά ‘mother’; Late Latin *amma* ‘mom’, *amita* ‘father’s sister’; Oscan (gen. sg.) *Ammaí* the name of a Samnite goddess; Old Icelandic *amma* ‘grandmother’; Old Swedish *amma* ‘mother, nurse’; Old High German *amma* ‘mother, nurse’ (New High German *Amme*); Albanian *amë* ‘mother, aunt’; Tocharian B *ammakki* ‘mother’. Pokorny 1959:36 **am(m)a*, **amĭ* ‘mommy’; Walde 1927—1932.I:53 **am(m)a*; Mann 1984—1987:18 **amā* ‘mother, nurse’; Watkins 1985:2 **amma* various nursery words and 2000:3 **am-* various nursery words; Mallory—Adams 1997:386 **$h_4$em-* (or **am-*) ‘mother’; Beekes 2010.I:88 (nursery word); Chantraine 1968—1980.I:76; De Vaan 2008:38—39; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:39; Ernout—Meillet 1979:28; Orël 1998:4 and 2003:17 Proto-Germanic **ammōn*; De

Vries 1977:8; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:18; Kluge—Seebold 1989:25; Van Windekens 1976—1982.I:621; Adams 1999:20.

D. (?) Proto-Eskimo **ama(C)uʁ* ‘great grandparent’: Alutiiq Alaskan Yupik *amuuq* ‘great grandparent’; Central Alaskan Yupik *amauq*, (Nunivaq) *amauXɬuɣaX* ‘great grandparent’; Seward Peninsula Inuit *amau* ‘great grandparent, great grandchild’; North Alaskan Inuit *amau*, *amauɬuk* ‘great grandparent’; Western Canadian Inuit (Siglit) *amaukɬuk* ‘great grandparent’, (Netsilik) *amauq* ‘great grandmother’; Eastern Canadian Inuit *amauʁaq* ‘great grandmother’; Greenlandic Inuit *amauq* ‘great grandparent’. Fortescue—Jacobson—Kaplan 1994:22. Note also Western Canadian Inuit (Netsilik, Copper) *amaama* ‘mother’.

Sumerian *ama* ‘mother’.

Buck 1949:2.22 woman; 2.24 female; 2.31ff. words for family relationship; 2.36 mother. Dolgopolsky 1998:91—92, no. 116, **ʔemA* ‘mother’ and 2008, no. 37, **ʔemA* ‘mother’; Bomhard—Kerns 1994:571—572, no. 439; Caldwell 1913:606 and 613—614.

632. Proto-Nostratic root **ʔan-* (~ **ʔən-*):
(vb.) **ʔan-* ‘to load up and go, to send off’;
(n.) **ʔan-a* ‘load, burden’

A. Afrasian: Egyptian (obsolete) (f.) *ỉnwt* ‘freight, cargo’. Erman—Grapow 1926—1963.1:92; Hannig 1995:75.

B. Dravidian: Tamil *a<u>n</u>uppu* (*a<u>n</u>uppi-*) ‘to send, to accompany one a little way out of respect’; Malayalam *anuppuka* ‘to send’; Kannaḍa *ampaka* ‘sending, dispatching, entertainment given to friends at their departure’; Telugu *anucu*, *ancu*, *anupu*, *ampu* ‘to send’; Gadba *anisp-* (*anist-*) ‘to load on a cart’; Kuṛux *ambnā* ‘to let go, to set free, to send away, to give up, to pardon, to leave a place’; Malto *ambe* ‘to leave off, to forsake’; Brahui *hamping* ‘to load up, to load up and go, to start, to depart, to be wiped out’, *hampifing* ‘to make to load, to make to start off, to help to load’, *hamp* ‘start, starting’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:31, no. 329.

C. Proto-Indo-European **ʔen-os-*/**ʔon-os-* ‘load, burden’: Sanskrit *ánas-* ‘cart, wagon’; Latin *onus* ‘load, burden, freight’. Pokorny 1959:321—322 **enos-* or **onos-* ‘burden’; Walde 1927—1932.I:132—133 **enos-* or **onos-*; Mann 1984—1987:879 **onos*, *-es-* ‘burden, load; impost, duty; obligation; bearer, carrier, carriage’; Watkins 1985:17 **en-es-* and 2000:23 **en-es-* ‘burden’; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.I:33; Mallory—Adams 1997:87 **$h_1$ónh$_x$es-* ‘burden’; Ernout—Meillet 1979:462 **enos* > **onos*; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.II:210 **onos*; De Vaan 2008:428.

Buck 1949:10.63 send; 10.75 carriage, wagon, cart. Bomhard—Kerns 1994: 561, no. 423.

633. Proto-Nostratic root *ʔan^{y}- (~ *ʔən^{y}-):
(vb.) *ʔan^{y}- ‘to be quiet, still, at peace, at rest’;
(n.) *ʔan^{y}-*a* ‘tranquility, peace, rest’; (adj.) ‘quiet, still, peaceful, restful’

A. Proto-Afrasian *ʔan- ‘to be quiet, still, peaceful, at rest’: (?) Proto-Semitic *ʔa/wa/n-, *ʔa/ya/n- ‘to be at rest’ > Arabic *ʔāna* ‘to be at rest’, *ʔawn* ‘calmness, serenity, gentleness’; Tamūdic *ʔn* ‘calmness, serenity’; Geez / Ethiopic *taʔayyana* [ተአየነ] ‘to live well and comfortably, to be pampered’. D. Cohen 1970— :12—13; Leslau 1987:50. Proto-Southern Cushitic *ʔand- ‘to be quiet, to be still’ > Asa *ʔand-* ‘to tame’; Ma’a -*ʔandú* ‘to be quiet, to be still’. Ehret (1980:284) reconstructs *ʔand- (or *ʕand-) ‘to tame’ and notes the following concerning the Ma’a form: “Stem plus extension, probably -Vw- consequentive, added before C# → Ø.”
B. Dravidian: Tamil *a<u>n</u>antar* ‘sleep, drowsiness, stupor, loss of consciousness, inebriety, confusion of mind’, *a<u>n</u>antal* ‘sleep, drowsiness, stupor’; Malayalam *anantal* ‘light sleep’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:30, no. 326.
C. Proto-Altaic *ānʸe(-čʰV)* ‘to be quiet, peaceful, at rest’: Proto-Tungus *ānʸi- ‘(vb.) to enjoy; (n.) feast’ > Evenki *āńị-* ‘to enjoy’; Nanay / Gold *ańā* ‘feast’. Proto-Mongolian *eye, *eŋ-ke (< *ānʸe-kV) ‘peace, quiet’ > Written Mongolian *eye* ‘peace, accord; harmony, concord; amity, friendship’; Khalkha *eye*, *enχ* ‘peace, quiet’; Buriat *eye*, *enχe* ‘peace, quiet’; Kalmyk *eyə*, *eŋkə* ‘peace, quiet’; Ordos *ẹye*, *eŋχe* ‘peace, quiet’. Proto-Turkic *Enč- ‘tranquil, at peace’ > Old Turkic (Old Uighur) *enč* ‘tranquil, at peace’, *enčsire-* ‘to be uneasy’; Karakhanide Turkic *enč* ‘tranquil, at peace’, *enčrü-n-* ‘to live in peace’; Oyrot (Mountain Altai) *enčü* ‘tranquil, at peace’, *enčik-* ‘to be accustomed’, *enčik* ‘habit’, *enči-le-* ‘to soothe’; Tatar (dial.) *inčü* ‘peace’; Sary-Uighur *inžek-tïγ* ‘quiet’. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:302—303 *āńe(-č‘V)* ‘to be quiet, to sit’.

Buck 1949:4.61 sleep (vb.; sb.); 12.19 quiet (adj.).

634. Proto-Nostratic root *ʔan^{y}- (~ *ʔən^{y}-):
(vb.) *ʔan^{y}- ‘to draw near to, to approach, to come (close to)’;
(n.) *ʔan^{y}-*a* ‘nearness, proximity’
Derivative:
(particle) *ʔan^{y}-‘to, towards, over, for, against, upon, on’

A. Proto-Afrasian *ʔan- ‘to draw near to, to approach, to come (close to), to reach, to arrive’: Proto-Semitic *ʔan-aw/y- ‘to draw near to, to approach, to come (at the right time)’ > Arabic *ʔanā* ‘to come to maturity, to be nearly ripe; to draw near, to come (esp. time), to approach’, *ʔanan* ‘(span of) time’; Hebrew *ʔānāh* [אָנָה] ‘to be opportune, to meet, to encounter opportunity; to bring about, to cause’, *tōʔănāh* [תּוֹאֲנָה] ‘opportunity’, *taʔănāh* [תַּאֲנָה] ‘occasion; time of copulation, mating time (of animals)’ (a hapax legomenon in the Bible). Perhaps also Akkadian *īnu*, *ēnu*, *īnum*,

ēnum ‘when’, *īnu* ‘at the time of’ (Von Soden 1965—1981.I:382—383 lists *inu*, *enu*). D. Cohen 1970— :25; Murtonen 1989:95; Klein 1987:38 and 688; Zammit 2002:71—82. Egyptian *i̯nỉ*, *i̯ny* ‘to bring, to fetch; to carry off, to bring away; to bring about (an event); to remove (something bad), to overcome (trouble); to reach, to attain (a place)’; Coptic *ine* [ϵⲓⲛϵ] ‘to bring, to bear’. Hannig 1995:74; Faulkner 1962:22; Gardiner 1957:554; Erman—Grapow 1921:14 and 1926—1963.1:90—91; Vycichl 1983:64; Černý 1976:47. Highland East Cushitic: Sidamo *aan-* ‘to follow’. Hudson 1989:348.

B. Dravidian: Tamil *aṇai* ‘to approach, to come near, to touch, to come into contact with, to copulate with’, *aṇmai*, *aṇumai*, *aṇimai* ‘nearness, proximity’, *aṇāvu* (*aṇāvi-*) ‘to approach’, *aṇi* ‘(vb.) to join with (tr.); (adv.) near’, *aṇuku* (*aṇuki-*) ‘to approach’, *aṇṇimai* ‘nearness’, *aṇṇaṇi* ‘in close proximity’; Malayalam *aṇayuka* ‘to approach, to arrive’, *aṇavu* ‘arrival, closeness’, *aṇekka* ‘to bring into contact, to embrace, to hug’, *aṇukuka* ‘to approach’, *aṇaccal* ‘embracing, drawing near’, *aṇṭa* ‘nearness, proximity’, *aṇṭuka*, *aṇṇuka*, *aṇpuka* ‘to approach’; Kota *anḍ-* (*anḍy-*) ‘to be in the same place with, to approach, to be in or move into place, to seize prey’; Kannaḍa *aṇe*, *aṇi* ‘to come near, to come into contact, to touch, to embrace’, *aṇe* ‘approach’, *aṇi* ‘joining, fitness, order’, *aṇḍisu* ‘to go near, to approach, to resort to, to come or go to for protection’, *aṇḍe* ‘nearness, approach, side of anything’; Tuḷu *aṇepuni* ‘to come into contact, to press’; Telugu *aṇṭu* ‘(vb.) to touch; (n.) touch, uncleanness, defilement by touch, impurity, pollution’; Kuṛux *ãr̤snā* ‘to reach, to arrive at, to come, to overtake, to hear about’, *ãr̤staʔānā* ‘to make reach, to deliver, to touch (with the help of some instrument), to overtake’, *ãr̤stārnā* ‘to be brought up in a certain place’; Malto *aṉr̤se* ‘to arrive’, *aṉr̤stre* ‘to cause to arrive, to convey’; Brahui *haninging* ‘to copulate (of human beings)’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:13, no. 120.

C. Proto-Indo-European **ʔen-o-s* (‘span of time’ >) ‘year’: Greek **ἔνος ‘year’ in: ἐνι-αυτός ‘one year old; yearly, annual, year by year; for a year, lasting a year’, ἦνις (acc. pl. ἤνῑς) (lengthened-grade) ‘a year old, yearling’, δί-ενος ‘two years old’, τρί-ενος ‘three years old’, etc. Perhaps also *-n-* (zero-grade) in: Lithuanian *pér-n-ai* ‘last year’; Latvian *pẽr-n-s* ‘in previous years’; Gothic **fair-n-s* ‘in the previous year’; Middle High German (adv.) *ver-n-e* ‘in the previous year’; Old Icelandic *for-n* ‘old, ancient’; Old English *fyr-n* ‘(adj.) former, ancient; (adv.) formerly, of old, long ago, once upon a time’. Semantic development as in Arabic *ʔanan* ‘(span of) time’ cited above. Pokorny 1959:314 **en-* ‘year’; Watkins 1985:17 **en-* ‘year’; Mann 1984—1987:925 **pernoi* (**pern-*) ‘last year, of yore’, **pernos* ‘last year’s, ancient’; Mallory—Adams 1997:654 **h₁en-* ‘year’; Hofmann 1966:83 and 108; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:348—349 **eno-* and I:414; Beekes 2010.I:426; Frisk 1970—1973.I:518 and I:638; Orël 2003:100—101 Proto-Germanic **fernaz* (< **per-* ‘previous’ plus zero-grade of **eno-* ‘year’), 101 **fernjaz*; Feist 1939:140—141 **eno-*;

Lehmann 1986:106—107 **eno-*; De Vries 1977:138; Fraenkel 1962—1965.II:576; Smoczyński 2007.1:451—452; Derksen 2015:352.

D. Proto-Altaic **ānʸu* (‘span of time’ >) ‘moon; (moon cycle), year’: Proto-Tungus **anʸŋa* ‘year’ > Evenki *anŋanī* ‘year’; Lamut / Even *anŋə̣n* ‘year’; Negidal *ańŋanį̄* ‘year’; Manchu *aniya* ‘year’, *aniyadari* ‘every year’, *aniyaŋga* ‘pertaining to a certain year in the twelve year cycle’, *aniyalame* ‘for an entire year, a whole year’; Spoken Manchu (Sibo) *ani* ‘year’; Jurchen *ania* ‘year’; Ulch *ańa(n)* ‘year’; Orok *anańį* ‘year’; Nanay / Gold *ayŋańa*, *ayŋanį* ‘year’; Oroch *anŋańi* ‘year’; Udihe *aŋa(n)* ‘year’; Solon *ańə̂*, *aŋa* ‘year’. (?) Proto-Mongolian **oy(n)* ‘anniversary, year’ > Middle Mongolian *oin* ‘time’; Written Mongolian *oi* ‘full year, anniversary, birthday’; Khalkha *oy* ‘anniversary’; Buriat *oy* ‘anniversary’; Kalmyk *ō̆* ‘year’; Ordos *oo̱n* ‘anniversary, year’. Proto-Turkic **ānʸ(k)* ‘moon, month’ > Old Turkic (Orkhon, Old Uighur) *ay* ‘moon, month’; Karakhanide Turkic *ay* ‘moon, month’; Turkish *ay* ‘moon, month; crescent’; Gagauz *ay* ‘moon, month’; Azerbaijani *ay* ‘moon, month’; Turkmenian *āy* ‘moon, month’; Uzbek *ɔy* ‘moon, month’; Uighur *ay* ‘moon, month’; Karaim *ay* ‘moon, month’; Tatar *ay* ‘moon, month’; Bashkir *ay* ‘moon, month’; Kirghiz *ay* ‘moon, month’; Kazakh *ay* ‘moon, month’; Noghay *ay* ‘moon, month’; Oyrot (Mountain Altai) *ay* ‘moon, month’; Tuva *ay* ‘moon, month’; Chuvash *oyъχ* ‘moon, month’; Yakut *ïy* ‘moon, month’. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:303 **āńu* ‘moon; (moon cycle), year’. Semantic development as in Arabic *ʔanan* ‘(span of) time’ cited above.

Buck 1949:10.61 carry (bear); 10.62 bring; 14.73 year. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:561—562, no. 424.

635. Proto-Nostratic (particle) **ʔanʸ-*‘to, towards, over, for, against, upon, on’:
Derivative of:
(vb.) **ʔanʸ-* ‘to draw near to, to approach, to come (close to)’;
(n.) **ʔanʸ-a* ‘nearness, proximity’

A. Proto-Afrasian **ʔan-* ‘to, towards, over, for, against, upon, on’: Semitic: Akkadian *ana* ‘to, towards, over, for, against, upon, on’. Von Soden 1965—1981.I:47—48; D. Cohen 1970— :24. Highland East Cushitic: Sidamo *aaná* ‘on (top of)’, *aana* ‘over, above’. Hudson 1989:348.

B. Proto-Indo-European **ʔan-* ‘to, towards, over, for, against, upon, on’: Sanskrit *ánu* ‘with, after, along, alongside, lengthwise, near to, under, subordinate to’; Avestan *ana* ‘along, on’, *anu* ‘toward, along’; Old Persian *anuv* (that is, *anu*) ‘along, according to’; Greek ἄνα, ἀνά (with dative) ‘on, upon’, (with accusative) ‘up, from bottom to top, up along’, (in compositions) ‘up to, upwards, up’; Latin *an-* ‘on, to’ as in (inf.) *an-hēlāre* ‘to draw a heavy breath, to puff, to pant’; Gothic *ana* ‘in, on, upon, at, over, to, into, against’; Old Icelandic *á* ‘on, upon, in’; Old English *an*, *an-*, *on*, *on-* ‘in, on, into, on to, among’; Old Frisian *an*, *ana* ‘at, on, over’; Old

Saxon *an*, *ana* ‘at, on, over’; Old High German *an*, *ana* ‘at, on, over’ (New High German *an*); Lithuanian (prep. with gen.) *nuõ* ‘from, away from; since’. Pokorny 1959:39—40 **an*, **anu*, **anō*, **nō* ‘over there, along’; Walde 1927—1932.I:58—59 **an*, **anō*, **nō*; Mann 1984—1987:21 **ana* (**ənə*) ‘on, upon’, 27 **anō* (**ənō*) ‘upon, above’, 257 **ən-*, **ənə*, 258 **ənō*, **ənōi̯* ‘upon; above, downward’; Watkins 1985:2 **an* and 2000:3 **an* ‘on’ (extended form **ana*); Mallory—Adams 1997:612 **h$_a$en-h$_a$e* ‘up (onto), upwards, along’, **h$_a$en-u* ‘up (onto), upwards, along’; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.I:34; Boisacq 1950:59 **anō*; Frisk 1970—1973.I:100—101; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:82; Beekes 2010.I:97 **h$_2$en-*; Hofmann 1966:17; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:43—44 **ana*, **anō*, **anē*; Ernout—Meillet 1979:30; Orël 2003:17 Proto-Germanic **ana(i)*; Kroonen 2013:26 Proto-Germanic **ana* ‘on(to), to, by’; Feist 1939:41; Lehmann 1986:30 **an*, **anu*; De Vries 1977:1; Onions 1966:627; Klein 1971:513 **anō*; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:20 **ana*; Kluge—Seebold 1989:27 **ana*; Boutkan—Siebinga 2005:21 Proto-Frisian **ana*; Smoczyński 2007.1:430; Fraenkel 1962—1965.I:511; Derksen 2015:338.

Sumerian *en* ‘as far as, (up) to, with, together with, in addition to, besides, including’, *en(-na)*, *en-šà* ‘as far as, (up) to’, *en-na* ‘to, towards, near, in addition to, besides, moreover’.

Bomhard—Kerns 1994:562—563, no. 425.

636. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **ʔan^{y}a* ‘mother, aunt’ (nursery word):
Note also:
(n.) **ʔen^{y}a* ‘mother, elder sister’

A. Dravidian: Tamil *aññai* ‘mother’, *a<u>nn</u>ai*, *ta<u>nn</u>ai* ‘mother, elder sister’, *emm-a<u>n</u>ai* ‘our mother’, *tamm-a<u>n</u>ai* ‘mother’; Malayalam *anna* ‘mother’; Parji *aññа* ‘father’s sister’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:7, no. 58. Dravidian loans in Indo-Aryan: cf. Prakrit *aṇṇī-* ‘father’s sister’.
B. [Proto-Indo-European **ʔan(n)o-s*, **ʔan(n)i-s*, **ʔan(n)a* ‘mother’: Hittite (nom. sg.) *an-na-aš* ‘mother’; Palaic (nom. sg.) *an-na-aš* ‘mother’; Luwian (nom. sg.) *an-ni-iš*, *a-an-ni-iš* ‘mother’; Lycian (nom. sg.) *ẽni* ‘mother’; Lydian (nom. sg.) *ẽnaś* ‘mother’; Latin *anna* ‘foster-mother’; (?) Greek (Hesychius) ἀννίς· ‘grandmother’. Pokorny 1959:36—37 (nursery word) **an-* ‘old woman, ancestor’; Walde 1927—1932.I:55—56 **an-*; Tischler 1977— .1:24—25; Puhvel 1984— .1/2:55—57; Kloekhorst 2008b:174; Sturtevant 1933:87, §73; 132, §129; 178—179, §293; Mallory—Adams 1997:385—386 **h$_4$en-* (or **an-*) ‘(old) woman, mother’; Hoffmann 1966:19; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:91; Frisk 1970—1973.I:112; Beekes 2010.I:107 **h$_2$en-*; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:50.] Note: The Indo-European forms belong either here or with Proto-Nostratic **ʔaŋ(ŋ)a* ‘woman, female, female relative’.

C. Proto-Uralic **an^{y}i* ‘sister-in-law’: Hungarian *ángy* ‘the wife of an elder brother or another older relative’, (?) *anya* ‘mother’; Lapp / Saami (Kola) *vyõnnje/vyõnje-* ‘the wife of an elder brother’; (?) Zyrian / Komi *õńa* ‘sister-in-law’; Vogul / Mansi *ååńyʔ/ååńgə-* ‘the wife of an older relative’; Ostyak / Xanty *ăńəgə* ‘the wife of an elder brother or uncle; stepmother; aunt’; Yurak Samoyed / Nenets *nejea* ‘the mother’s sister’; Selkup Samoyed *oońa* ‘aunt’. Collinder 1955:3, 1960:405 **ańa*, and 1977:25; Rédei 1986—1988:10—11 **ańa*; Décsy 1990:98 **aŋja* ‘mother, aunt’; Aikio 2020:18—19 **ańi* ‘sister-in-law’; Sammallahti 1988:542 Proto-Finno-Ugrian **åńå* ‘sister-in-law’; Janhunen 1977b:100 **ne*.

D. Proto-Eskimo **a(a)na* ‘grandmother, mother’ (expressive gemination of the initial vowel): Alutiiq Alaskan Yupik *aana* ‘mother’; Central Alaskan Yupik *aana* ‘mother’; Naukan Siberian Yupik *aana* ‘mother’; Central Siberian Yupik *naa* ‘mother’; Sirenik *nana* ‘mother’; Seward Peninsula Inuit *aana* ‘grandmother’; North Alaskan Inuit *aana* ‘grandmother’; Western Canadian Inuit (Siglit) *aana* ‘grandmother’; Eastern Canadian Inuit *aana* ‘paternal grandmother, paternal great aunt’; Greenlandic Inuit *aanak*, *aanaq* ‘grandmother’. Fortescue—Jacobson—Kaplan 1994:25. Aleut *ana-X* ‘mother’. Proto-Eskimo **ana(a)na* (probably a reduplication of **a(a)na*) ‘older female relative’ > Alutiiq Alaskan Yupik *anaana(k)*, *anaanaq* ‘maternal aunt’; Central Alaskan Yupik *anaana* ‘maternal aunt, stepmother’; Naukan Siberian Yupik *anaana* ‘maternal aunt’; Central Siberian Yupik *anaana* ‘maternal aunt’; Sirenik *anána* ‘maternal aunt’; Western Canadian Inuit (Siglit) *anaanak* ‘grandmother’; Eastern Canadian Inuit *anaana* ‘mother’; Greenlandic Inuit *anaana* ‘mother’. Fortescue—Jacobson—Kaplan 1994:26.

Caldwell 1913:613; Bomhard—Kerns 1994:584, no. 454; Hakola 2000:21, no. 30; Fortescue 1998:152.

637. Proto-Nostratic root **ʔaŋ-* (~ **ʔəŋ-*):
(vb.) **ʔaŋ-* ‘to divide, to separate’;
(n.) **ʔaŋ-a* ‘separation, difference’; (adj.) ‘separate, different’

A. Afrasian: Highland East Cushitic: Hadiyya *annann ih-* ‘to be different’, *annanna* ‘different’, *annann-is-* ‘to differentiate, to separate (grain)’; Kambata *annann-* ‘to be different’, *annanna ass-* ‘to differentiate, to separate (grain)’, *annannooma-ta* ‘different’. Hudson 1989:49, 269, and 307. Cushitic (Kambata) loans in Gurage (Endegeñ) *äññä*, *ʔäññä*, *äññäʔar*, (Ennemor) *eña*, *eñaʔar* ‘other, another, different, various’. Leslau 1979:79.

B. Proto-Indo-European **ʔan-* ‘separate, different’ in: **ʔan-yo-s* ‘other, different’, **ʔan-t^{h}ero-s* ‘different’: Sanskrit *anyá-ḥ* ‘other, different’, *ántara-ḥ* ‘different’; Avestan *anyō* ‘another, else’; Old Persian *aniya-* ‘the one or the other (of two), other (of any number), the rest of’; Gothic *anþar* ‘other, second’, (adv.) *anþar-leikō* ‘otherwise’, **anþar-leiks* (only *anþar-*

leikei is attested) ‘diversity’; Old Icelandic *annarr* ‘one of the two, the one (of two); second; the next following; some other; other, different’; Faroese *annar* ‘other’; Swedish *annan* ‘other’; Danish *anden* ‘other’; Old English *ōþer* ‘one of two; second; other’, *ōþer-līce* ‘otherwise’; Old Frisian *ōther* ‘other; second’; Old Saxon *ōđar* ‘other; second’, *ōđar-līk* ‘otherwise’; Dutch *ander* ‘other’; Old High German *andar* ‘other; second’ (New High German *ander* ‘other; next, following, second’); Lithuanian *añtras* ‘other, second’; Latvian *ùotrs* ‘other, second’; Old Prussian *anters*, *antars* ‘other, second’. Pokorny 1959:37—38 **an-* demonstrative particle: ‘other(side), there’, **anḭos* ‘other’, **anteros* ‘other’; Walde 1927—1932.I:56 **an* and I:67; Mann 1984—1987:25 **anḭos* ‘yon, that; other’, 27 **anteros* ‘second, other’; Watkins 1985:2 **an* demonstrative particle; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.I:35 and I:37; Mallory—Adams 1997:411 **h₁ónteros* ‘other’; Fraenkel 1962—1965.I:12; Smoczyński 2007.1:18 **h₂én-tero-*; Kroonen 2013:30 Proto-Germanic **anþara-* ‘the other (of two), the second’; Orël 2003:21 Proto-Germanic **anþeraz*; Feist 1939:53; Lehmann 1986:39—40 **anter-o-*, **an-yo-*; De Vries 1977:10; Falk—Torp 1903—1906.I:20 **ántero-*; Onions 1966:635 Common Germanic **anþeraz*; Klein 1971:522; Boutkan—Siebinga 2005:300; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:21 **antero-*; Kluge—Seebold 1989:29 **antero-*.

C. Proto-Altaic **aŋV* ‘separate, different’: Proto-Tungus **aŋa-* ‘foreigner, orphan’ > Evenki *aŋnakī* ‘foreigner’, *aŋaǯakān* ‘orphan’; Lamut / Even *aŋъǯa* ‘orphan’; Negidal *aŋnaχī* ‘foreigner’, *aŋaǯaχān* ‘orphan’; Manchu *anaqu* (*ǯuy*) ‘orphan’; Ulch *aŋaǯa*, *aŋańị* ‘orphan’; Orok *aŋada* ‘orphan’; Nanay / Gold *aŋǯinị* ‘foreigner’, *aŋɢaǯã* ‘orphan’; Oroch *aŋnaińi* ‘foreigner’, *aŋaǯa* ‘orphan’; Udihe *aŋnaχi* ‘foreigner’, *aŋaǯa* ‘orphan’; Solon *aŋaǯĩ* ‘orphan’. Proto-Mongolian **aŋgi-* ‘apart, separately; class, group’ > Written Mongolian *aŋgida* (adv. and adj.) ‘separately; especially; apart from; except; different, another’, *aŋgi* ‘class, group; part, section’, *aŋgila-* ‘to divide, to separate, to segregate, to discriminate; to classify, to subdivide’; Khalkha *angid* ‘apart, separately’, *angi* ‘class, group’; Buriat *angil-* ‘to be separated’, *aŋgi-* ‘class, group’; Kalmyk *äŋgi-* ‘class, group’; Ordos *aŋgi* ‘piece, part’; Dagur *aŋg(i)* ‘class, group’. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:307 **aŋV* ‘separate, different’.

Buck 1949:2.85 orphan. Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 807, **HanV̄* ‘other’.

638. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **ʔaŋ(ŋ)a* ‘(older) female relative’ (nursery word):

A. Afrasian: Proto-Southern Cushitic **ʔaŋ-* ‘father’s sister’ > Ma’a *engá* ‘father’s sister’; Dahalo *ʔànno* ‘father’s sister’. Ehret 1980:288.

B. Dravidian: Kannaḍa *aṇṇu* ‘a woman’; Telugu *annu* ‘a woman’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:14, no. 132.

C. [Proto-Indo-European **ʔan(n)o-s*, **ʔan(n)i-s*, **ʔan(n)a* ‘mother’: Hittite (nom. sg.) *an-na-aš* ‘mother’; Palaic (nom. sg.) *an-na-aš* ‘mother’; Luwian

(nom. sg.) *an-ni-iš*, *a-an-ni-iš* ‘mother’; Lycian (nom. sg.) *ẽni* ‘mother’; Lydian (nom. sg.) *ẽnaś* ‘mother’; Latin *anna* ‘foster-mother’; (?) Greek (Hesychius) ἀννίς· ‘grandmother’. Pokorny 1959:36—37 (nursery word) **an-* ‘old woman, ancestor’; Walde 1927—1932.I:55—56 **an-*; Tischler 1977— .1:24—25; Puhvel 1984— .1/2:55—57; Kloekhorst 2008b:174; Sturtevant 1933:87, §73; 132, §129; 178—179, §293; Mallory—Adams 1997:385—386 **h₄en-* (or **an-*) ‘(old) woman, mother’; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:91; Frisk 1970—1973.I:112; Hoffmann 1966:19; Beekes 2010.I:107 **h₂en-*; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:50.] Note: The Indo-European forms belong either here or with Proto-Nostratic **ʔanʸa* ‘mother, aunt’.

Buck 1949:2.52 aunt.

639. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **ʔaŋ(ŋ)a* ‘(older) male relative’ (nursery word):

A. Afrasian: Proto-Highland East Cushitic **anna* ‘father’ > Burji *an(n)-áa* ‘father, husband, owner’, *annaa* (pl. *annaani*) ‘father, husband, owner (of)’; Gedeo / Darasa *anna* ‘father, uncle, paternal owner (of)’; Hadiyya *anna* (pl. *annoʔo*) ‘father’; Kambata *anna* ‘father’; Sidamo *anna* ‘father, owner (of)’. Sasse 1982:26; Hudson 1989:62. Central Cushitic: Kemant *an* ‘grandfather’; Quara *an* ‘grandfather’; Bilin *ʔan* (pl. *ʔánen*) ‘grandfather’. Appleyard 2006:77; Reinisch 1887:32.

B. Dravidian: Tamil *aṉṉaṉ*, *aṉṉācci* ‘elder brother’, *aṉṉār* ‘elder brother’, *aṉṉāttai* ‘elder brother (sometimes in contempt)’, *aṉṉāṟvi* ‘elder brother or cousin’, *aṉṉā* ‘elder brother, father’, *aṉṉi* ‘elder brother’s wife’; Toda *oṇ*, *oṇoṇ* ‘elder brother or male parallel cousin’; Malayalam *aṉṉan*, *aṉṉācci* ‘elder brother’; Kota *aṇ* ‘elder brother or male parallel cousin’; Kannaḍa *aṉṉa*, *aṇa* ‘elder brother; respectful mode of addressing boys’, *aṉṉi* ‘affectionate mode of addressing females’; Koḍagu *aṉṉë* ‘elder brother or male parallel cousin’; Tuḷu *aṉṉe* ‘elder brother, maternal uncle, an elderly man’; Telugu *anna* ‘elder brother; termination of names of men’; Kolami *annāk* ‘elder brother’; Gondi *tannāl* ‘elder brother’; Koṇḍa *ana* ‘father’s father’, *annasi* ‘elder brother (with reference to 3rd person)’. Krishnamurti 2003:10 **aṉṉa-* ‘elder brother’; Burrow—Emeneau 1984:14, no. 131.

C. Proto-Eskimo **aŋayuɣ* ‘elder sibling of the same sex’: Alutiiq Alaskan Yupik *aŋa<y>uk* ‘partner, buddy’; Central Alaskan Yupik (Bristol Bay) *aŋayuk* ‘partner’; Seward Peninsula Inuit *aŋayuk* ‘older brother; (Qawiaraq) elder sibling of the same sex’; North Alaskan Inuit (Nunamiut) *aŋayuk* ‘elder sibling of the same sex’; Western Canadian Inuit *aŋayuk* ‘(Copper) elder sibling of the same sex; (Siglit) older brother of boy’; Eastern Canadian Inuit *aŋayuk* ‘elder sibling of the same sex’; Greenlandic Inuit *aŋayu(q)*, (East Greenlandic) *aŋiiq* ‘elder sibling of the same sex’. Fortescue—Jacobson—Kaplan 1994:32.

Buck 1949:2.31ff. words for family relationship.

640. Proto-Nostratic root *$ʔap^h$- (~ *$ʔəp^h$-):
(vb.) *$ʔap^h$- ‘to be more, over, above, extra, superior; to surpass’;
(n.) *$ʔap^h$-*a* ‘that which is more, over, above, extra, superior’; (adj.) ‘many, more, extra, additional, numerous, teeming, superior’
(particle) *$ʔap^h$- ‘also, moreover, besides’

Note: The *CVC*- patterning shows that this stem could not originally have been a particle, though this is how it is preserved in Semitic and the other Nostratic daughter languages. Though the original meaning is uncertain, we may speculate that it may have been something like ‘(vb.) to be more, over, above, extra, superior; to surpass; (n.) that which is more, over, above, extra, superior; (adj.) many, more, extra, additional, numerous, teeming, superior’.

A. Afrasian: Proto-Semitic *ʔ*apa* ‘also, and also’ > Ugaritic *ȧp* ‘also’; Hebrew *ʔaφ* [אַף] ‘also, and also, and even’; Syriac *ʔāφ* ‘also’; Phoenician *ʔp* ‘also, even’; Palmyrene *ʔp* ‘also, even’; Arabic *fa* ‘then, and then, and so thus, thence’; Sabaean *f*- ‘and, so’. Klein 1987:45; Tomback 1978:27; Zammit 2002:314. The original meaning may be preserved in Akkadian (adj. f. pl.) *apātu* (*abātu*, *epātu*) (Old Babylonian *a/epiātum*) ‘numerous, teeming (as epithet of human beings)’. Berber: Tuareg *uf* ‘to be better, to be superior’, *suf* ‘to prefer’, *tūfūt* ‘superiority in goodness’; Ghadames *sif* ‘to prefer, to choose’; Mzab *if* ‘to surpass, to exceed, to be better’; Wargla *if* ‘to surpass, to be better than’, *tifət* ‘superiority, preeminence’; Tamazight *af*, *if* ‘to surpass, to be better than’; Tashelhiyt / Shilha *af* ‘to surpass, to be better’; Riff *af* ‘to surpass, to be better’; Kabyle *if* ‘to surpass, to be better than’; Chaouia *af* ‘to be better (than)’; Zenaga *uft* ‘to be better’.
B. Proto-Indo-European *$ʔep^hi$/*$ʔop^hi$ (zero-grade form: *p^hi) ‘and, also, and also, besides, moreover’: Sanskrit *ápi* ‘and, also, moreover, besides, upon’; Avestan *aipi* ‘also, too’; Old Persian *apiy* ‘thereto, very’; Armenian *ew* ‘and, also’; Greek ἔπι, ἐπί ‘upon, besides’. Pokorny 1959:323—324 **epi*, **opi*, **pi* ‘near to’; Walde 1927—1932.I:122—123 **epi*, **opi*, **pi*; Mann 1984—1987:246—247 **epi* (**pi*) ‘on, by, at, near’, 880 **op*-, **opi* ‘back, off, out, round, at’; Watkins 1985:17 **epi* (also **opi*) and 2000:23 **epi* (also **opi*) ‘near, at, against’ (zero-grade form **pi*); Mallory—Adams 1997:391 *$*h_1epi$ ~ *$*h_1opi$ ‘near, on’; Boisacq 1950:264—265 **epi*, **opi*; Hofmann 1966:87 **epi*, **opi*; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:358; Frisk 1970—1973.I:535 **épi*; Beekes 2010.I:440 *$*h_1epi$; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.I:39.
C. Altaic: Proto-Turkic **Ap* ~ **Ep* emphatic strengthening particle > Karakhanide Turkic *ap*, *ep* emphatic strengthening particle; Turkish *ap* emphatic strengthening particle, *apaçık* ‘wide open; very evident or clear’; Azerbaijani *apʒïʁ* ‘however’; Kirghiz *apey* an emphatic interjection. [Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:514.]

D. (?) Etruscan *epl*, *pi*, *pul* ‘in, to, up to, until’.

Bomhard—Kerns 1994:568—569, no. 435.

641. Proto-Nostratic root **ʔar-* (~ **ʔər-*):
(vb.) **ʔar-* ‘to cut (off, apart), to sever, to separate, to part asunder’;
(n.) **ʔar-a* ‘half, side, part’; (adj.) ‘severed, separated, parted, disjoined’

A. Dravidian: Tamil *ari* ‘to cut off, to nip off’, *arakka* (*arakki-*) ‘to clip off, to prune, to cut, to sever’; Malayalam *ariyuka* ‘to reap corn, to cut grass, to cut very small, to hack to pieces’, *arakkuka* ‘to cut, to chip off, to sever’, *araṅṅuka* ‘to cut or chop off (the branches of trees or plants)’; Toda *ark-* (*arky-*) ‘to chip, to cut square (end of plank or post)’; Kannaḍa *ari* (*arid-*) ‘to cut or lop off’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:20, no. 212. Tamil *arai* ‘half’; Malayalam *ara* ‘half’; Kota *ar* ‘half’; Toda *ar* ‘half’; Kannaḍa *ara* ‘half, a little’, *arebar* ‘a few’; Telugu *ara* ‘half, a moiety, incomplete, not full’, *a̲ra* ‘half, a moiety’; Tuḷu *are* ‘half’; Naiki (of Chanda) *ar* ‘half’ in *ar sōla* ‘a measure’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:21—22, no. 229. Tamil *a̲ru* (*a̲ruv-*, *a̲rr-*/[mod.] *a̲runt-*) ‘to be severed, to break (as a rope), to cease, to become extinct, to perish, to be decided, to be settled’, *a̲ru* (*-pp-*, *-tt-*) ‘to break off, to cut, to part asunder, to sever, to cleave, to exterminate, to determine, to resolve’; Malayalam *a̲ruka* ‘to be severed, to be cut off, to cease’, *a̲rukka* ‘to sever, to cut off, to decide’; Kota *arv-* (*art-*) ‘to cut (meat) into small pieces for broth’; Toda *a̲rṿ-* (*a̲rt-*) ‘to cut, to reap’; Kannaḍa *a̲ru* ‘to be severed or disjoined, to be cut asunder, to cease’, *a̲rake* ‘fragment, piece’; Koḍagu *ara-* (*arap-*, *arat-*) ‘to cut’; Telugu *a̲ru* ‘to be destroyed, to decrease’; Kolami *ark-* (*arakt-*) ‘to harvest grain by cutting’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:29—30, no. 315.

B. Proto-Indo-European **ʔer-dʰ-*/**ʔor-dʰ-*/**ʔr̥-dʰ-* ‘to split, to divide, to separate’: Avestan *arəδō* ‘side’; Sanskrit *ŕdhak* (also *ṛdhák*) ‘separately, aside, apart’, *árdha-ḥ* ‘side, part’, *ardhá-ḥ* ‘half’; Lithuanian *ardaũ*, *ardýti* ‘to rip up, to rip open, to pull down, to dismantle, to disassemble, to take to pieces, to disjoint; to destroy, to demolish, to break’, *iriù*, *ìrti* ‘to rip apart; to disintegrate’. Pokorny 1959:333 **er-dh-*; Walde 1927—1932.I:143 **er-dh-*; Mann 1984—1987:887 **ordhos* ‘side, part, half’; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.I:51 and I:124; Smoczyński 2007.1:22 and 1:223—224.

Buck 1949:9.22 cut (vb.); 12.23 separate (vb.); 13.24 half. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:581—582, no. 451; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 67, **ʔerV* ‘to divide; one share, one, single’.

642. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **ʔar-a* ‘male, man, husband’:

A. Proto-Afrasian **ʔar-* ‘husband’: Proto-Highland East Cushitic **aroʔo* ‘husband’ > Sidamo *aroo*, *aró* ‘husband’; Gedeo / Darasa *aroʾo* ‘husband’;

Hadiyya *aroʾo* ‘husband’. Hudson 1989:82. Central Cushitic: Awngi / Awiya (with prefix *ŋ-*) *ŋ-árá* ‘husband’. Appleyard 2006:86. Omotic: Anfilla *aroo* ‘husband’ (according to Orël—Stolbova, this may be a loan from Sidamo). Orël—Stolbova 1995:14, no. 49, **ʔar-* ‘husband’.

B. Elamo-Dravidian: Royal Achaemenid Elamite *ir-šá-na*, *ir-šá-an-na* ‘big, large, great’, *ir-šá-ra* ‘leader, chief’; Middle Elamite *ri-ša-ar*, *ri-ša-ar-ra*, *ri-šá-ri* ‘the big one, great person’, Neo-Elamite *ri-šá-ra* ‘the big one, great person’. The *ir-* ~ *ri-* variation may indicate a syllabic *r* [r̥].

C. Proto-Indo-European **ʔer-s-/*ʔr̥-s-* ‘male, man’: Greek (Homeric) ἄρσην, (Attic) ἄρρην, (Ionic, Aeolian, Lesbian, Cretan, etc.) ἔρσην, Laconian ἄρσης ‘male; masculine, strong’; Sanskrit *ṛṣa-bhá-ḥ* ‘bull’; Avestan *aršan-* ‘man; manly’; Old Persian *aršan-*, *arša-* ‘male, hero, bull’; Armenian *arn* ‘male sheep’. Pokorny 1959:336 **ers-*, **r̥s-*; **r̥sen* ‘manly, virile’; Walde 1927—1932.I:149—150; Mann 1984—1987:36 **arsi̯ēn* (**arsi̯ən*, **r̥si̯ēn*, **r̥si̯ən*) ‘male, manly’; Mallory—Adams 1997:363 **r̥sḗn* ‘male (as opposed to female)’; Benveniste 1969.I:21—25 and 1973:19—22; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.I:125; Buck 1955:45; Kent 1953:171; Boisacq 1950:83; Frisk 1970—1973.I:152—153; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:116; Hofmann 1966:25; Beekes 2010.I:141 **uers-n-*; Godel 1975:98, §5.144.

D. (?) Uralic: Proto-Ugric **arɜ* (**arwa*) ‘relative on the mother’s side; mother’s younger brother’ > Old Hungarian *ara* ‘brother’ (Modern Hungarian ‘fiancée’); Ostyak / Xanty (Kazym) *wǫrtĭ* ‘mother’s younger brother; younger brother’s sons’, (Obdorsk) *orti* ‘mother’s brother’; Vogul / Mansi (Middle Lozva) *oår*, (Northern) *å̈r* ‘relative on the mother’s side’. Rédei 1986—1988:832—833 **arɜ* (**arwa*).

E. Proto-Altaic **āri* (~ **ēra*) ‘male, man, husband’: Proto-Mongolian **ere* ‘man, male’ > Written Mongolian *ere* ‘man, male, husband; manly, daring, bold, brave’; Khalkha *er* ‘man’; Buriat *ere* ‘man’; Kalmyk *erə* ‘man’; Ordos *ere* ‘man’; Moghol *errä* ‘man’; Dagur *er*, *ergun*, *ere* ‘man’; Monguor *rē* ‘non-castrated male of certain animals; masculine’. Proto-Turkic **ēr* ‘man’ > Old Turkic (Orkhon, Old Uighur) *er* ‘man’; Turkish *er* ‘man, male, husband’; Karakhanide Turkic *er* ‘man’; Azerbaijani *är* ‘husband’; Turkmenian *ā̈r* ‘man’; Uighur *är* ‘man’; Karaim *er* ‘man’; Tatar *ir* ‘man’; Bashkir *ir* ‘man’; Sary-Uighur *jer* ‘man’; Oyrot (Mountain Altai) *er* ‘man’; Tuva *er* ‘man’; Chuvash *ar* ‘man’; Yakut *er* ‘man’; Dolgan *er* ‘man’. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:312 **āri* (~ **ēra*) ‘man’.

Buck 1949:2.23 male; 2.31 husband.

643. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **ʔar-a* ‘associated or related person or thing; associate, companion, friend; kinsman, relative’; (adj.) ‘associated, related’:

A. Proto-Afrasian **ʔar-* ‘(n.) associated or related person or thing; associate, companion, friend; kinsman; (adj.) associated, related’: Semitic: Ugaritic *ảry* ‘kinsman’. D. Cohen 1970— :33. Egyptian *i̯ry*, *i̯rỉ* ‘one who belongs

to someone or something, one who is in charge, keeper; friend, associate, companion'; Coptic (Bohairic) *ēr* [ⲏⲣ] 'friend'. Hannig 1995:82; Faulkner 1962:25; Erman—Grapow 1921:15 and 1926—1963.1:105; Gardiner 1957:61, §79, *i̯ry* 'related to, connected with', from the preposition *r* (*i̯r*) 'to', and 554; Vycichl 1983:53—54; Černý 1976:42. Proto-Southern Cushitic **ʔar-* 'kind, associated or related thing' > Iraqw *ado* 'way, manner'; Asa *ʔarato* 'twins'; Ma'a *mʔáro* 'neighbor; kind, associated or related thing'. Ehret 1980:286.

B. Proto-Indo-European **ʔer-/*ʔor-/*ʔr̥-* 'associated, related': Sanskrit *arí-ḥ* 'devoted, trustworthy, loyal', *aryamā́* 'companion, host; the god of hospitality'; Avestan *airyaman-* 'friend, guest'; Hittite (nom. sg.) *araš* 'member of one's own social group, peer, comrade, partner, fellow, friend'. Puhvel 1984— .1/2:116—121 **áro-*; Mallory—Adams 1997:213 **h₄erós* ~ **h₄eri̯os* 'member of one's own (ethnic) group, peer, freeman'; Kloekhorst 2008b:198—199.

Buck 1949:19.51 friend; 19.53 companion. Dolgopolsky 1998:95, no. 120, **ʔarV-* 'member of the clan' and 2008, no. 66, **ʔaRV* 'member of one's clan/family'; Bomhard—Kerns 1994:565, no. 429.

644. Proto-Nostratic root **ʔar-* (~ **ʔər-*) (used as the base for the designation of various horned animals):
(n.) **ʔar-a* 'ram, goat, mountain-goat, chamois, ibex, gazelle, etc.'

A. Proto-Afrasian **ʔar-* used as the base for the designation of various horned animals: Proto-Semitic **ʔar-w/y-* originally used as the designation of various horned animals: 'chamois, gazelle, mountain goat'; later used as the designation for any wild animal > Akkadian *arwū* (also *armū*) 'gazelle', *erū*, *arū* 'eagle'; Amorite *ʔarwiyum* 'gazelle'; Hebrew *ʔărī* [אֲרִי], *ʔaryēh* [אַרְיֵה] 'lion'; Syriac *ʔaryā* 'lion'; Arabic *ʔarwā* 'chamois', *ʔurwiyya* 'mountain goat'; Sabaean *ʔry* 'mountain goats'; Geez / Ethiopic *ʔarwe* [አርዌ] 'animal, wild animal, beast, wild beast, reptile'; Tigrinya *ʔarawit*, *ʔarä* 'wild animal'; Tigre *ʔarwē* 'serpent, snake', *ʔərwät* 'female elephant'; Harari *ūri* 'wild animal, beast'. D. Cohen 1970— :32; Murtonen 1989:100—101; Klein 1987:55; Leslau 1963:31 and 1987:40. Berber: Guanche *ara* 'she-goat'. Lowland East Cushitic **ʔar-* 'sheep' > Boni *eriya* 'sheep'; Rendille *ari* 'sheep'. Highland East Cushitic (pl.) **ʔaray-* 'sheep' > Bambala *araay* 'sheep'. Proto-Rift **ʔar-* 'goat' > Iraqw *ari* 'goat'; Alagwa (pl.) *ara* 'goats'; Burunge (pl.) *ara* 'goats'; K'wadza *ali-to* 'goat'. Ehret 1980:297 **aari* 'goat'. Orël—Stolbova 1995:15, no. 50, **ʔar-* 'ram, goat'; Militarëv 2009:101.

B. Proto-Kartvelian **arčkw-* 'chamois': Mingrelian *erckem-*, *erskem-* 'ibex'; Georgian *arčv-* 'chamois'. Note: Svan *jersk'än* 'chamois' is a loan from Mingrelian. Schmidt 1962:93 **arckw-*; Klimov 1964:45 **arčw-* and

1998:3—4 **arčw-* ‘chamois’; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:36 **arčw-*; Fähnrich 2007:38—39 **arčw-*.

C. Proto-Indo-European **ʔer-*/**ʔor-*/**ʔr̥-* used as the base for the designation of various horned animals: ‘ram, goat’: Greek ἔριφος ‘young goat, kid’; Armenian *or-oǰ* ‘lamb’; Latin *ariēs* ‘ram’; Umbrian *erietu* ‘ram’; Old Irish *heirp* ‘she-goat’; Old Prussian *eristian* ‘lamb’; Lithuanian *ėras* ‘lamb’. Pokorny 1959:326 **er-*, **eri-* ‘he-goat’; Walde 1927—1932.I:135—136 **er-*; Watkins 1985:17 **er-* base of designation of various domestic horned animals; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.II:584 **er(i)-* and 1995.I:500 **er(i)-* ‘lamb, ram’; Mallory—Adams 1997:511 **$h_1$er-* ‘lamb, kid’; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:372; Boisacq 1950:281; Frisk 1970—1973.I:560; Hofmann 1966:93 **eri-bhos*, **er-bhos*, **$_e$ri-*; Beekes 2010.I:460; De Vaan 2008:54; Ernout—Meillet 1979:46; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:67 **eri-bho-*, **er-bh-*; **ero-*; Fraenkel 1962—1965.I:121; Smocyński 2007.1:233—234 *jěras*; Derksen 2015:154 **Hieh$_1$-r-*; Wodtko—Irslinger—Schneider 2008: 233—235 **$h_1$er-*, **$h_1$er-i-*.

Buck 1949:3.25 sheep; 3.26 ram; 3.36 goat; 3.37 he-goat; 3.38 kid. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:570—571, no. 437; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 75, **ʔerq[i]* ‘ruminant’.

645. Proto-Nostratic root **ʔas-* (~ **ʔəs-*):
(vb.) **ʔas-* ‘to gather, to collect’;
(n.) **ʔas-a* ‘the act of gathering, collecting’

A. Proto-Afrasian **ʔas-* ‘to gather, to collect’: Proto-Semitic **ʔas-ap-* ‘to gather, to collect’ > Hebrew *ʔāsaφ* [אָסַף] ‘to gather, to collect, to remove; to harvest’, *ʔāsīφ* [אָסִיף] ‘harvest’; Aramaic *ʔəsaφ* ‘to gather, to harvest’; Phoenician *ʔsp* ‘to be gathered in’; Ugaritic *ȧsp* ‘to gather’; Akkadian *esēpu* ‘to gather up, to collect’ (Assyrian *esāpu*); Eblaite *á-si-pù* ‘harvest’. D. Cohen 1970— :27; Murtonen 1989:97; Klein 1971:44. East Chadic **ʔVsup-* ‘to harvest’ > Tumak *sub-* ‘to harvest’. Orël—Stolbova 2000:37, no. 146, **ʔVcup-* ‘to gather, to harvest’.

B. Proto-Indo-European **ʔes-*/**ʔos-* ‘harvest-time’: Gothic *asans* ‘summer (time of harvest)’; Old Icelandic *önn* ‘working season, especially the hay-making season’; Old High German *aran* ‘harvest’ (New High German *Ernte* ‘harvest, crops’); Old Prussian *assanis* ‘autumn’; Old Church Slavic *jesenь* ‘autumn’; Russian *ósen′* [осень] ‘autumn’; Ukrainian *ósin′* ‘autumn’; Belorussian *vósen′* ‘autumn’; Slovak *jeseň* ‘autumn’; Bulgarian *ésen* ‘autumn’. Pokorny 1959:343 **es-en-*, **os-en-* ‘summer, harvest’; Walde 1927—1932.I:161—162 **es-en-*, **os-en-*; Mann 1984—1987:38 **asi̯ō(n)* (**asin-*, **asən-*) ‘harvest-time, autumn’; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.II:691 **(e)s-en-* and 1995.I:596—597 **(e)s-en-* ‘harvest time, summer’; Watkins 1985:17 **esen-* and 2000:24 **es-en-* ‘harvest, fall’ (Germanic **aznō* ‘harvest, work’); Mallory—Adams 1997:504 **$h_1$es-en-* ~ **$h_1$os-en-* ~ *$h_1$os-r̥* ‘autumn’; Orël 2003:31 Proto-Germanic **az(a)niz* ~

asaniz; Kroonen 2013:46 Proto-Germanic **azani-* ‘harvest’; Lehmann 1986:44 **e/os-+-en/r* ‘harvest time, summer’; Feist 1939:58—59; De Vries 1977:687—688 **es-en-*, **os-en-*; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:173; Kluge—Seebold 1989:186 **osōr/-n-*; Derksen 2008:144 Balto-Slavic **es-eni-* and 2015:555—556 **h₁es-en-i-*.

Buck 1949:8.41 crop, harvest. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:559—560, no. 421.

646. Proto-Nostratic root **ʔasʸ-* (~ **ʔəsʸ-*):
(vb.) **ʔasʸ-* ‘to put, to place, to set; to sit, to be seated’;
(n.) **ʔasʸ-a* ‘place, seat’; (adj.) ‘put, placed, set, established’

A. Proto-Afrasian **ʔasʸ-* ‘to put, to place, to set; to sit, to be seated’: Proto-Semitic **ʔasʸ-asʸ-* ‘to set up, to establish’ > Old Akkadian *uššum* ‘foundation’; Hebrew **ʔāšaš* [אָשַׁשׁ] ‘to strengthen, to fortify, to found, to establish’; Post-Biblical Hebrew *məʔušāš* [מְאֻשָּׁשׁ] ‘strong’; Biblical Aramaic (pl. det.) *ʔušayyā* ‘foundations’; Arabic *ʔassa* ‘to found, to establish, to set up, to lay the foundation’, *ʔuss* ‘foundation, basis’; Sabaean *ʔss* ‘base (of a statue or stele)’; Tigre *ʔassärä* ‘to set in order’. D. Cohen 1970— :35—36; Klein 1987:59—60. Egyptian *ỉs-t*, *s-t* ‘seat, throne, place’, *t-ỉs* ‘to sit, to seat oneself’, *t-ỉsʒ* ‘to set, to insert, to inlay’, *ỉsb-t* ‘throne, seat’, (obsolete in Middle Egyptian) *ỉsd* ‘to sit’. Hannig 1995:102, 105, and 918; Faulkner 1962:30 and 206; Rössler 1981:715; Erman—Grapow 1921:19, 150 and 1926—1963.1:132, 4:1—6 *ś·t*, 5:242. East Cushitic: Burji *iss-* ‘to do, to act, to make’; Sidamo *ass-* ‘to do, to make’; Kambata *ass-*, *es-* ‘to so, to make’; Hadiyya *iss-* ‘to do, to make’; Gedeo / Darasa *(h)ass-* ‘to do’; Saho *is-* ~ *iš-* ‘to do, to make’; Boni *as-* ‘to prepare, to make’. Sasse 1982:107; Hudson 1989:51 and 405 Proto-Highland East Cushitic **ass-* ‘to do’.

B. Proto-Indo-European **ʔĕs-*/**ʔŏs-* ‘to put, to place, to set; to sit, to be seated’: Hittite (3rd sg. pres.) *e-eš-zi*, *a-aš-zi* ‘to set, to sit, to beset, to do’; Hieroglyphic Luwian *i-sà-nu-wa/i-* ‘to seat, to cause to sit’, *i-sà-tara/i-tá-* ‘throne’; Greek ἧσται ‘to sit, to be seated’; Sanskrit *ā́ste* ‘to sit, to sit down’; Avestan *āste* ‘to sit’. Rix 1998a:206 **h₁eh₁s-* ‘to sit’; Pokorny 1959:342—343 **ĕs-* ‘to sit’; Walde 1927—1932.II:486 **ēs-*; Mann 1984—1987:249 **ēs-* (variant of root: **es-*); Watkins 2000:24 **ēs-* ‘to sit’ (oldest form **ḷ₁ēs-*); Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.II:928 **es-* and 1995.I:821 **es-* ‘to sit, to be seated’; Mallory—Adams 1997:522 **h₁ēs-* ‘to sit’; Laroche 1960:13, no. 19/II, 153, no. 298, and 153—154, no. 299; Hawkins—Morpurgo-Davies—Neumann 1974:187—188; Werner 1991:35 and 88; Winter 1965b:202 **Ees-*; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.I:84; Boisacq 1950:322 **ēs-*; Beekes 2010.I:518 **h₁eh₁s-*; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:411—412; Hofmann 1966:107; Frisk 1970—1973.I:633—634; Kloekhorst 2008b: 252—255 (reduplicated) **h₁e-h₁s-*; Tischler 1977— .1:110—111; Puhvel 1984— .1/2:291—300.

C. Proto-Uralic *$as^{y}e$- ‘to place, to put, to set’: Finnish *asu*- ‘to reside, to live, to dwell’, *asetta*- ‘to place, to put, to set’, *ase*- ‘to place oneself’, *asema* ‘position, place, station’; Estonian *asu*- ‘to be, to be found, to lie, to dwell’, *asu* ‘place (for rest)’, *asukoht* ‘dwelling-place, residence, abode, habitation, haunt; location, whereabouts; site, seat’, *asula* ‘settlement, populated area, village’, *asukas* ‘inhabitant, denizen’, *asuta*- ‘to set up, to found, to institute, to establish, to constitute’, *asunda*- ‘to settle, to colonize’, *asumaa* ‘colony’, *ase* ‘place, spot, site’, *aseta*- ‘to place, to put, to set, to lay; to arrange’; Mordvin *ezem* ‘place, position; bench fastened to the wall in a Mordvin room’; Yurak Samoyed / Nenets *ŋõõso*-, *ŋäeso*- ‘to stop and put up one’s tent’, *ŋyysy* ‘tent, settlement’. Collinder 1955:4 and 1977:26; Joki 1973:252—253; Rédei 1986—1988:18—19 **aśe*-; Décsy 1990:97 **asja* ‘(to) place’; Aikio 2020:48—49 **ęći*- ‘to set’, **ęći-w*- ‘camp’.

Sumerian *aš-te* ‘seat, stool, throne’, *aš-ti* ‘seat, throne’, *eš-de*, *eš-ki* ‘throne’.

Buck 1949:9.11 do, make; 12.11 place (sb.); 12.12 put (place, set, lay); 12.13 sit. Illič-Svityč 1971—1984.I:268—270, no. 132, **ʔesA* ‘to settle a place, to be at a place’; Hakola 2000:25, no. 47; Bomhard—Kerns 1994:567—568, no. 434; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 84, **ʔ[ä]ś[o]* ‘to stay, to be’ (Illič-Svityč ← ‘to settle’) and no. 85, **ʔisV* (or **ʔiʔsV* ?) ‘to sit’, ‘seat (the part of the body that bears the weight in sitting)’ (→ ‘foundation, basis’).

647. Proto-Nostratic (n.) *$\text{ʔat}^{\text{h}}\text{t}^{\text{h}}\text{a}$ ‘older male relative, father’ (nursery word):

A. Afrasian: Egyptian *ỉt* ‘father’, (f.) *ỉt-t* ‘nurse’; Coptic *yōt* [**ϵιωτ**] ‘father’. Hannig 1995:110; Faulkner 1962:32; Gardiner 1957:555; Erman—Grapow 1921:20 and 1926—1963.1:141; Vycichl 1983:67—68; Černý 1976:49.

B. Proto-Elamo-Dravidian **atta* ‘father’: Middle Elamite *at-ta* ‘father’; Royal Achaemenid Elamite *at-ta* ‘father’. McAlpin 1981:141. Dravidian: Tamil *atta<u>n</u>* ‘father, elder, person of rank or eminence’, (f.) *attai*, *attaicār* ‘father’s sister, mother-in-law’, *attā<u>n</u>* ‘elder sister’s husband; father’s sister’s son, maternal uncle’s son when elder, wife’s brother when elder’; Malayalam *attan* ‘father’, *atta* (f.) ‘mother, mother’s sister’; Kannaḍa (f.) *atte*, *atti* ‘mother-in-law, aunt’; Tuḷu (f.) *attè* ‘mother-in-law’; Gadba (Ollari) (f.) *āta*, (Salur) (f.) *atta* ‘father’s sister’; Gondi (f.) *ātī* ‘father’s sister’; Telugu (f.) *atta* ‘mother-in-law’; Naikṛi (f.) *atiak* ‘father’s sister’; Kuwi (f.) *atta* ‘aunt’, (f.) *atu* ‘grandmother’; Kui (f.) *ata*, *atali* ‘grandmother’. Krishnamurti 2003:10 **atta*- ‘maternal/paternal aunt’; Burrow—Emeneau 1984:15, no. 142.

C. Proto-Indo-European *$\text{ʔat}^{\text{h}}\text{t}^{\text{h}}\text{a}$ ‘father, daddy’: Hittite (nom. sg.) *at-ta-aš* ‘father’; Greek ἄττα ‘daddy’; Latin *atta* ‘father’; Gothic *atta* ‘father’; Old Frisian *aththa* ‘father’; Old High German *atto* ‘father’ (Middle High German *atte*, *ätte* ‘father’); Albanian *atë* ‘father’; Old Church Slavic *отьсь* ‘father’; Russian *otéc* [отец] ‘father’; Sanskrit (f.) *attā* ‘mother’ (**atta*-

'father' is unattested, but note the following: Assamese *ātā* form of address to a respectable older man; Gujarati *ātāji* 'grandfather'; Sinhalese *ātā* 'grandfather'; Sindhi *ado* 'brother'; Lahndi *addā* 'father'). Pokorny 1959:71 **ăt̆os*, **atta* 'daddy'; Walde 1927—1932.I:44 **atta*; Mann 1984—1987:39 **atā* (**attā*, *-os*, *-i̯os*) 'daddy'; Watkins 1985:4 **atto-* and 2000:6 **atto-* 'father' (nursery word); Mallory—Adams 1997:195 **at-* (or **h$_a$et-* ~ **h$_1$at-*) 'father'; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.I:27—28; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:135; Boisacq 1950:98; Frisk 1970—1973.I:182; Hofmann 1966:27; Beekes 2010.I:165 **atta*; Ernout—Meillet 1979:54; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:77; De Vaan 2008:60; Huld 1984:39; Orël 1998:11 and 2003:27 Proto-Germanic **attōn*; Kroonen 2013:39 Proto-Germanic **attan-* 'father'; Feist 1939:62; Lehmann 1986:46; Derksen 2008:383; Kloekhorst 2008b:225—226; Puhvel 1984— .1/2:224—226.

D. Proto-Altaic **ĕt^{h}e* (with **ĕ-* for expected **ă-*) 'elder male relative': Proto-Tungus **(χ)eti-* 'old man; father-in-law' > Evenki *eti-rkēn* 'old man', *etkī* 'father-in-law'; Lamut / Even *eti-kēn* 'old man', *etki* 'father-in-law'; Negidal *eti-χen* 'old man', *etkī* 'father-in-law'; Solon *etikkẽ̄* 'old man'. Proto-Mongolian **ečige* (< **etike*) 'father' > Written Mongolian *ečige* 'father'; Khalkha *eceg* 'father'; Buriat *esege* 'father'; Kalmyk *ecəgə* 'father'; Ordos *ečige* 'father'; Dagur *ečig*, *ecihe* 'father'. Poppe 1955:57. Proto-Turkic **Ata*/**Ete* 'father, uncle, ancestor' > Old Turkic (Old Uighur) *ata* 'father'; Karakhanide Turkic *ata*, *ataqï* 'father'; Turkish *ata* 'father, ancestor'; Azerbaijani *ata* 'father'; Turkmenian *ata* 'father's father'; Uzbek *ɔta* 'father'; Uighur *ata* 'father, ancestor'; Karaim *ata* 'ancestor'; Tatar *ata*, *eti* 'father', *etkey* 'uncle'; Bashkir *ata* 'father, male'; Kirghiz *ata* 'father, ancestor'; Kazakh *ata* 'father'; Noghay *ata* 'father, male'; Sary-Uighur *ata* 'father'; Oyrot (Mountain Altai) *ada* 'father, ancestor'. Poppe 1960:51, 56, and 103; Street 1974:12 **etiké(y)* 'some older male relative'; Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:523—524 **ĕt'e* 'elder relative'.

E. Chukchi-Kamchatkan: Proto-Chukotian **ətləɣ(ən)* 'father' > Chukchi *ətləɣən* 'father', *ətləɣə-lqəl* 'stepfather'; Alyutor *əlləɣən* 'father', *əlləɣuwwi* 'parents'; Kerek *itna* 'father', *itnuu-lXəl* 'stepfather'. Fortescue 2005:148.

F. Etruscan *ateri* 'parents, ancestors', (f.) *ati* 'mother', (f.) *ati nacna* 'grandmother'.

Buck 1949:2.35 father. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:565—566, no. 430; Caldwell 1913:612—613.

648. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **ʔat'^{y}a* 'older relative (male or female)' (nursery word):

A. Dravidian: Tamil *accaṉ* 'father'; Malayalam *accan* 'father, lord', *acca*, *acci* 'mother'; Kota *aj ayṇ* 'very old man', *aj av* 'very old woman'; Kannaḍa *acci* 'mother', *ajja* 'grandfather', *ajji* 'grandmother'; Koḍagu *ajjë* 'grandfather', *mutt-ajjë* 'great-grandfather'; Tuḷu *ajje* 'grandfather', *ajji* 'grandmother'; Naikṛi *ājak-jaran* 'grandfather'; Manḍa *aji* 'father's

mother’; Kuṛux *ajjos* (voc. *ajjō*) ‘paternal grandfather’, *ajjī* ‘grandmother’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:6, no. 50.

B. Proto-Uralic **ätᵛtᵛä* ‘father’: Lapp / Saami *ač'če* ‘father’; Vogul / Mansi *ääć́i* ‘grandfather’; Ostyak / Xanty (Tremyugan) *at'i*, (Literary) *aśi* ‘father’; Yurak Samoyed / Nenets *ŋaaceʔ* ‘father’, (Forest) *aaće* ‘father’. Collinder 1955:2 and 1977:24; Rédei 1986—1988:22 **äć́ä*; Décsy 1990:98 **ätjä* ‘father’; Aikio 2020:30—33 (?) **äć́ć́ä* / **eć́(ć́)ä* / **ić́(ć́)ä* / **ajć́ä* ‘father’. Yukaghir (Southern / Kolyma) *ečeː* ‘father’. Nikolaeva 2006:150.

C. Proto-Altaic **ăčV* ‘older relative (male or female)’: Proto-Tungus **asī* ‘elder brother’s wife; woman; wife’ > Evenki *asī* ‘woman’; Lamut / Even *asị* ‘woman’; Negidal *asī* ‘woman’; Manchu *aša* ‘elder brother’s wife’; Spoken Manchu (Sibo) *ašə*, *asə* ‘wife’; Ulch *asị* ‘wife’; Orok *asị* ‘woman’; Nanay / Gold *aśa* ‘woman’; Oroch *asa* ‘woman’; Udihe *ahanta* ‘woman’; Solon *ašē*, *ašī* ‘woman’. Mongolian: Dagur *ačā* ‘father’. Proto-Turkic **ăčay*/**ĕčey* ‘older relative (male or female)’ > Old Turkic (Orkhon) *eči* ‘elder brother, uncle’, (Orkhon, Old Uighur) *ečü* ‘ancestor’; Karakhanide Turkic *eči* ‘old man or woman’, *ečü* ‘Father! (to the god)’; Turkish (dial.) [*ağu*, *eže*] ‘old man, elder man’; Uzbek *ɔča*, *ača* ‘mother, grandmother’; Uighur *ača* ‘aunt, sister of father’; Tatar (dial.) *ağa*, *aği*, *ɛği* ‘mother’, (dial.) *ağïy*, *ɛzi* ‘old man, elder man, father’; Bashkir *äsä* ‘mother’; Kirghiz *ačay* ‘mother’, *ağa* ‘old man, elder man’; Sary-Uighur *ačï* ‘sister (of woman)’, *ača* ‘husband, father’; Tuva *ača* ‘father’; Chuvash *aźa* ‘father’; Yakut *ehe* ‘grandfather’. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:271—272 **ăčV* ‘elder relative, ancestor’.

D. Proto-Eskimo **accaɣ* ‘paternal aunt’: Alutiiq Alaskan Yupik *aca(k)*, *acaaq* ‘paternal aunt’; Central Alaskan Yupik *acak* ‘paternal aunt’; Naukan Siberian Yupik *asak*, *asik* ‘paternal aunt’; Central Siberian Yupik *asak* ‘paternal aunt’; Sirenik *asəx* ‘paternal aunt’; North Alaskan Inuit *atcak* ‘paternal aunt’; Western Canadian Inuit (Netsilik) *atsak*, (Copper) *attak* ‘paternal aunt’; Eastern Canadian Inuit *atsa*, *atsak* ‘paternal aunt’; Seward Peninsula Inuit *assak* ‘paternal aunt’; Greenlandic Inuit *atsak* ‘paternal aunt’. Fortescue—Jacobson—Kaplan 1994:2. Proto-Eskimo **acuʀaʀ* ‘aunt by marriage’: Alutiiq Alaskan Yupik (Kodiak) *acu<ʀ>aq* ‘aunt by marriage’; North Alaskan Inuit *asuʀaq* ‘paternal aunt-in-law’; Seward Peninsula Inuit *azuʀaq* ‘aunt by marriage’. Fortescue—Jacobson—Kaplan 1994:4.

Buck 1949:2.46 grandfather; 2.47 grandmother; 2.51 uncle; 2.52 aunt.

649. Proto-Nostratic coordinating conjunction **ʔaw-*, **ʔwa-* (~ **ʔwə-*) ‘or’:

A. Afrasian: Proto-Semitic **ʔaw-* ‘or’ > Arabic *ʾaw* ‘or’; Hebrew *ʾō* [אוֹ] ‘or’; Syriac *ʾaw* ‘or’; Ugaritic *ṷ* ‘or’; Akkadian *ū* ‘or’; Sabaean *ʾw* ‘or’; Ḥarsūsi *ʾaw* ‘or’; Mehri *ʾaw* ‘or’; Geez / Ethiopic *ʾaw* [ኦው] ‘or’; Tigre *ʾaw* ‘or’; Tigrinya *wäy* ‘or’; Harari *aw* ‘or’; Gurage *we* ‘or’; Amharic *wäy* ‘or’;

Gafat *wäy* ‘or’. D. Cohen 1970— :11; Murtonen 1989:84—85; Klein 1987:9; Leslau 1963:37, 1979:639, and 1987:47; Zammit 2002:83. East Cushitic: Saho *oo* ‘or’.

B. Proto-Indo-European *ʔ*we* ‘or’ > Greek ἠ-(ϝ)έ ‘or’; Sanskrit *-vā* ‘or’; Latin *-ve* ‘or’. Pokorny 1959:75 *u̯ḗ-, *u̯o- ‘or’; Walde 1927—1932.I:188—189; Mann 1984—1987:1496 *u̯e (*u̯ē, *u̯ə, *u) enclitic: ‘and, but, or, also, so’; Mallory—Adams 1997:410 *-u̯ē ‘or’; De Vaan 2008:656; Ernout—Meillet 1979:716; Boisacq 1950:313; Frisk 1970—1973.I:619; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:404; Hofmann 1966:104; Beekes 2010.I:507 *h_1ē-ue*; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.III:180.

C. Uralic: Finnish *vai* ‘or’; Estonian *või* ‘or’.

Möller 1911:258; Brunner 1969:152, no. 862; Bomhard—Kerns 1994:602—603, no. 476.

650. Proto-Nostratic root *ʔay- (~ *ʔəy-) (interrogative verb stem):
(vb.) *ʔay- ‘to do what?, to act in what manner?’
Derivative:
Interrogative-relative pronoun stem *ʔay-, *ʔya- ‘(relative) who, which, what; (interrogative) who?, which?, what?’

A. Proto-Dravidian *iya- originally an interrogative verb stem meaning ‘to do what?, to act in what manner?’, later ‘to do, to effect, to cause, to induce, to cause to act; to be possible, to be proper’: Tamil *iyal* ‘to be possible, to befall, to be associated with; to accept, to agree to, to approach, to resemble’, *iyalpu* ‘nature, proper behavior, goodness, propriety’, *iyalvu* ‘nature, means of attaining’, *iya<u>rr</u>u* ‘to do, to effect, to cause to act; to control the movements of, to create, to compose’, *iya<u>rr</u>i*, *iya<u>rr</u>al* ‘effort’, *iya<u>r</u>kai* ‘nature, custom’, *iyai* ‘to join, to connect, to adapt’, *iyaipu* ‘union, harmony, appropriateness’, *iyaivu* ‘union, joining together’; Malayalam *iyaluka* ‘to agree, to go fairly, to be proper’, *iyal* ‘what is proper; nature, condition; strength, power’, *iya<u>rr</u>uka* ‘to cause, to induce’, *iyappu* ‘joint, joining together’, *iyaykkuka* ‘to join’, *iyayuka* ‘to be agreeable, to harmonize’; Tuḷu *iyaruni*, *iyavuni* ‘to be sufficient’; Telugu *īya-konu*, *iyya-konu* ‘to consent’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:45, no. 471.

B. Proto-Indo-European *ʔ(e)yo- originally an interrogative verb stem meaning ‘to do what?, to act in what manner?’, later simply ‘to do, to make, to perform’: Proto-Anatolian *iya- ~ *aya- ~ *ya-/*yē- (< *HyeH-) ‘to do, to make, to perform, etc.’ > Hittite (3rd sg. pres. active) *i-ya-(az-)zi*, *i-e-iz-zi* ‘to do, to make, to treat, to beget, to perform (duty, ritual), to celebrate (deity, feast)’; Luwian (3rd sg. pres. passive) *a-a-ya-ri* ‘to make’; Hieroglyphic Luwian *a(i)a-* ‘to make’; Lycian (3rd sg. pres.) *ati* (< *ayati*) ‘to make’; Lydian *i-* ‘to make’. The stem is also found in Tocharian A/B *yām-* ‘to do, to make, to commit, to effect’. Mallory—Adams 1997:362 *i̯eh$_1$-* ‘to do, to make; to act vigorously’; Puhvel 1984— .1/2:335—347

**eye-*, **eyo-*; Tischler 1977— .2:338—343; Kloekhorst 2008b:381—382; Van Windekens 1976—1982.I:586; Adams 1999:490—492 **yeh$_1$-*.

C. Altaic: Common Mongolian **yaɣa-*, **yeyi-* (< **yayi-*), **yeki-* interrogative verb stem (derived form — the root is **yā-*): ‘to do what?, to act in what manner?’ > Mongolian *yaki-*, *yeki-*, *yeyi-*, *yaɣaki-* ‘how to act?, what to do?, how to proceed?’; Dagur *yā-* ‘to do what?’; Ordos *yā-*, *yā^{k}χi-* ‘to do what?’; Khalkha *yā-* ‘to do what’, *ī-* (< **yī-* < **yeyi-*) ‘to act in what manner?’; Monguor *yā-* ‘to do what?’; Buriat *yā-* ‘to do what?’; Kalmyk *yā-* ~ **yaγɒ-* ‘to do what?’. Poppe 1955:230—231; Street 1974:29 **yā-* ‘to do what?; who, what’.

Bomhard—Kerns 1994:595—596, no. 468.

651. Proto-Nostratic interrogative-relative pronoun stem **ʔay-*, **ʔya-* ‘(relative) who, which, what; (interrogative) who?, which?, what?’:
Derivative of:
(vb.) **ʔay-* ‘to do what?, to act in what manner?’

A. Proto-Afrasian **ʔay(y)-* interrogative-relative pronoun stem: ‘who, which, what; here; who?, which?, what?; where?’: Proto-Semitic **ʔay(y)-* interrogative stem: ‘who?, which?, what?; where?’ > Hebrew *ʔē* [אֵי] ‘where?’; Aramaic *ʔē* ‘what?, where?, how?’, *ʔēχā* ‘where now?’; Syriac *ʔaynā* ‘what?’, *ʔaykā* ‘where?’; Ugaritic *ỉy* ‘where?’; Akkadian *ayyu* ‘who?, what?’; Arabic *ʔayy* ‘which?, what?’; Epigraphic South Arabian *ʔy* ‘whatsoever’; Geez / Ethiopic *ʔayy* [አይ] ‘which?, what?, what kind?, what sort of?’; Tigre *ʔayi* ‘which?’; Tigrinya *ʔayyän*, *ʔayyä-nay* ‘which?’, also in: *nabäy* ‘whither?’ (from *nab ʔay*) and *kämäy* ‘how!’ (from *kämä ʔay*); Harari *āy* ‘which?’, *āyde* ‘where?’, *āyku(t)* ‘how?’; Gurage (Chaha) *e* ‘where?’. D. Cohen 1970— :16—17; Moscati 1964:114—115; Zammit 2002:86; Klein 1987:20; Leslau 1963:38, 1979:1, and 1987:49. Proto-East Cushitic **ʔay(y)-* > Saho *ay* ‘who?’; Boni *ay* ‘who?’; Somali *ayy-o* ‘who?’; Burji *áyye* ‘who?’; Hadiyya *ay*, *ayy-e* ‘who?’. Sasse 1979:46 and 1982:30; Hudson 1989:167. This stem also occurs in Proto-Southern Cushitic **ʔayi* ‘here’, (combining form) **yi* ‘here’ > K’wadza *ayiye* ‘here’; Ma’a *iʔi* ‘here’; Dahalo **ji-* in *jiko* ‘who?’. Ehret 1980:288. Bender (2000:209) reconstructs an interrogative stem **ay* ‘who?, what?, why?’ for Proto-Omotic. Diakonoff 1988:83, §4.4.4.

B. Proto-Dravidian **yā-* interrogative stem: ‘who?, which?, what?’: Kannaḍa *yā-*, *ā-*, *ē-*, *e-* interrogative base; Malayalam *yāvan*/*ēvan*, *yāvaḷ*/*ēvaḷ*, *yāvar*/*ēvar*/*yār*/*ār* ‘who?’, *yā*/*yātu*/*ētu*/*ēn* ‘what?’; Tamil *yā*, *yāvai* ‘what or which things?’, *ēva<u>n</u>* ‘who?’, *ē<u>n</u>* ‘why?, what?, how?’. Krishnamurti 2003:256—258 **yaH-*/**yāH-* interrogative stem; Burrow—Emeneau 1984:465—467, no. 5151.

C. Kartvelian: Svan (Upper Bal) (interrogative) *jär̄* ‘who?’, (relative) *jerwär̄j* ‘who’, (indefinite) *jer* ‘somebody, something’, *jerē* ‘someone, somebody’, *jerwāle* ‘anybody’.

D. Proto-Indo-European **ʔyo-* relative pronoun stem: Greek ὅς, ἥ, ὅ ‘which’; Phrygian ιος ‘which; this’; Sanskrit *yá-ḥ* ‘which’. Greenberg 2000:225—227; Pokorny 1959:283 **i̯o-* ‘who, which’; Walde 1927—1932.I:98 **i̯o-*; Mann 1984—1987:452 **i̯os*, **i̯ā* relative pronoun; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.I:387 **i̯os*/**i̯o-t[ʰ]* and 1995.I:235, I:339 **yos*/**yo-tʰ* relative pronoun; Mallory—Adams 1997:457 **i̯ós*/**i̯éh$_a$*/**i̯ód* ‘who, what, that’; Boisacq 1950:721 **i̯o-s*, **i̯ā*, **i̯o-d*; Frisk 1970—1973.II:434 **i̯os*, **i̯ā*, **i̯od*; Hofmann 1966:241 **i̯os*, **i̯ā*, **i̯od*; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:831 **yo-*; Beekes 2010.II:1117 **h$_1$i-o-*. According to Szemerényi (1996:210), among others, **yo-* is to be derived from the anaphoric stem **i-*. However, Greenberg has successfully refuted this view.

E. Uralic: Proto-Finno-Ugrian relative and indefinite pronoun **yo-* ‘who, which’: Finnish *jo-* in *joka* ‘who, which’, *joku* ‘someone, anyone’, *jos* ‘when’; Lapp / Saami *juokkĕ* ‘each, every’; Mordvin *ju-* in *juza toza* ‘to and fro, back and forth’; Cheremis / Mari (Western) *juž*, (Eastern) *južə̑* ‘someone, anyone’. Greenberg 2000:227; Joki 1973:264; Rédei 1986—1988:637 **jo*.

F. Proto-Altaic **yā-* interrogative stem: ‘who?, which?, what?’: Manchu-Tungus: Manchu *ya* ‘which?, what?’, *yaba* ‘where?’, *yade* ‘where?, whither?, to whom?’; Evenki *ēma* (< **yāma*) ‘what kind?’, *ēdu* (< **yādu*) ‘why?, for what?’. Mongolian: Written Mongolian *yaγun* ‘what?’, *yambar* ‘which?, what kind?’; Dagur *yō* ‘what?’; Moghol *yan* ‘what?, which?’, *yem* ~ *yema* ‘what?’; Ordos *yū* ‘what?’; Buriat *yūŋ* ‘which?’. Greenberg 2000:227; Poppe 1955:126, 226, 229, 230 and 1960:32, 33; Street 1974:29 **yā-* ‘to do what?; who, what’. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak (2003:754) derive the Manchu-Tungus forms cited above from Proto-Altaic **kʻa(j)* ‘who?’ (interrogative pronoun), while they (2003:2034) derive the Mongolian forms from Proto-Altaic **ŋ[i̯V]* ‘what?, who?’ (interrogative pronoun). In view of the data from other Nostratic languages, it seems more likely that a Proto-Altaic interrogative stem **yā-* needs to be reconstructed here to account for the Tungus and Mongolian forms. Proto-Altaic **kʰa(y)*, then, was the source of Proto-Tungus **χai* but not Proto-Tungus **yā-*. This agrees with the traditional etymology as opposed to what Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak propose.

Greenberg 2000:225—229, §61. Interrogative J; Illič-Svityč 1971—1984.I:277—278, no. 142, **ja* interrogative and relative stem: ‘which, who’; Bomhard—Kerns 1994:594—595, no. 467; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 101, **ʔäyV* (= **ʔäya* ?) ‘which’ and, no. 2616, **ya* ‘which?’.

652. Proto-Nostratic root **ʔay-* (~ **ʔəy-*):
(vb.) **ʔay-* ‘to go, to proceed’;

(n.) *ʔay-a ‘journey’
Note also:
(vb.) *ʔiy- ‘to come, to go’;
(n.) *ʔiy-a ‘approach, arrival; path, way’

A. Proto-Afrasian *ʔay- ‘to come, to run’: (?) Semitic: Arabic *taʾayya* ‘to remain a long time’. D. Cohen 1970— :17 (Arabic *ʾayyaya*). Berber: Tuareg *ayu-* ‘to come’; Kabyle (interjection) *əyya* ‘come!’. East Chadic *ʔaw-/*ʔay- ‘to go; to gallop’ > Ndam *ao* ‘to go’; Sibine *ʾaya* ‘to gallop’. Highland East Cushitic: Sidamo *eʾ-* ‘to enter; to set (of sun)’. Hudson 1989:361. Omotic: Ometo *ai-* ‘to come’; Bench / Gimira (inf.) *yo* ‘to come’. Orël—Stolbova 1995:18—19, no. 65, *ʔay- ‘to come, to run’.

B. [Proto-Indo-European *ʔey-/*ʔoy-/*ʔi- ‘to go’: Greek (1st sg. pres.) εἶμι ‘I go’, (1st pl. pres.) ἴμεν ‘we go’; Sanskrit (1st sg. pres.) *émi* ‘I go’, (3rd sg. pres.) *éti* ‘goes’, (1st pl. pres.) *imáḥ* ‘we go’, (3rd pl. pres.) *yánti* ‘they go’; Avestan (3rd sg. pres.) *aēiti* ‘goes’; Old Persian (3rd sg. pres.) *aitiy* ‘goes’; Paelignian (imptv.) *eite* ‘go!’; Latin (1st sg. pres.) *eō* ‘I go’; Old Lithuanian (1st sg. pres.) *eĩmi* ‘I go’, (3rd sg. pres.) *eĩti* ‘goes’; Old Prussian (3rd sg. pres.) *ēit* ‘goes’, *per-ēit* ‘comes’; Old Church Slavic *idǫ, iti* ‘to go’; Luwian (3rd sg. pres.) *i-ti* ‘goes’; Hittite (imptv.) *i-it* ‘go!’; Tocharian A (1st pl.) *ymäs* ‘we go’, B (1st sg.) *yam*, *yaṁ* ‘I go’. Rix 1998a:207—208 *h_1e̯i-* ‘to go’; Pokorny 1959:293—297 *ei-* ‘to go’; Walde 1927—1932.I:102—105 *ei-; Mann 1984—1987:234 *eimi* (*e̯ī̆) ‘to go’; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.I:180 *e̯i/i- and 1995.I:155, I:194 *ei-/i- ‘to go’, I:296 *ei-mi ‘I go’, *ei-si ‘you go’, *ei-ti ‘he, she goes’; Watkins 1985:16 *ei- and 2000:22 *ei- ‘to go’ (oldest form *$h_2$ei-); Mallory—Adams 1997:227—228 *$h_1$ei- ‘to go’; Boisacq 1950:225—226 *ei-; Frisk 1970—1973.I:462—463; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:321—322; Hofmann 1966:73 *ei-; Beekes 2010.I:388 *$h_1$ei-; De Vaan 2008:191—192; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:406—409 *ei-; Ernout—Meillet 1979:197—199 *ei-, *i-; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.I:128; Derksen 2008:216 *$h_1$ei- and 2015:151—152 *$h_1$ei-; Smoczyński 2007.1:144—145; Fraenkel 1962—1965.I:119. Proto-Indo-European *ʔy-eh- [*ʔy-ah-] (> *ʔyā-) ‘to go, to proceed’: Sanskrit (3rd sg. pres.) *yā́ti* ‘goes, proceeds, moves, walks, sets out, marches, advances, travels, journeys’; Avestan (3rd sg. pres.) *yāiti* ‘goes, rides’; Hittite (3rd sg. pres.) *i-ya-at-ta(-ri)* ‘goes’ (so Sturtevant 1951:34, §61, Indo-Hittite *ʔyehty; Puhvel 1984— .1/2:330—335, however, derives the Hittite form from *iya- < *eyo- and compares it with Vedic *áyate* ‘to go’); Lithuanian *jóju*, *jóti* ‘to ride on horseback’; Tocharian A *yā-* ‘to go, to move’. Rix 1998a:275 *i̯eh$_2$- ‘to proceed, to move along, to go, to travel, to ride’; Pokorny 1959:294 *i̯ā- ‘to go’; Walde 1927—1932.I:104 *i̯ā-; Mann 1984—1987:439 *i̯ā̆i̯ō, *i̯āmi ‘to go, to ride’; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.II:724 *i̯āH- and 1995.I:627 *yāH- ‘to ride (in a vehicle)’; Derksen 2015:212—213 *ieh$_2$-; Mallory—Adams 1997:228 *i̯eh$_a$- ‘to go, to travel’; Kloekhorst 2008b:380; Wodtko—Irslinger—

Schneider 2008:220—230 *$h_1eu̯$-.] Note: Two separate Proto-Nostratic stems have fallen together in Proto-Indo-European: (A) *ʔ*ay*- (~ *ʔ*əy*-) ‘to go, to proceed’ and (B) *ʔ*iy*- (~ *ʔ*ey*-) ‘to come, to go’.

C. Proto-Uralic **aya*- ‘to drive, to ride; to go, to travel; to chase away, to chase off, to drive away; to pursue’: Finnish *aja*- ‘to drive, to ride; to go, to travel; to run; to transport, to carry; to chase away, to chase off, to drive away’, *ajaja* ‘driver, rider’; Estonian *aja*- ‘to drive, to impel’; Lapp / Saami *vuoggje-/vuoje*- ‘to drive (tr. and intr.)’; Votyak / Udmurt *ujy*-, *uj*-, *üj*- ‘to drive, to pursue’; Zyrian / Komi *voj*- ‘to bolt, to run away; to move away, to carry away swiftly’, *vojl*- ‘to run away’, *vojledly*- ‘to drive, to chase’; Vogul / Mansi *oj*- ‘to flee, to run away’, *ojt*- ‘to let run’, *wujt*- ‘to chase, to pursue’. Rédei 1986—1988:4—5 **aja*-; Collinder 1955:129 and 1977:140; Sammallahti 1988:542 **åjå*- ‘to drive’; Aikio 2020:7—8 **aja*- ‘to drive / to chase’. The above forms are usually taken to be loans from Indo-Iranian (cf. Joki 1973:247—248). Yukaghir (Northern / Tundra) *ejuu*- ‘to attack’, (Southern / Kolyma) *je꞉j*- ‘to get somewhere, to fall; to attack’, *ejtə*- ‘to take away, to take off’. Nikolaeva 2006:152.

D. Proto-Altaic **āya*- ‘to go, to walk’: Proto-Tungus **āy*- ‘(vb.) to run quickly, to step (on sand, snow); (adj.) swift’ > Lamut / Even *ayiŋ* ‘swift’; Manchu *aya*- ‘to run quickly’; Orok *aya-mụnžị* ‘swift’; Nanay / Gold *āi*- ‘to step (on sand, snow)’. Proto-Mongolian **aya*- ‘journey, travel’ > Written Mongolian *ayaŋ*, *ayan* ‘travel, journey, expedition’; Khalkha *ayan* ‘journey, travel’; Buriat *ayan* ‘journey, travel’; Kalmyk *ayan* ‘journey, travel’; Ordos *ayan* ‘journey, travel’; Dagur *ayan* ‘journey, travel’. Proto-Turkic **Ay*- ‘to go, to go round, to walk in circles’ > Turkish *ayla(-n)*- ‘to revolve, to rotate, to go round’; Gagauz *ayla*-, *aylan*- ‘to revolve, to rotate, to go round’, *(h)ayda*- ‘to drive’; Azerbaijani (dial.) *aylan*- ‘to revolve, to rotate, to go round’; Turkmenian *ayla*- ‘to lead, to lead round’; Uzbek *aylan*- ‘to revolve, to rotate, to go round; to tarry’; Uighur *aylan*- ‘to revolve, to rotate, to go round; to tarry’; Karaim *aylan*- ‘to revolve, to rotate, to go round’; Tatar *əylən*- ‘to revolve, to rotate, to go round’; Kirghiz *aylan*- ‘to revolve, to rotate, to go round’, *ayda*- ‘to drive’; Kazakh *ayda*- ‘to drive’, *aynal*- ‘to revolve, to rotate, to go round’; Noghay *aylan*- ‘to revolve, to rotate, to go round; to tarry’; Oyrot (Mountain Altai) *ayla*- ‘to revolve, to rotate, to go round’, *ayda*- ‘to drive’; Yakut *aygï-s-ïn*- ‘to tarry; to go, to visit frequently’. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:277—278 **āja* ‘to go, to walk’.

E. Chukchi-Kamchatkan: Proto-Chukotian **ajtat*- ‘to drive (herd)’ > Chukchi *aɣtat*- ‘to drive animals from place to place’, *aɣta*- ‘to drive into a compound, to screen, to surround’, *aɣtatwan* ‘compound’; Kerek *ajtaat*- ‘to chase, to drive’; Koryak *ajtat*- ‘to drive a herd of animals’; Alyutor (Palana) *ajtat*- ‘to drive a herd of animals’. Fortescue 2005:18.

F. Proto-Eskimo **ayu*- ‘to go ahead or further’: Alutiiq Alaskan Yupik (Alaskan Peninsula, Kenai Peninsula) *ayu*- ‘to progress, to get bigger, to spread’; Central Alaskan Yupik *ayu*- ‘to progress, to go further, to spread’;

Central Siberian Yupik *ayu-* ‘to progress, to keep going’; Naukan Siberian Yupik *ayuʁ-* ‘to hold out, to hold on’; Sirenik *ayə-* ‘to go far off’; Seward Peninsula Inuit *ayu-* ‘to get a head’s start, to progress, to die’; North Alaskan Yupik *ayu-* ‘to go ahead, to have a head’s start, to die’, *ayuuq-* ‘to go far, to progress’; Western Canadian Inuit (Siglit) *ayuulɣu-* ‘to go far (rock, bullet)’; Eastern Canadian Inuit *ayu-* ‘to run away, to break loose, to run off inland (angry person)’; Greenlandic Inuit *ayuut(i)* ‘to kick towards a goal (football)’. Fortescue—Jacobson—Kaplan 1994:59—60.

Buck 1949:10.45 walk (vb.); 10.47 go; 10.48 come; 10.53 pursue; 10.65 drive (vb. tr.); 10.66 ride (vb.). Hakola 2000:17—18, no. 16; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 102,*ʔ[e]yV ‘to come, to arrive’; Fortescue 1998:152.

653. Proto-Nostratic (n.) *ʔay-a ‘brain’:

A. Afrasian: Egyptian *ȝi̯s* ‘brain (of men and animals)’ (medical term). Hannig 1995:2; Faulkner 1962:1; Erman—Grapow 1926—1963.1:2. Berber: Tuareg *tayttə* (pl. *tiyttəwîn*) ‘intelligence, mind’; Mzab *ayətti*, *tayətti* ‘attention given to an act or deed’; Riff (Iznasen) *taytti* ‘evil eye’.
B. Proto-Uralic *ayŋi ‘brain’: [Finnish *aivo(t)* ‘brain(s); cerebrum’; Estonian *aju* ‘brain’; Lapp / Saami (Norwegian) *vuoiŋâš- ~ vuoi'gŋâšak* (pl.) ‘brain(s)’, (Lule) *vuoiŋam ~ vuoi'ŋam* ‘brain’;] (?) Mordvin (Moksha) *uj* ‘marrow, brain’; (?) Hungarian *agy* ‘brain; cerebrum’. Collinder 1955:71 and 1977:87; Rédei 1986—1988:5 *ajŋe ‘brain’; Sammallahti 1988:542 *åjŋi ‘brain’; Aikio 2020:9—10 *ajŋi ‘brain’.
C. Proto-Chukchi-Kamchatkan (?) *ajwa ‘brain’: Chukchi *ajo* ‘brain’; Kerek *aju* ‘brain’; Koryak *awi* ‘brain’ (adj. *awja-kin*); Alyutor *ēwa* ‘brain’; Kamchadal / Itelmen [*ajuvaj*, *aʔjva* ‘brain’] (this may be a loan from Chukotian). Fortescue 2005:19.

Buck 1949:4.203 brain. Greenberg 2002:30, no. 48, *ayu ‘brain’. Different (false) etymology in Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 2600a, *Xayŋo (= *ħ|χayŋo) (a variant reconstruction instead of *ʔayŋo) ‘marrow, brain, soft fat of animals’ (→ ‘to smear, to anoint’).

654. Proto-Nostratic (n.) *ʔay(y)a ‘mother, female relative’ (nursery word):

A. Proto-Afrasian *ʔay(y)- ‘mother’: Berber: Kabyle *ya* ‘woman, female’ (in composition: *ya-n-əgma* in *tiyanəgmatin* ‘sister-in-law, brother’s wife’), *yaya* ‘(my) grandmother, older member of the family’. Proto-East Cushitic *ʔaayy- ‘mother’ > Boni *aay-oʔ* ‘mother’; Somali *aay-o* ‘stepmother’; Rendille *ay-o* ‘mother’; Bayso *ay-o* ‘mother’; Galla / Oromo *aayy-oo* ‘mother’; Konso *aayy-o* ‘mother’; Burji *aayy-ée* ‘mother, mother’s sister’; Hadiyya *a(a)yy-a* ‘sister’. Sasse 1979:44 and 1982:22; Hudson 1989:102, 176, and 269.

B. Dravidian: Malayalam *ācci* ‘mother, grandmother’, *tāyi* ‘mother’; Tamil *āy*, *āyi*, *yāy*, *ñāy* ‘mother’, *āycci*, *ācci* ‘mother, grandmother’; Kannaḍa *āyi*, *tāy*, *tāyi*, *tāye* ‘mother’; Kolami *ay* ‘mother’; Naikṛi *ayma* ‘woman’, *ayka* ‘husband’s elder sister’; Koṇḍa *aya* ‘mother’; Pengo *aya*, *iya* ‘mother’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:34, no. 364; Krishnamurti 2003:10 **āy* ‘mother’.

C. Proto-Indo-European **ʔay-tʰ-* ‘mother’: Gothic *aiþei* ‘mother’; Old Icelandic *eiða* ‘mother’; Middle High German *eide* ‘mother’. Kroonen 2013:15 Proto-Germanic **aiþin-* ~ **aiþōn-* ‘mother’; Orël 2003:10 Proto-Germanic **aiþīn* (cf. also **aiþōn*); Feist 1939:28; Lehmann 1986:20; De Vries 1977:95. Germanic loans in Balto-Finnic: Finnish *äiti* ‘mother’; Estonian *eit* ‘(peasant) woman, old woman’.

D. Eskimo: Proto-Inuit **ayak* ‘maternal aunt’ > Seward Peninsula Inuit *ayak* ‘maternal aunt’; North Alaskan Inuit (Point Hope) *ayak*, *ayauluk* ‘paternal aunt’, *ayaayak* ‘older sister’; Western Canadian Inuit (Siglit) *aya* ‘maternal aunt’; Eastern Canadian Inuit (North Baffin-Iglulik) *aya(k)*, (Tarramiut) *ayakuluk* ‘maternal aunt’; Greenlandic Inuit *aya(k)*, (North Greenlandic / Polar Eskimo) *ayaaXXuk* ‘maternal aunt’. Fortescue—Jacobson—Kaplan 1994:59.

Buck 1949:2.36 mother. Dolgopolsky 1998:92—93, no. 117, **ʔ[ä]yV* (or **h[ä]yV* ?) ‘mother’ and 2008, no. 100, **ʔ[a]yV* ‘mother’; Bomhard—Kerns 1994:577—578, no. 445.

655. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **ʔay(y)a* ‘father, male relative’ (nursery word):

A. Afrasian: Proto-Southern Cushitic **ʔaayi* ‘elder brother’ > Iraqw *aykos* ‘his father’s wife’ (*-kos* ‘his’); K’wadza *ayi-* in *ayibalaʔo* ‘cross-cousin’; Dahalo *ʔáájì* ‘elder brother’. Ehret 1980:288.

B. Dravidian: Tamil *ayyaṉ*, *aiyaṉ* ‘father, sage, priest, teacher, Brahman, superior person, master, king’, *ayyā* ‘father, respectable man’, *aiyar* ‘men worthy of respect, sages, Brahmans, etc.’, *tam-aiyaṉ* ‘elder brother or parallel male cousin’, *num-aiyaṉ* ‘your elder brother’, *ai* ‘lord, master, husband, king, guru, priest, teacher, father’; Malayalam *ayyan* ‘father, lord’, *tam-ayan* ‘elder brother’; Kota *ayṇ* ‘father, father’s brother or parallel male cousin, mother’s sister’s husband’; Kannaḍa *ayya*, *aya* ‘father, grandfather, master, lord, teacher’; Koḍagu *ayyë* ‘father’s brother or parallel male cousin, mother’s sister’s husband’, *tamm-ayya·n* ‘younger brother’ (voc.); Tuḷu *ayye* ‘priest, minister, teacher, master’, *tamm-aiya* an affectionate form of addressing a younger brother; Telugu *ayya*, *aya* ‘father’; Kolami *ayyā* ‘mother’s father’, *ayyāk* ‘god’; Gondi *ēyāl* ‘father’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:19, no. 196; Krishnamurti 2003:10 **ayy-a-* ‘father’.

C. Proto-Uralic (?) **äyyä* ‘father, old man’: Finnish *äijä* ‘father, old man’; Estonian *äi* ‘father-in-law’; Lapp / Saami (Norwegian) *ag'gja*/*aggja-* ‘grandfather, old man, fellow’; Votyak / Udmurt (Sarapul) *ajį*, (Kazan) *ajə*,

(Glazov) *aj*, *ajį* ‘father, male’; Zyrian / Komi (Permyak) *aj* ‘father’. Rédei 1986—1988:609 **äje*; Aikio 2020:33 (?) **äjjä* ‘old man’

Buck 1949:2.35 father. Hakola 2000:16, no. 7.

656. Proto-Nostratic negative particle **ʔe* ‘no, not’:

Note the discussion above under **ʔal-* (~ **ʔəl-*) (perhaps also **ʔel-*, **ʔul-*) (originally a negative verb stem — later used in some branches as a negative particle) ‘to be not so-and-so or such-and-such’.

A. Proto-Uralic **e-* negative particle: ‘no, not’. For details, see the discussion above (no. 622) under Proto-Uralic **elä* imperative of the negative auxiliary verb (cf. Rédei 1986—1988:68—70 **e* ~ **ä* ~ **a* negative particle; Collinder 1955:10 and 1977:26).
B. Proto-Altaic **e* negative particle: Proto-Tungus **e-* ‘not’ > Evenki *e-* ‘not’; Lamut / Even *e-* ‘not’; Negidal *e-* ‘not’; Jurchen *ey-χe*, *esi(n)-in* ‘not’; Ulch *e-* ‘not’; Orok *e-* ‘not’; Nanay / Gold *e-* ‘not’; Oroch *e-* ‘not’; Udihe *e-* ‘not’; Solon *e-* ‘not’. Proto-Mongolian *e-se* ‘not’ > Written Mongolian *ese* ‘not’; Khalkha *es* ‘not’; Buriat *ehe* ‘not’; Kalmyk *es* ‘not’; Ordos *ese* ‘not’; Moghol *sa*, *se* ‘not’; Dagur *es* ‘not’; Monguor *sə*, *sī* ‘not’. Poppe 1955:287, 290, and 291 — Poppe points out that “[t]he negative *ese* is the stem of the verb *ese-* ‘not to be’ = Tungus *ẹsi-*.” Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:488 **e* ‘not’.
C. Chukchi-Kamchatkan: Chukchi negative prefix *e-* ~ *a-*; Koryak negative prefix *e-* (or its expected phonetic outcomes). Greenberg 2000:216.
D. Etruscan *ei* ‘not’.

Sumerian *e* ‘no’.

Illič-Svityč 1971—1984.I:264—265, no. 129, **ʔe* negative particle; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 3, **ʔe* (~ ? **ʔä*) ‘not’.

657. Proto-Nostratic root **ʔeb-*:
(vb.) **ʔeb-* ‘to become weak, exhausted, wasted, debilitated, wiped out; to yield, to succumb; to go mad, to become insane, to lose one’s mind; to lose one’s way’;
(n.) **ʔeb-a* ‘weakness, exhaustion; madness, silliness, foolishness’; (adj.) ‘weakened, exhausted, debilitated, wiped out; mad, foolish, silly, half-witted’

A. Proto-Afrasian **ʔeb-* ‘to become weak, exhausted, wasted, debilitated, wiped out; to yield, to succumb; to go mad, to become insane, to lose one’s mind; to lose one’s way’: Proto-Semitic **ʔab-ad-* ‘to become weak, exhausted, wasted, debilitated, wiped out; to yield, to succumb; to go mad,

to become insane, to lose one's mind; to lose one's way' > Arabic *ʔabada* 'to roam in a state of wildness, to run wild, to be shy', *ʔābid* 'wild, untamed'; Hebrew *ʔāβaḏ* [אָבַד] 'to perish, to vanish, to be lost, to go astray'; Aramaic *ʔəβaḏ* 'to be lost'; Moabite *ʔbd* 'to perish'; Ugaritic *ʔbd* 'perished'; Akkadian *abātu* 'to destroy, to lay waste, to ruin'; Geez / Ethiopic *ʔabda* [**አብደ**], *ʿabda* [**ዐብደ**] 'to be insane, to become enraged, to rage, to be mad, to be out of one's mind, to become a fool, to be foolish', *ʔəbud* [**እቡድ**] 'foolish, stupid, mad, insane, enraged, furious'; Tigre *ʔabbäda* 'to deceive', *ʔəbd* 'fool-hardy'; Tigrinya *ʔabbädä* 'to entice with promises', *ʿabädä* 'to go mad, to become insane'; Amharic *abbädä* 'to go insane, to go mad'. D. Cohen 1970— :2; Murtonen 1989:79; Klein 1971:1; Leslau 1987:2—3. Berber: Tuareg *əbdəh* 'to be exhausted (after running or marching)'. Proto-Highland East Cushitic **ebelo* 'so-and-so' > Burji *ebelo* 'so-and-so'; Gedeo / Darasa *ebelo* 'so-and-so'; Hadiyya (m.) *ebaro*, (f.) *ebare* 'so-and-so'; Kambata (m.) *ebalo*, (f.) *ebale* 'so-and-so'; Sidamo *ebelo*, *eweló* 'so-and-so'. Hudson 1989:138. Semantic development as in Burji *dóof-aa* ~ *dóof-a* 'so-and-so' vs. Galla / Oromo *doofaa* 'fool'. [Orël—Stolbova 1995:23—24, no. 87, **ʔibad-* 'to lose, to be lost'.]

B. Dravidian: Tamil *ēppiṛāci*, *ēppiyaṉ* 'simpleton, fool'; Kannaḍa *ĕbrāsi*, *ebaḍa* 'a foolish, silly man' (f. *ebaḍi*); Tuḷu *ebuḷante* 'half-witted, silly'; Telugu *ebberāsi*, *ebrāsi* 'a slovenly person'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:79, no. 803. Semantic development as in Geez / Ethiopic *ʔabda* [**አብደ**], *ʿabda* [**ዐብደ**] 'to be insane, to become enraged, to rage, to be mad, to be out of one's mind, to become a fool, to be foolish' cited above. Perhaps also: Kuṛux *ebsnā* 'to lose, to forfeit, to wander from and not be able to find, to cease to perceive (as from distance or darkness)', *ebsrnā* 'to be lost, estranged, strayed; to disappear from sight'; Malto *ewje* 'to be lost, to go astray', *ewtre* 'to lose'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:82, no. 847.

C. Uralic: Finnish *epatto*, *epatti*, *epero* 'silly, stupid, feebleminded'.

D. Proto-Altaic **ebi-* 'to become weak, exhausted, wasted, debilitated, wiped out; to yield, to succumb': Proto-Tungus **ebe-* '(vb.) to yield, to succumb; (adj.) weak; foolish, obstinate; lax, tarrying' > Manchu *ebe-ri* 'weak, deficient, inadequate, inferior', *ebi-lun* 'a delicate, sickly child', *eberχuken* 'rather weak', *eberχun* 'weak', *eberiken* 'somewhat deficient', *eberiŋge* 'not up to par, inferior', *ebere-* 'to diminish, to decline, to decrease, to subside'; Evenki *ewe-ǯeken* 'hardly, scarcely, barely'; Ulch *ebe-le* 'foolish, obstinate'; Orok *ebe-le* 'lax, tarrying'; Nanay / Gold *ebe-ri-* 'to yield, to succumb'; Oroch *ebe-le* 'weak'. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:490 **ebi* 'to be weak, to wither'.

Buck 1949:17.22 foolish, stupid; 17.23 insane, mad, crazy. Hakola 2000:28, no. 61; Bomhard 1996a:215, no. 617.

658. Proto-Nostratic root (Eurasiatic only) **ʔekʰ-*:

(vb.) *ʔek^{h}- ‘to move quickly, to rage; to be furious, raging, violent, spirited, fiery, wild’;
(n.) *ʔek^{h}-*a* ‘rapid or violent movement, fury, rage’

A. Proto-Indo-European *ʔek^{h}u-, *ʔek^{h}w-*o*-*s* ‘horse’ (literally, ‘the spirited, violent, fiery, or wild one’): Hieroglyphic Luwian *á-sù-wa-* ‘horse’; Hittite **ekku-* ‘horse’; Lycian *esbe-* ‘horse’; Sanskrit *áśva-ḥ* ‘horse’; Avestan *aspa-* ‘horse’; Old Persian *asa-*, (Median) *aspa-* ‘horse’; Mycenaean *i-qo* (*hiqq^{ų}o-*) ‘horse’; Greek ἵππος ‘horse’; Latin *equus* ‘horse’; Venetic (acc. sg.) *ekvon* ‘horse’; Old Irish *ech* ‘horse’; Gothic **aihva-* ‘horse’ in **aihvatundi* ‘bramble, prickly bush’ (literally, ‘horse-thorn’); Old Icelandic *jór* (< *eχwaʀ < *eχwaz) ‘stallion, steed’; Old English *eoh* ‘horse’; Old Saxon *ehu-* horse’ in *ehu-skalk* ‘horse-servant’; Lithuanian *ašvà* (Old Lithuanian *ešva*) ‘mare’; Tocharian A *yuk*, B *yakwe* ‘horse’, B *yäkwaṣke* ‘little horse’. Pokorny 1959:301—302 *eḵ̂$_{\underset{\cdot}{ų}}$o-*s* ‘horse’; Walde 1927—1932.I:113 *eḵ̂$_{\underset{\cdot}{ų}}$o-*s*; Mann 1984—1987:237—238 *eḵ̂$_{\underset{\cdot}{ų}}$os*, *-ā* ‘horse; mare’; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.I:183, I:271, I:272, II:544—545, II:554 (fn. 2), II:561 (fn. 1), II:564 (and fn. 1) *eḵ̂[^{h}]$_{\underset{\cdot}{ų}}$o-*s* and 1995.I:87, I:88, I:214 (fn. 13), I:478—479, I:482 (and fn. 26), I:765, I:767, I:809 *eḵ̂^{h}wo-* ‘horse’; Watkins 1985:16 **ekwo-* and 2000:23 **ekwo-* ‘horse’; Mallory—Adams 1997:273—274 *h$_{1}$eḵ̂$_{\underset{\cdot}{ų}}$os* ‘horse’ and 2006:50, 69, 89, 135, 139, 154, 449 *h$_{1}$éḵ̂wos* ‘horse’; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.I:62; Kloekhorst 2008b:237—239 *h$_{1}$eḱu-*, *h$_{1}$eḱuos*; Boisacq 1950:380—381 *eḵ̂$_{\underset{\cdot}{ų}}$o-*s*; Hofmann 1966:125—126 *eḵ̂$_{\underset{\cdot}{ų}}$os*; Frisk 1970—1973.I:733—735 *eḵ̂$_{\underset{\cdot}{ų}}$os*; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:467—468 **ekwo-*; Beekes 2010.I:597—598 *h$_{1}$eḱuo-*; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:412—413 *eḵ̂$_{\underset{\cdot}{ų}}$os*; Ernout—Meillet 1979:199—200; De Vaan 2008:192—193; Orël 2003:83 Proto-Germanic **exwaz*; Kroonen 2013:115—116 Proto-Germanic **ehwa-* ‘horse’; Feist 1939:21 *éḵ̂$_{\underset{\cdot}{ų}}$os*; Lehmann 1986:15 *éḵ̂wos*; De Vries 1977:293; Adams 1999:482; Van Windekens 1976—1982.I:611 *eḵ̂$_{\underset{\cdot}{ų}}$o-*s*; Derksen 2015:65 *h$_{1}$eḱuos*; Fraenkel 1962—1965.I:20; Smoczyński 2007.1:28; Wodtko—Irslinger—Schneider 2008:230—233 *h$_{1}$éḱ$_{\underset{\cdot}{ų}}$o-*; Anthony 2007:196—197. Note: Ultimately, not related to Proto-Indo-European *HoHk^{h}u- (> *ōk^{h}u-) ‘swift, quick, fast’ (cf. Pokorny 1959:775 *ōḵ̂ú-*s* ‘swift, quick, fast’).

B. Proto-Altaic *ek^{h}a- ‘to move quickly, to rage’: Proto-Tungus **ekte-* ‘to make rapid movements’ > Manchu *ekte-* ‘to stamp the front hoof on the ground, to paw the ground’; Udihe *ektine-* ‘to faint’. Proto-Mongolian **(h)agsa-* ‘to move quickly, to rage; to be furious, raging, violent, spirited, fiery, wild’ > Written Mongolian *aγsur-* ‘to storm, to fly into a rage, to be violent or furious; to be fiery’, *aγsum* ‘(n.) fury, rage, madness; (adj.) furious, fiery, violent, tempestuous, spirited’, *aγsum mori* ‘fiery or spirited horse’, *aγsumna-* ‘to rage, to storm, to behave violently; to bluster, to be boisterous; to debauch’; Khalkha *agsam* ‘(n.) fury, rage; (adj.) furious, raging; fiery, spirited’, *agsamnaχ-* ‘to rage (of a drunken person); to be

furious; to dash ahead (of a horse)', *agsan* 'furious, raging (of a drunken person)', *agsan mori* 'fiery, mettlesome horse', *agsčiχ* 'to be fiery all the time (of a horse); to continually rage'; Buriat *agšan* 'frolicsome, prankish', *agsam* 'furious, raging'; Kalmyk *agsra-* 'to chafe, to behave nervously (of a horse); to rough-house', *agsag* 'wild'; Ordos *agsur-* 'to fling fiercely', *agsum* 'wild, raging'. Proto-Turkic **agsa-* '(vb.) to hobble, to limp; (adj.) lame' > Karakhanide Turkic *axsa-* 'to hobble, to limp', *aqsaq*, *aγsaγ* 'lame', *aχsuŋ*, *axsum* 'rampage, rage, raging'; Turkish *aksa-* 'to hobble, to limp', *aksak* 'lame, limping'; Azerbaijani *axsa-* 'to hobble, to limp', *aqsïn* 'rampage, rage, raging'; Turkmenian *aɢsa-* 'to hobble, to limp'; Uzbek *ɔqsa-* 'to hobble, to limp'; Tatar *aqsa-* 'to hobble, to limp'; Bashkir *aqha-* 'to hobble, to limp'; Kirghiz *aqsa-* 'to hobble, to limp', *aqsïm* 'rampage, rage, raging'; Kazakh *aqsa-* 'to hobble, to limp'; Karachay-Balkar *aqsa-* 'to hobble, to limp'; Kara-Kalpak *aqsa-* 'to hobble, to limp'; Kumyk *aqsa-* 'to hobble, to limp'; Noghay *aqsa-* 'to hobble, to limp'; Sary-Uighur *axsa-* 'to hobble, to limp'; Khakas *axsa-* 'to hobble, to limp'; Tuva *asqa-* 'to hobble, to limp'; Yakut *axsïm* 'lame'. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003: 499 **ek'a* 'to paw, to hit with hooves' — according to Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak, the Turkic forms cited here may be loans from Mongolian.

Buck 1949:3.41 horse; 16.43 rage, fury. Bomhard 2009.

659. Proto-Nostratic root **ʔek'-*:
(vb.) **ʔek'-* 'to diminish, to decrease, to reduce; to be insufficient, lacking, wanting; to be small, weak, lowly, ignoble, common, ordinary, plain, simple';
(n.) **ʔek'-a* 'diminishment, reduction, decrease, loss; deficiency, want, need, lack'

A. Afrasian: Egyptian *ȝq* 'to perish, to come to grief', *ȝqw* 'ruin, misfortune, loss', *ȝqyt* 'loss'; Coptic *akō* [ⲁⲕⲱ] 'thing destroyed, destruction'. Hannig 1995:3; Faulkner 1962:6; Erman—Grapow 1921:4 and 1926—1963.1:21; Gardiner 1957:550; Černý 1976:3; Vycichl 1983:6. Berber: Ghadames *əqqu* 'to be finished, used up, lost'; Kabyle *aqu* 'to be rare, to miss, to dissappear', *tuqqit* 'misfortune, disappearance, annihilation'.
B. Dravidian: Kannaḍa *eggu*, *heggu* 'shame, feeling of disgrace, blame, harm', *egguḷi* 'a bashful person, a rustic or low person', *egga* 'a rude, rustic, stupid, or low man', *egguḷitana* 'shame, bashfulness'; Telugu *eggu* 'harm, evil, mischief, shame, disgrace, blame', *eggincu* 'to disregard, to slight, to wrong, to injure', *eggāḍu* 'to find fault with, to blame, to reproach, to revile, to abuse'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:76—77, no. 776.
C. Proto-Indo-European **ʔek'-* 'to lack, to need, to want': Latin *egeō* 'to want, to be in need, to be destitute', *egēnus* 'needy, destitute'; Old Icelandic *ekla* 'lack, want, need'; Old High German *ekorōdo* 'merely', *ekrōdi*, *eccherōde* 'small, weak'. Pokorny 1959:290 **eg-* 'lack, want,

need’; Walde 1927—1932.I:114—115 **eg-*; Mann 1984—1987:1613 **eg-*, **ēg-* ‘shortcoming’; Ernout—Meillet 1979:192; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:394—395; De Vaan 2008:186—187; De Vries 1977:99.

D. Proto-Altaic **ĕka* (~ *-o*) ‘bad, weak’: Proto-Tungus **eke-* ‘(vb.) to decrease; (adj.) bad, low; weak; evil’ > Manchu *ekiye-* ‘to diminish, to be deficient, to be too little, to be lacking; to be vacant, unoccupied’, *ekiyeχun* ‘to be little, lacking; empty, unoccupied’, *ekiyen* ‘lacking, decrease, vacancy’, *eχe* ‘inauspicious, bad, evil’; Sibo *eki-* ‘to diminish, to decrease’, *eχə* ‘bad, evil’; Jurchen *eχebe* ‘bad, low’; Ulch *ekečī(n)* ‘weak’; Orok *eke* ‘weak’; Nanay / Gold *ekečī* ‘weak’, *eχele* ‘bad, low’. Proto-Mongolian **egel* ‘lowly, ignoble, common, ordinary’ > Written Mongolian *egel* ‘lowly, ignoble, common; ordinary, plain; simple’; Khalkha *egil* ‘simple, common, ordinary, plain’; Buriat *egēley* ‘lowly, uneducated, simple’; Kalmyk *egl* ‘lowly, uneducated, simple’; Ordos *egel*, *egn* ‘lowly, uneducated, simple’. Proto-Turkic **ek-* ‘(vb.) to decrease, to diminish; to be insufficient; (adj.) common, ordinary, low-class, uneducated’ > Old Turkic (Old Uighur) *egsü-* ‘to decrease, to diminish; to be insufficient’, *egil* ‘common, ordinary, low-class, uneducated’; Karakhanide Turkic *egsü-* ‘to decrease, to diminish; to be insufficient’; Turkish *eksik* ‘deficient; lacking, absent; defective, incomplete’, *eksil-* ‘to grow less, to decrease; to be absent’, *eksilt-* ‘to diminish, to reduce’; Azerbaijani *äskik* ‘common, ordinary, low-class, uneducated’; Gagauz *yisil-* ‘to decrease, to diminish; to be insufficient’; Turkmenian *egis-*, *egsil-* ‘to decrease, to diminish; to be insufficient’, *egsik* ‘common, ordinary, low-class, uneducated’; Uighur (dial.) *ögsü-* ‘to decrease, to diminish; to be insufficient’; Karaim *eksil-* ‘to decrease, to diminish; to be insufficient’, *eksik* ‘common, ordinary, low-class, uneducated’; Kirghiz *öksü-* ‘to decrease, to diminish; to be insufficient’, *öksük* ‘common, ordinary, low class, uneducated’; Chuvash *iksəl-* ‘to decrease, to diminish; to be insufficient’, *jəksek* ‘common, ordinary, low-class, uneducated’. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:498 **ĕka* (~ *-o*) ‘bad, weak’.

Buck 1949:9.93 need, necessity; 11.33 lose; 11.74 loss; 16.19 misfortune; 16.45 shame (sb.); 16.72 bad. Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 760, **h|X[ä]kä* ‘to need, to lack’.

660. Proto-Nostratic root **ʔel-*:
(vb.) **ʔel-* ‘to shine, to radiate, to glitter, to glisten’;
(n.) **ʔel-a* ‘luster, splendor, light’

A. Afrasian: Semitic: Arabic *ʔalla* ‘to shine, to glitter’, *ʔalaḳa* ‘to shine, to radiate, to flash, to glitter, to glisten’. D. Cohen 1970— :21 and 21—22. Highland East Cushitic: Hadiyya *ellin-co* ‘sun’. Hudson 1989:277.

B. Dravidian: Tamil *el* ‘luster, splendor, light, sun, daytime’, *elli*, *ellai* ‘sun, daytime’, *ilaku* (*ilaki-*), *ilaṅku* (*ilaṅki-*) ‘to shine, to glisten, to glitter’;

Malayalam *ilakuka* ‘to shine, to twinkle’, *ilaṅkuka* ‘to shine’, *el* ‘luster, splendor, light’, *ella* ‘light’; Telugu *elamu* ‘to be shiny, splendid’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:81, no. 829.

Buck 1949:1.56 light (sb.); 15.56 shine. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:581, no. 450.

661. Proto-Nostratic (Eurasiatic only) (n.) **ʔema* ‘older female relative; mother; (older) woman’ (nursery word):
Note also:
(n.) **ʔam(m)a* ‘mother’

A. Proto-Uralic **emä* / **ämä* ‘mother’: Finnish *emä* ‘mother’; Estonian *ema* ‘mother’; Hungarian *eme* ‘female of an animal’; Selkup Samoyed *əmy* ‘mother’; Motor *imam* ‘mother’; Taigi *emme*, *imam* ‘mother’; Yurak Samoyed / Nenets *emej* (in vocative also *emee*) ‘mother’. Collinder 1955:10 and 1977:31—32; Sammallahti 1988:536 **emä* ‘mother’; Décsy 1990:98 **emä* ‘mother’; Rédei 1986—1988:74 **emä*; Janhunen 1977b:23 **emä*; Aikio 2020:44—45 **emä* / **ämä* ‘mother’. Yukaghir (Southern / Kolyma) *emej* ‘mother’. Nikolaeva 2006:158.

B. Proto-Altaic **ĕme* ‘woman, female’: Proto-Tungus **emV* ‘mother-in-law; female; female deer, elk’ > Evenki *emugde*, *umigde* ‘female deer, elk’; Lamut / Even *ömiri* ‘female deer, elk’; Negidal *umigde* ‘female deer, elk’; Manchu *eme* ‘mother’, *emile* ‘the female of birds’, *emeke* ‘husband’s mother, mother-in-law’, *emχe* ‘wife’s mother, mother-in-law’ (in some early texts, *emχe* may also refer to a husband’s mother); Spoken Manchu (Sibo) *eməχə* ‘mother-in-law’; Nanay / Gold *emχe* ‘mother-in-law’. Proto-Mongolian **eme* ‘woman, wife’ > Written Mongolian *eme* ‘woman, wife, female’, *emegen* ‘old woman, grandmother’; Khalkha *em* ‘woman’, *emgen* ‘wife’; Buriat *eme* ‘woman’; Kalmyk *emə* ‘woman’; Ordos *eme* ‘woman’, *emegen* ‘old woman’; Dagur *eme* ‘woman, wife’, *emgun*, *emeg* ‘woman, wife’; Dongxiang *eme* ‘woman’; Monguor *mugen* ‘old woman’. Poppe 1955:153. Proto-Turkic **eme* ‘female; old woman’ > Turkish (dial.) *eme* ‘old woman’; Azerbaijani (dial.) *ämä* ‘old woman’; Kirghiz *eme* ‘old woman’; Chuvash *ama* ‘female’. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:504 **ĕme* ‘woman, female’.

C. Proto-Chukchi-Kamchatkan (?) **əmmæ* ‘mother’ (hypocoristic): Chukchi *əmme*, *əmmemə* ‘mother, mommy’; Kerek [*ammən* ‘mother’]; Koryak *əmme* ‘mother’; Alyutor *əmama* ‘mother’. Fortescue 2005:342.

D. Eskimo: Proto-Yupik **əma* ‘grandmother’ > Alutiiq Alaskan Yupik *əma*, *əmaaq* ‘grandmother’; Central Alaskan Yupik *mauʁluq*, *mauXɬuɣaq*, (Upper Kuskokwim) *əmacuŋaq* ‘grandmother’; Naukan Siberian Yupik *əmaXpak* ‘great grandmother’, *əma* ‘grandmother’. Fortescue—Jacobson—Kaplan 1994:109.

Buck 1949:2.22 woman; 2.24 female; 2.31ff. words for family relationship; 2.36 mother. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:571—572, no. 439; Fortescue 1998:152; Hakola 2000:27, no. 57; Dolgopolsky 1998:91—92, no. 116, **ʔemA* ‘mother’ and 2008, no. 37, **ʔemA* ‘mother’.

662. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **ʔenʸa* ‘mother, elder sister’ (nursery word):
Note also:
(n.) **ʔanʸa* ‘mother, aunt’

A. Uralic: Proto-Finno-Permian **enä* ‘mother’: (?) Vote *enne* ‘mother’; Lapp / Saami (Norwegian) *æd'ne/-dn-*, (Lule) *iednē* ~ *ädnē* ‘mother’; (?) Votyak / Udmurt *in*, *iń* in: (Sarapul) *kį̈lčin*, (Kazan) *kəlčiń* ‘customary epithet of Inmar; angel (in Christian literature)’; Zyrian / Komi (Upper Sysola) *eń* ‘female’. Rédei 1986—1988:624—625 **enä*; Aikio 2020:53—54 **ẹna-* / **ana-*. Yukaghir (Southern / Kolyma) *eńie* ‘mother’, (Northern / Tundra) *eńie*, *eńe* ‘mother’. Nikolaeva 2006:161.
B. Proto-Altaic **ĕnʸa* ‘mother, elder sister’: Proto-Tungus **enʸi-* ‘mother, female’ > Evenki *eńin* ‘mother, female’; Lamut / Even *eńin* ‘mother, female’; Negidal *eńin* ‘mother, female’; Manchu *eńen* ‘mother, female’ (Norman 1978:76 writes *eniye* ‘mother’); Jurchen *enin* ‘mother’; Ulch *eń-* ‘mother, female’; Orok *enin* ‘mother, female’; Nanay / Gold *eńin* ‘mother, female’; Oroch *ene*, *eńi* ‘mother, female’; Udihe *eńi(n)* ‘mother, female’; Solon *enē*, *eńĩ* ‘mother, female’. Proto-Turkic **ana* ~ **eńe* ‘mother’ > Old Turkic (Old Uighur) *ana* ~ *ene* ‘mother’; Karakhanide Turkic *ana* ~ *ene* ‘mother’; Turkish *ana* ‘mother’; Gagauz *ana* ‘mother’; Azerbaijani *ana* ‘mother’; Turkmenian *ene* ‘mother’; Uighur *ana* ‘mother’; Karaim *ana* ‘mother’; Tatar *ana* ‘mother’; Bashkir *inä* ‘mother’; Kirghiz *ene* ‘mother’; Kazakh *ene*, *ana* ‘mother’; Sary-Uighur *ana* ‘mother’; Oyrot (Mountain Altai) *ene* ‘mother’; Tuva *iỹe* ‘mother’; Chuvash *ańne* ‘mother’; Yakut *iỹe* ‘mother’; Dolgan *ińe* ‘mother’. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:510 **ĕńa* ‘mother, elder sister’.

Sumerian *en* ‘lady, mistress’.

Buck 1949:2.22 woman; 2.24 female; 2.31ff. words for family relationship; 2.36 mother.

663. Proto-Nostratic root **ʔepʰ-*:
(vb.) **ʔepʰ-* ‘to burn, to be hot; to cook, to boil, to bake’;
(n.) **ʔepʰ-a* ‘the act of cooking, baking; oven’

A. Proto-Afrasian **ʔ[e]f-* ‘to burn, to be hot; to bake’: Proto-Semitic *ʔap-ay-* ‘to bake’ > Hebrew *ʾāφāh* [אָפָה] ‘to bake’; Aramaic *ʾəφā* ‘to bake’; Ugaritic *ȧp(y)* ‘to bake’; Mandaic *apa* ‘to bake’; Akkadian *epū* ‘to bake’; Arabic (Daṯina) *hafā* (*hfy*) ‘to bake’, *mīfan* ‘oven’; Sabaean *ʔfy* ‘baked

goods'; Soqoṭri *mofe* 'furnace'; Geez / Ethiopic *ʔafaya* [**ኦፈየ**] 'to bake'. Murtonen 1989:98; Klein 1987:45; D. Cohen 1970— :28; Leslau 1987:10. Egyptian *ȝfyt* 'flames, fire', *ȝfr* 'to burn, to be hot', *ȝfry* 'to boil'. Hannig 1995:8; Faulkner 1962:3; Erman—Grapow 1926—1963.1:9.

B. Proto-Indo-European **ʔep^{h}-* 'to cook': Greek ἕψω 'to cook by boiling', ἑφθός (< **epstos*) 'boiled, cooked'; Armenian *ep^{h}em* 'to cook by boiling'. Pokorny 1959:325 **eph-* 'to cook'; Walde 1927—1932.I:124 **eps-* or **eph-*; Mann 1984—1987:1614 **epsō* (**i̯ebhsō*); Boisacq 1950:304; Frisk 1970—1973.I:604—605; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:394; Hofmann 1966: 101; Beekes 2010.I:492 (pre-Greek).

C. Proto-Altaic **ep^{h}o* 'bread, food': Proto-Tungus **epe* 'baked bread, cake' > Evenki *ewedi* 'baked bread, cake'; Manchu *efen* 'bread, pastry, cake, any sort of breadlike product made from flour'; Spoken Manchu (Sibo) *eʃən* 'Manchu bread'; Ulch *epe(n)* 'baked bread, cake'; Nanay / Gold *epẽ* 'baked bread, cake'; Solon *ouo ~ uγon ~ eweń* 'baked bread, cake'. Proto-Mongolian **aɣag/*haɣag* 'bran' > Written Mongolian *aγaγ* 'bran'; Khalkha *āga* 'bran'; Buriat *āgaha(n)*, *āha(n)* 'oatmeal'; Ordos *āɢ* 'bran'; Dagur *āhe* 'bran'. Proto-Turkic **Epey* 'baked bread' > Tatar *ipi* 'baked bread'; Bashkir *äpäy* 'baked bread'. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:514 **ep'o* 'bread, food'. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak note that the following Turkic forms may belong here as well, but they have been contaminated with reflexes of **et-mek* 'bread': Azerbaijani *äppäk* 'bread' (< **äpmäk* < **epmek*); Turkmenian (dial.) *epmek* 'bread'; Khakas *ipek* 'bread'; etc.

D. Chukchi-Kamchatkan: Proto-Chukotian **ə̄pat-* 'to boil or cook' > Chukchi *ə̄pat-* 'to boil or cook (tr.)', *ə̄paŋe* 'soup', *ə̄pa-w-* 'to drink tea or soup', *t-apa-ŋ-* 'to boil soup'; Kerek *ənnə-paat-* 'to cook fish'; Koryak *ə̄pat-* 'to boil, to cook', *ə̄paŋa* 'soup', *ə̄pa-v-* 'to drink soup'; Alyutor *ə̄pat-* 'to boil, to cook', (Palana) *ə̄paʔə̄p* 'soup'. Fortescue 2005:347; Mudrak 1989b:92 **ʔə̄paŋ-* 'to cook'.

Buck 1949:5.21 cook (vb.); 5.22 boil; 5.23 roast; 5.24 bake. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:571, no. 438; Dolgopolsky 1998:56, no. 64, **ʔäPHi* 'to bake, to prepare food on hot stones' and 2008, no. 62, **ʔäP[h]i* 'to bake, to cook food on hot stones'.

664. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **ʔer-a* 'earth, ground':

A. Proto-Afrasian **ʔ[e]r-ṯɬ'-* 'earth, ground': Proto-Semitic **ʔar-ṯɬ'-* 'earth, land' > Hebrew *ʔereṣ* [אֶרֶץ] 'earth, land, country, ground'; Aramaic *ʔarʿā* 'land, earth, ground, field'; Phoenician *ʔrṣ* 'earth'; Ugaritic *ảrṣ* 'earth'; Akkadian *erṣetu* 'earth, soil, ground, dry land; land, territory, district; the earth; the nether world'; Arabic *ʔarḍ* 'earth, ground, land'; Sabaean *ʔrḍ* 'earth'; Śḥeri / Jibbāli *ʔɛrƶ* 'land, earth'. D. Cohen 1970— :33—34; Klein 1987:57; Murtonen 1989:102; Zammit 2002:72; Takács 2011a:32 Proto-Semitic **ʔarṣ-* (**ʔarḍ-*); Militarëv 2010:64 Proto-Semitic **ʔarṣ̂-*. West

Chadic **HVriƛ'*- ‘earth’ > Pa’a *(ə)ɻɬa* / *rìtlʾá* (Orël—Stolbova write *riŝa*) ‘earth’; Tsagu *hííʾtlė* (Orël—Stolbova write *hīŝe*) ‘earth’; Siri *rəʾtlù* / *ìɻìtlí* (Orël—Stolbova write *rəŝu*) ‘earth’; Mburku *ríʾtlú* (Orël—Stolbova write *riŝi*) ‘earth’. Jungraithmayr—Ibriszimow 1994.II:116—117. (?) East Chadic **ʔiraƛ'*- ‘valley’ > Bidiya *ʾiraaḍya* ‘valley’. Diakonoff 1992:21 **ɻç̂* ‘earth’; Orël—Stolbova 1995:15—16, no. 54, **ʔariç̊*- ‘earth’; Militarëv 2010:64 Proto-Afrasian **ʔariç̊*-; Takács 2011a:32 **rVç̊*- ‘earth’.

B. Dravidian: Kannaḍa *ere* ‘black soil’; Telugu *rē-gaḍa*, *rē-gaḍi* ‘clay’ (*gaḍḍa* ‘clod’). Burrow—Emeneau 1984:80, no. 820.

C. Proto-Indo-European **ʔer*- ‘earth, ground’: Greek ἔρᾱ ‘earth’ (Homeric ἔραζε ‘to the earth, to the ground’); Gothic *airþa* ‘earth’; Old Icelandic *jörð* ‘earth, ground’; Faroese *jørð* ‘earth’; Swedish *jord* ‘earth’; Norwegian *jord* ‘earth’; Danish *jord* ‘earth’; Old English *eorþ* ‘earth, ground; the world’; Old Frisian *irthe*, *erthe* ‘earth’; Old Saxon *erđa* ‘earth’; Middle Dutch *erde*, *aerde* ‘earth’ (Dutch *aarde*); Old High German *erda* ‘earth, ground, soil; the world’ (New High German *Erde*), *ero* ‘earth’; Welsh *erw* ‘field’; Old Breton *ero* ‘furrow’; Old Cornish *erw*, *ereu* ‘furrow’. Pokorny 1959:332 **er*- ‘earth’; Walde 1927—1932.I:142 **er*-; Mann 1984—1987:1614 **ertos*, *-ā*, *-is*, 1614 **eru̯os*, *-ə* ‘land, earth, field’; Watkins 1985:17 **er*- and 2000:23—24 **er*- ‘earth, ground’ (extended form **ert*-); Mallory—Adams 1997:174 **h₁er*- ‘earth’; Boisacq 1950:270; Hofmann 1966:90; Beekes 2010.I:449 **h₁er*-; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:363; Frisk 1970—1973.I:546—547; Orël 2003:86 Proto-Germanic **erþō*; Kroonen 2013:118 Proto-Germanic **erþō*- ‘earth’; Feist 1939:25—26; Lehmann 1986:18 Proto-Germanic **erþō*, **erō*; De Vries 1977:295 Proto-Germanic **erþō*, **erō*; Falk—Torp 1903—1906.I:338—339 Proto-Germanic **erþô* from the root **er*-; Onions 1966:298 Common Germanic **erþō* < **er*-; Klein 1971:235 **er*-; Weekley 1921:491; Skeat 1898:184; Kluge—Lutz 1898:67; Boutkan—Siebinga 2005:194—195; Vercoullie 1898:4; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:171 **er*-, **ert*-, **eru̯*-; Kluge—Seebold 1989:184 Proto-Germanic **erþō*; Walshe 1951:48.

Buck 1949:1.21 earth, land. Brunner 1969:19, no. 2; Möller 1911:68—69 and 72; Bomhard—Kerns 1994:558—559, no. 419; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 65, **ʔarV* ‘earth, land, place’.

665. Proto-Nostratic root **ʔeƚʰ*-:
(vb.) **ʔeƚʰ*- ‘to oppose’;
(n.) **ʔeƚʰ-a* ‘that which is opposite’

A. Afrasian: Egyptian *i̯tn* ‘to be in opposition; to oppose, to be against’, *i̯tnw* ‘opponent, enemy’, *i̯tnw* ‘difficulties’. Faulkner 1962:33; Erman—Grapow 1921:20 and 1926—1963.1:145; Hannig 1995:112; Gardiner 1957:555.

B. Dravidian: Tamil *etir* ‘that which is opposite, over against, in front, before; obstacle, that which is contrary, adverse, hostile’, *etir* (*-v*-, *-nt*-) ‘to happen,

to befall, to come to pass in the future, to precede; to be opposed, to be at variance; to oppose, to confront, to meet', *etir* (*-pp-*, *-tt-*) 'to meet face to face, to encounter; to oppose, to withstand; to prevent, to hinder', *etir* (adv.) 'in front', *etiri* 'enemy', *etirntōr* 'adversaries, combatants', *etirvu* 'meeting, confronting, happening', *etirmai* 'happening in the future'; Malayalam *etir* 'opposite, adverse', *etirkka* 'to attack, to face, to resist', *etirppu* 'opposition, what crosses one's way, bad omen'; Kota *edyr* 'enemy'; Toda *öθïr* 'openly, (to lie) on one's back'; Kannaḍa *idir*, *idaru*, *iduru*, *edaru*, *edir*, *edur* 'that which is opposite, the front; in front; that which is hostile, opposition', *idircu*, *idirisu*, *edarisu*, *edirisu*, *edurisu* 'to face (generally in a hostile manner), to oppose, to withstand, to come into hostile contact', *edarāyisu*, *edirāyisu*, *edurāyisu* 'to oppose, to contradict'; Koḍagu *edike* 'in front'; Tuḷu *eḍuru̯*, *eduru* 'the front, that which is opposite; presence'; Telugu *eduru* 'the front, the point directly opposite; opposite, front', *eduru* 'to oppose, to resist, to act against', *eduṭa* (adv.) 'in front', *ediri* 'opponent, foe', *edirincu*, *edurucu* 'to oppose, to resist, to act against, to face, to encounter'; Konḍa *edru* 'opposite, in front'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:78, no. 795.

C. Proto-Indo-European adverb **ʔet^{h}i* ('from the opposite side' >) 'over, beyond, further': Sanskrit *áti* 'over, beyond'; Avestan *aiti* 'over, beyond'; Old Persian *atiy* 'beyond, across, past'; Greek ἔτι 'yet, as yet, still; further, moreover, besides; hereafter'; Phrygian ετι- 'again'; Latin *et* 'and'; Gaulish *eti* 'also, further'; Middle Breton *eta* 'so'; Gothic *iþ* 'but'; Old Icelandic *eða*, *eðr* 'still, yet'; Old English *eðða* 'and, or'; Old High German *ith-* prefix indicating repetition, addition; Old Prussian *et-* 'besides'. Pokorny 1959:344 **eti* 'over, beyond, further'; Walde 1927—1932.I:43—44 **eti*; Mann 1984—1987:354 **eti*, **eta*, **et* 'and, but, yet'; Watkins 1985:17 **eti* 'above, beyond' and 2000:24 **eti* 'above, beyond'; Mallory—Adams 1997:156 **$h_1$eti* 'beyond', 215 **$h_1$eti* 'and, in addition', and 2006:422 **$h_1$eti* 'and, in addition'; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.I:27; Boisacq 1950:292 **e-ti*; Hofmann 1966:97 **e-ti*; Beekes 2010.I:476 **$h_1$eti*; Frisk 1970—1973.I:582 **éti*; Matasović 2009:119; Feist 1939:297; Lehmann 1986:208 **eti* 'in addition, and'; De Vries 1977:98. Note: Proto-Indo-European **ʔet^{h}i* may also be the source of the thematic ablative singular case ending **-ō/ē-t^{h}-* < **-o/e-+ʔ(e)t^{h}(i)* 'from (the opposite side)' (the **-i* is preserved in Luwian and Lycian): Sanskrit *-āt* [*-ād*]; Oscan *-ud*, -úd; Old Latin *-ē/ōd*; Cuneiform and Hieroglyphic Luwian *-ati*; Lycian *-adi*, *-edi*; Lydian *-ad*. Cf. Brugmann 1904:382 **-ēd*, **-ōd*; Burrow 1973:233; Fortson 2010: 127—128 **-o-(h$_2$)ad/t*; Lundquist—Yates 2018:2087 **-oh$_1$ad*; Meillet 1964:322; Sihler 1995:250—251; Szemerényi 1996:183—184; Weiss 2009:202 **-o-h$_2$Vd* > **-ōd*, **-e-h$_2$Vd* > **-ād*.

Buck 1949:19.52 enemy.

666. Proto-Nostratic root *ʔ*ib-* (~ *ʔ*eb-*):
(vb.) *ʔ*ib-* ‘to well up, to overflow, to spill over; to pour out or over’;
(n.) *ʔ*ib-a* ‘spill, overflow, flood, deluge’

A. Proto-Afrasian *ʔ*[i]b-* ‘to well up, to overflow, to spill over; to pour out or over’: Proto-Semitic **ʔ*ab-ab-* ‘flood, deluge, inundation’ > Akkadian *abūbu* ‘the Deluge as a cosmic event; the Deluge personified as a monster with definite features; devastating flood’, (adv.) *abūbāniš* (*abūbiš*) ‘like the flood’; Arabic *ʔubāb* ‘great mass of water, billow, wave’; Geez / Ethiopic *ʔababi* [ኦበቢ] ‘flow, wave’; Mandaic *tababia* ‘storm, hurricane’. D. Cohen 1970— :1—2; Leslau 1987:2. Egyptian *ỉbḥ* ‘stream’, *ỉbḥ* ‘to sprinkle water’, *ỉbḥ* ‘a priest who pours libations’. Hannig 1995:42; Faulkner 1962:16; Gardiner 1957:553; Erman—Grapow 1926—1963.1:64.
B. Proto-Uralic *ipt*ɜ* ‘(n.) higher water-level; (vb.) to rise, to swell (water)’: Zyrian / Komi *i̯t*: (Sysola, Vyčegda) *i̯t-va* (*va* = ‘water’) ‘higher water-level, high water’; Ostyak / Xanty (Tremyugan) *ăpət-* ‘to bubble, to boil (kettle, soup)’, (Demyanka, Obdorsk) *epət-* ‘to rise, to swell (water), to overflow the banks (river), to boil over (boiling kettle)’. Rédei 1986—1988:83 Proto-Finno-Ugrian *ipt*ɜ* (**üpt*ɜ*) ‘(n.) higher water-level; (vb.) to rise, to swell (water)’; Aikio 2020:62 (?) **iptV* ‘flood’.

Sumerian *(i)br(a)* ‘to overflow, to flood, to inundate’.

Buck 1949:1.36 river, stream, brook; 5.22 boil (vb. intr.); 9.35 pour; 10.31 boil (vb. tr.). Different etymology in Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 7, **ʔ*[a]b HV* ‘water, watercourse’.

667. Proto-Nostratic root *ʔ*il-* (~ *ʔ*el-*):
(vb.) *ʔ*il-* ‘to live, to be alive; to be, to exist’;
(n.) *ʔ*il-a* ‘dwelling, habitation, house’; (adj.) ‘living, alive, existing’

A. Afrasian: Berber: Tuareg *əll* ‘to be, to exist’; Siwa *ili* ‘to be’; Nefusa *ili* ‘to be’; Ghadames *ili* ‘to be’; Wargla *ili* ‘to be’; Mzab *ili* ‘to be’; Tamazight *ili* ‘to be, to exist’; Tashelhiyt / Shilha *ili* ‘to be’; Riff *ili*, *iri* ‘to be’; Kabyle *ili* ‘to be, to exist’; Chaouia *ili* ‘to be, to exist’; Zenaga *ille* ‘to be’, *al* ‘place’. Central Chadic *ʔ*al-* ‘to be’ > Mofu *ala-* ‘to be’; Logone *āli-*, *li-* ‘to be’. Orël—Stolbova 1995:8 *ʔ*al-*/**ʔ*il-* ‘to be’.
B. Dravidian: Tamil *il* ‘house, home, place; wife’, *illam* ‘house, home’, *illavaḷ*, *illāḷ* ‘wife, mistress of the house’, *illāḷaṉ*, *illāḷi* ‘householder’; Malayalam *il* ‘house, place’, *illam* ‘house of Nambudiri’; Koḍagu *illavën* ‘man who is a relative’; Tuḷu *illu̯* ‘house, dwelling, family’; Telugu *illu* ‘house, dwelling, habitation’, *illaṭamu*, *illaṇṭramu* ‘living in the house of one’s wife’s father’; Kolami *ella* ‘house’, *iltāmā* ‘younger sister’s husband’, *iltam* ‘boy who serves for a wife in her father’s house’; Naikṛi *ella* ‘house’; Gondi *il* ‘house’; Koṇḍa *ilu* ‘house’; Pengo *il* ‘house’; Manḍa

il ‘house’; Kui *iḍu* ‘house, dwelling, shed, hut’; Kuwi *illū*, *illu*, *il* ‘house’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:48, no. 494; Krishnamurti 2003:8 and 180 **il* ‘house’.

C. Proto-Uralic **elä-* ‘to live’: Finnish *elä-* ‘to live; to be alive’, *elämä* ‘life, lifetime’, *elo* ‘life’; Estonian *ela-* ‘to be alive; to live, to dwell, to reside’, *elamu* ‘dwelling, habitation, house’; Lapp / Saami *ælle-*/*æle-* ‘to live’; Cheremis / Mari *əle-*, *ile-* ‘to live’; Votyak / Udmurt *uly-* ‘to live’; Zyrian / Komi *ol-* ‘to live’; Hungarian *él-* ‘to live’; Yurak Samoyed / Nenets *jiile-* ‘to live’; Tavgi Samoyed / Nganasan *ńile-* ‘to live’; Yenisei Samoyed / Enets (Hantai) *iði-*, (Baiha) *jire-* ‘to live’; Selkup Samoyed *ela-*, *ila-* ‘to live’; Kamassian *d'ili* ‘alive’. Rédei 1986—1988:73 **elä-*; Décsy 1990:98; Collinder 1955:10 and 1977:31; Janhunen 1977b:27 **ilä-*; Sammallahti 1988:536 **elä-* ‘to live’; Aikio 2020:43—44 **elä-* ‘to live / to go, to visit’.

Buck 1949:4.74 live (= be alive); living; alive; life; 7.11 dwell; 7.12 house; 7.122 home; 7.13 hut; 9.91 be. Illič-Svityč 1965:341 **elʌ* ‘to live’ (‘жить[1]’) and 1971—1984.I:267—268, no. 131, **ʔelA* ‘to live’; Hakola 2000:26—27, no. 56; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 23, **ʔelV* ‘clan, tribe’ (→ ‘all’, pronoun of plurality), no. 26, **ʔil[A]* ‘to stand, to stay; place to stay’, and, no. 2579, **χelV* ‘to live, to dwell’; Fortescue 1998:152.

668. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **ʔil-a* (~ **ʔel-a*) ‘deer’:

A. Dravidian: Tamil *iralai* (< **ilar-* through metathesis) ‘stag, a kind of deer’; Kannaḍa *eraḷe*, *erale* ‘antelope, deer’; Tuḷu *eraḷe* ‘antelope, deer’; Telugu (inscr.) *iri* ‘stag’, *irri* (< **ilri*) ‘antelope’, *lēṭi*, *lēḍi* (< **ilati*) ‘antelope’; Malto *ilaru* ‘the mouse deer’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:46, no. 476.

B. Proto-Indo-European **ʔel-* (secondary *o*-grade form: **ʔol-*) ‘deer (and similar animals)’: Greek ἔλαφος (< **el-n̥-*) ‘deer’, ἐλλός (< *ἐλνός) ‘a young deer, fawn’; Armenian *eln* ‘hind, doe’; Old Irish *elit* ‘doe’; Welsh *elain* ‘fawn’; Old Icelandic *elgr* ‘elk’; Dutch *eland* ‘elk’; Old English *eolh* ‘elk’; Old High German *elaho* ‘elk’ (New High German *Elch*); Lithuanian *élnis* ‘deer’; Old Church Slavic *jelenь* ‘deer’; Russian *olén'* [олень] ‘deer’, *los'* [лось] (< **olsь*) ‘elk’; Ukrainian *ólen'* ‘deer’; Macedonian *elen* ‘deer’; Czech *jelen* ‘deer’, *los* ‘elk’; Tocharian A *yäl*, B *yal* ‘gazelle’. Pokorny 1959:303—304 **el-en-*, **el-n̥-* (**elənī*) ‘deer’; Walde 1927—1932.I:154—155 **el-* ‘deer and similar animals’; Mann 1984—1987:16 **alk̂is*, **alək̂is* ‘a horned animal’, 238 **elənis* (**elnis*, *-os*; **ălənis*) ‘deer’; Watkins 1985:16—17 **el-* 2000:23 **el-* ‘red, brown’ (forming animal and tree names); Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.I:517—518 **el-*, **ol-*: **(e)l-k̂[ʰ]-*, **el-en-*, **el-n̥-* and 1995.I:437 **el-*, **ol-*: **(e)l-k̂ʰ-*, **el-en-*, **el-n̥-* ‘deer’; Mallory—Adams 1997:154—155 **h₁elh₁éń* ‘(British English) red deer’; Boisacq 1950:238 **eln̥-bho-s* and 245 **el-en-*; Frisk 1970—1973.I:483—484 **elen-* (?); Chantraine 1968—1980.I:333 **eln̥-bho-s*; Hofmann 1966: 77 **el-n̥-bhos*; Beekes 2010.I:402—403 **h₁eḱuo-*; Van Windekens 1976—

1982.I:591 **el-en-*; Adams 1999:485—486 **$h_1$el-en-*; Derksen 2008:140 **$h_1$el-$h_1$en-i* and 2015:153 **$h_1$ol-Hn-iH-*; Fraenkel 1962—1965.I:120; Orël 2003:14 Proto-Germanic **alǥiz* ~ **elxaz* ~ **elxōn* (continuing Proto-Indo-European **olk̂is* ~ **elk̂is*); Kroonen 2013:116 Proto-Germanic **elha(n)-* 'elk'; De Vries 1977:100 **el-*; Onions 1966:304 **oln-*, **eln-* and 306 **elk-*; Klein 1971:240 **eln-* and 242 **elk-*; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:162 **elk-*, **olk-*; Kluge—Seebold 1989:173—174 **el-*; Vercoullie 1898:70.

C. Yukaghir (Southern / Kolyma) *ile*, *ilbe* (< **ilwə*) 'domestic raindeer', (Northern / Tundra) *ilwiiče* 'pastor', *ilwii-* 'to graze', *iled-ičibe* 'milk', *iled'e* 'having reindeer', *ilen-nouriče* 'herdsman'. Nikolaeva 2006:171 and 173.

D. Proto-Altaic **ělV(-k^{h}V)* 'deer': Proto-Tungus **(χ)elkēn* 'deer' > Evenki *elkēn* 'wild deer'; Lamut / Even *iēlken*, *elken* 'domesticated deer'. Proto-Mongolian **ili* 'a young deer, fawn' > Written Mongolian *ili*, *eli* 'a young deer, fawn'; Khalkha *il* 'a young deer, fawn'; Kalmyk *ilə* 'a young deer, fawn'. Proto-Turkic **elik* 'roebuck; wild goat' > Old Turkic (Old Uighur) *elik* 'roebuck; wild goat'; Karakhanide Turkic *elik* 'roebuck; wild goat'; Turkish (dial.) *elik* 'roebuck; wild goat'; Bashkir *ilek* 'roebuck; wild goat'; Kirghiz *elik* 'roebuck; wild goat'; Kazakh *elik* 'roebuck; wild goat'; Oyrot (Mountain Altai) *elik* 'roebuck; wild goat'; Tuva *elik* 'roebuck; wild goat'. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:501 **ělV(-k'V)* 'deer'.

Buck 1949:3.75 deer. Illič-Svityč 1971—1984.I:272—273, no. 135, **ʔili* 'deer'; Bomhard—Kerns 1994:582—583, no. 452; Dolgopolsky 1998:41—42, no. 37, **ʔEl/ḷi* 'deer' and 2008, no. 25, **ʔêlV* 'deer'.

669. Proto-Nostratic root **ʔil-* (~ **ʔel-*):
(vb.) **ʔil-* 'to see, to know';
(n.) **ʔil-a* 'eye'

A. Proto-Afrasian **ʔil-* '(vb.) to see, to know; (n.) eye': Proto-Southern Cushitic **ʔila-* 'eye' > Iraqw *ila* 'eye'; Burunge *ila* 'eye'; Alagwa *ila* 'eye'; K'wadza *ilito* 'eye'; Asa *ʔilat* 'eye'; Ma'a *iʔilá* 'eye'; Dahalo *ʔila* 'eye'. Ehret 1980:291. Proto-Southern Cushitic **ʔiley-* 'to know' > Ma'a *-íle* 'to know', *-ʔilíye* 'to acquaint'; Dahalo *ʔelej-* 'to know'. According to Ehret (1980:292), this stem is a derivative of **ʔila-* 'eye', converted to a verb by the addition of the consequentive extension **-Vy-*. Proto-Southern Cushitic **ʔilima-* 'tears' > Asa *ʔelelema* 'tears'; Ma'a *iʔilíma* 'tears'; Dahalo *ʔilíma* 'tears'. Ehret 1980:291—292. Proto-East Cushitic **ʔil-* 'eye': Burji *íl-a*, *ill-áa* 'eye'; Gedeo / Darasa *ille* 'eye'; Hadiyya *ille* 'eye', *il-šura* 'eyelash'; Kambata *illi* (pl. *illi-ta*) 'eye', *ille šura* 'eyelash'; Sidamo *ille* (pl. *ill-ubba*) 'eye'; Somali *il* 'eye'; Rendille *il* 'eye'; Bayso *il-i* 'eye'; Boni *il* 'eye'; Dasenech *ʔil* 'eye'; Elmolo *il* 'eye'; Galla / Oromo (Wollega) *ijj-a* (< **il-i-ta*) 'eye'; Borana *il-a* 'eye'; Konso *il-ta* 'eye'; Yaaku *il* 'eye'; Gidole *il-t* 'eye'. Sasse 1979:22 and 1982:104; Heine 1978:65; Hudson

1989:60. Proto-East Cushitic *ʔilaal- ‘to see, to look at’ (derivative of *ʔil- ‘eye’) > Burji *ilaal-* ‘to see, to look at’; Saho *ilaal-* ‘to wait for’; Somali *ilaal-* ‘to guard’; Galla / Oromo *ilaal-* ‘to watch’; Konso *ilaal-* ‘to follow with the eyes’. Sasse 1979:5, 22 and 1982:105. Proto-Agaw *ʔəl ‘eye’ > Bilin ʿil (pl. ʿilíl) ‘eye’; Xamir *əl* ‘eye’; Kemant *yəl* ‘eye’; Awngi / Awiya *áll* ‘eye’. Reinisch 1887:63; Appleyard 2006:62. North Cushitic: Beja / Beḍawyi *líli*, *líle* ‘eye’. Reinisch 1895:158. Ehret 1995:360, no. 720, *ʔil-/*ʔal- ‘to see’, *ʔil- ‘eye’; Takács 2011a:146 *ʔil ‘eye’.

B. Elamo-Dravidian: Middle Elamite *el*, *el-ti* ‘eye(s)’; Royal Achaemenid Elamite *el-te* ‘his eye’; Neo-Elamite *el-ti-pi* ‘eyes’.

C. Proto-Altaic *ila ‘evident, visible’: Proto-Tungus *ile ‘figure, shape; body; example; exterior’ > Evenki *ille* ‘body’; Lamut / Even *ilrъ* ‘body’, *ịlrъn* ‘figure, shape’, *ilun* ‘example’; Ulch *ịlta(n)* ‘exterior’; Nanay / Gold *ịlta* ‘exterior’. Proto-Mongolian *ile ‘known, evident, obvious’ > Written Mongolian *ile* ‘clear, manifest, obvious; perceptible, visible, distinct’, *iled-* ‘to be evident, clear, open’; Khalkha *il* ‘known, evident, obvious’; Buriat *eli* ‘known, evident, obvious’; Kalmyk *ilə* ‘known, evident, obvious’; Ordos *ile*, *ele* ‘known, evident, obvious’; Moghol *ilä* ‘known, evident, obvious’; Dagur *il*, *ilēt*, *ile* ‘known, evident, obvious’; Shira-Yughur *hele* ‘known, evident, obvious’. Proto-Turkic *iler- ‘to be dimly visible’ > Karakhanide Turkic *iler-* ‘to be dimly visible’; Oyrot (Mountain Altai) *eles* ‘silhouette, ghost’, *eleste-* ‘to be dimly visible’. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:581—582 *ila ‘evident, visible’.

D. (?) Proto-Chukchi-Kamchatkan *lə- in: Proto-Chukchi-Kamchatkan *ləlæ- ‘eye’: Chukchi *ləlalʏən* (pl. *ləlet*) ‘eye’; Koryak *ləlalŋən* (pl. *ləlat*) ‘eye’; Kerek *laaŋa* ‘eye’; Alyutor *ləlalŋən* ‘eye’; Kamchadal / Itelmen *lŏŋ* ‘eye’. Fortescue 2005:163. Proto-Chukchi-Kamchatkan *ləlaðʏən ‘eyelashes’: Chukchi *ləlarʏən* ‘eyelash’; Koryak *ləlʲacʏo* ‘eyelash’; Kerek [*lajəʏəjə-Xal* ‘eyelash’]; Alyutor *ləlatʏən*, (Palana) *lʲlacʏo* ‘eyelashes’; Kamchadal / Itelmen *łaɬceʔn* ‘eyelashes’. Fortescue 2005:163. Proto-Chukotian *ləlæp- ‘to look’: Chukchi *ləlep-* ‘to look, to open eyes’; Kerek *lʲaappə-ttu-* ‘to look’; Koryak *ləlʲap-* ‘to look’; Alyutor *lʲəlʲap-*, (Palana) *lʲlʲep-* ‘to look’. Fortescue 2005:163—164. Proto-Chukchi-Kamchatkan (?) *ləʁu- ‘to see’: Chukchi *lʔu-* ‘to see, to find’; Kerek *lʔuu-* ‘to see, to find’; Koryak *ləʁu-* ‘to see, to find’; Alyutor *lʔu-*, *laʔu-*, (Palana) *laʔu-* ‘to see, to find’; (?) Kamchadal / Itelmen *laXɬ-kas* ‘to look’. Fortescue 2005:167—168. Proto-Chukotian *ləʁulqəl ‘face’: Chukchi *lʔulqəl* ‘face’; Kerek *lʔulʁəl* ‘face’; Koryak *ləʁulqəl* ‘face’; Alyutor *ləʔulqəl* ‘face’. Fortescue 2005:168.

Sumerian *íl* ‘to look at’.

Buck 1949:4.21 eye; 15.51 see; 17.17 know; 17.34 clear, plain (to the mind). Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 27, *ʔiĪV ‘eye’.

670. Proto-Nostratic (n.) *ʔ*in-a* (~ *ʔ*en-a*) ‘place, location’ (> ‘in, within, into’ in the daughter languages):

A. Proto-Afrasian *ʔ*in-* ‘in, within, into’: Proto-Semitic *ʔ*in-* ‘in, on, from, by’ > Akkadian *ina* (*in*) ‘in, on, from, through’; Geez / Ethiopic *ʔən-ta* [**ኧንተ**] ‘through, by way of, by, at, into, to, in the direction of, because’; Tigre *ʔət* ‘on, in, by, with, because of’, *ʔətta* ‘there’. Leslau 1987:32—33; D. Cohen 1970— :24. Egyptian *i̯n* ‘in, to, for, because, by’. Gardiner 1957:553; Hannig 1995:73; Faulkner 1962:22; Erman—Grapow 1921:13 and 1926—1963.1:89. Proto-Highland East Cushitic *-*ni* ‘with’ > Burji *-na* ‘with’; Gedeo / Darasa *-nni* ‘with’, *-’ni* ‘on (top of)’, *-’ni* ‘from, in’; Hadiyya *-n* ‘in’, *-nni* ‘in’, *-ns* ‘from’; Kambata *-n* ‘with’; Sidamo *-nni* ‘with’. Hudson 1989:83 and 169.

B. Proto-Indo-European *ʔ*en-* ‘in, into, among, on’: Greek ἔν, ἔνι, ἐνί ‘in, on, among, into, and besides’; Latin *in* (Old Latin *en*) ‘in, on, among, into, on to, towards, against’; Oscan *en* ‘in’; Umbrian *-en* (*-e*, *-em*) ‘in’; Old Irish *ini-*, *en-*, *in-* ‘in, into’; Gothic *in* ‘in, into, among, by’, *inn* ‘into’; Old Icelandic *í* ‘in, within, among’, *inn* ‘in, into’; Old English *in* ‘in, on, among, into, during’, *inn* ‘in’; Old Frisian *in* ‘in’; Old Saxon *in* ‘in’; Old High German *in* ‘in’ (New High German *in*); Old Prussian *en* ‘inside, within’. Pokorny 1959:311—314 **en*, **eni* ‘inside, within’; Walde 1927—1932.I:125—127 **en-*; Mann 1984—1987:241 **en*, **eni* ‘in’; Watkins 1985:17 **en* and 2000:23 **en* ‘in’; Mallory—Adams 1997:290 **h₁en(i)* ‘in, into’; Boisacq 1950:249 **en* (**eni*); Frisk 1970—1973.I:508—509 **en*, **eni*; Hofmann 1966:81 **en*, **eni*, **enį́*, **n̥*; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:344—345 **en-*; Beekes 2010.I:419 **h₁en(i)*; Ernout—Meillet 1979:312—314 **en*, **n̥*; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:687—688 **en*, **n̥*; **eni*; De Vaan 2008:300; Buck 1928:209, §301.2; Orël 2003:84 Proto-Germanic **enđ(ĕ)*, 84 **eni*; Kroonen 2013:269 Proto-Germanic **in(i)* ‘in’; Feist 1939:292; Lehmann 1986:205 **en*, **(e)ni*, **entós* and 206; De Vries 1977:282 and 286; Onions 1966:466 **en*, **n̥*; Klein 1971:371 **en*, **n̥*, **eni*; Boutkan—Siebinga 2005:192—193; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:326; Kluge—Seebold 1989:328—329 **eni*.

C. Uralic: Proto-Finno-Ugrian **[i]nз* ‘place’ > Votyak / Udmurt *in*, *iń* ‘place, spot’; Zyrian / Komi (Sysola) *-in* in: *kos-in* ‘dry place, dry land’, (Letka) *in* ‘place, spot’; (?) Hungarian (dialectal) *eny*, *enyh* ‘shelter; covered or sheltered place where men and animals take cover from wind, rain, snow, or heat’. Rédei 1986—1988:592—593 **ӫnз*.

D. Proto-Eskimo **ənə* ‘place’: Alutiiq Alaskan Yupik *ənа* ‘(Chugach) house; (Koniag) room space’ [base *ənə*]; Central Alaskan Yupik <*ə*>*na*, (Hooper Bay-Chevak) *ənа*, (Nunivak) *ənа* ‘house, place’ [base *ənə*]; Naukan Siberian Yupik *ənə* ‘place’; Central Siberian Yupik *na* ‘home, place’ [base *nə*]; Sirenik *ənə* ‘place, dwelling’; Seward Peninsula Inuit *ini*, (Little Diomede) *ənə* ‘house’; North Alaskan Inuit *ɨnɨ* ‘place, room’, *ɨnɨt* ‘village’; Western Canadian Inuit *ini* ‘place, sledge track’; Eastern Canadian Inuit *ini*

'place, sledge track'; Greenlandic *ini* 'place, nest, lair, sledge track'. Fortescue—Jacobson—Kaplan 1994:111.

Bomhard—Kerns 1994:566—567, no. 432; Dolgopolsky 2002:48—49 **ʔin/ǹa/ä* 'place' (> 'in' in daughter languages) and 2008, no. 45, **ʔiñ[A]* 'place' ([in descendant languages] → 'in'); Fortescue 1998:144.

671. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **ʔina* or **ʔiŋa* 'younger relative (male or female)' (nursery word):

A. Proto-Afrasian **ʔin(a)* or **ʔiŋ(a)* 'younger relative (male or female)': Proto-East Cushitic **ʔinam-/*ʔinm-* (m.) 'son, boy', (f.) 'daughter, girl' > Somali *ínan* (pl. *inamm-o*) 'boy, son', *inán* (pl. *inam-o*) 'girl, daughter'; Rendille *ínam* 'boy', *inám* 'girl, daughter'; Konso *inn-a* 'son, boy', *inan-ta* 'girl, daughter'; Gidole *imm(-a)* 'boy, son', *inan-t(a)* 'girl, daughter'; Harso *inan-ko* 'son-in-law'. Sasse 1979:24. Proto-Southern Cushitic **ʔiŋan-* or **ʔiŋaan-* 'child' > Burunge *nana* 'sibling, cousin'; Iraqw *nina* 'small, little'; Alagwa *nina* 'small, little'; K'wadza *-nanana* 'little'; Ma'a *iŋínta* 'sister', *iŋa* 'brother'. Ehret 1980:292. (?) Egyptian *ỉnpw* 'royal child: crown-prince, princess'. Gardiner 1957:554; Faulkner 1962:23; Hannig 1995:77; Erman—Grapow 1921:14 and 1926—1963.1:96.

B. Proto-Altaic **īna* 'younger relative (male or female)': Proto-Tungus **īnan* 'younger relative (male or female)' > Evenki *īnan* 'husband's younger brother'; Lamut / Even *ịnъn* '(younger) brother-in-law or sister-in-law'; Negidal *ịna* 'sister's children'; Manchu *ina* 'sister's son, nephew'; Spoken Manchu (Sibo) *inā* 'sister's son, nephew; son of father's or mother's sister, cousin'; Orok *ịna* 'son-in-law'; Nanay / Gold *ịnã* 'husband's younger sister'. Proto-Turkic **ini* 'younger brother' > Old Turkic (Orkhon, Old Uighur) *ini* 'younger brother'; Karakhanide Turkic *ini* 'younger brother'; Turkish *ini* 'younger brother'; Azerbaijani (dial.) *ini* 'younger brother'; Turkmenian *ini* 'younger brother'; Tatar *ĭnĭ* 'younger brother'; Bashkir *ĭnĭ* 'younger brother'; Uzbek *ini* 'younger brother'; Uighur *ini* 'younger brother'; Kirghiz *ini* 'younger brother'; Kazakh *ĭnĭ* 'younger brother'; Noghay *ini* 'younger brother'; Sary-Uighur *ini*, *ïnï* 'younger brother'; Oyrot (Mountain Altai) *ini*, *īn* 'younger brother'; Yakut *ini*, *inī* 'younger brother'; Dolgan *ini-bī* 'younger brother'. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:587—588 **īna* 'younger sibling'.

C. (?) Eskimo: Proto-Inuit **inʁutaq* 'grandchild' > North Alaskan Inuit *inʸʁutaq* 'grandchild'; Western Canadian Inuit (Copper) *inʁutaq*, (Siglit) *inʁutaaluk*, (Netsilik) *inŋutaq* 'grandchild'; Eastern Canadian Inuit *iʁŋutaq* 'grandchild'; Greenlandic Inuit *iʁnutaq*, *iʁŋutaq* 'grandchild'. Fortescue—Jacobson—Kaplan 1994:134.

Buck 1949:2.25 boy; 2.26 girl; 2.27 child; 2.41 son; 2.42 daughter; 2.44 brother; 2.45 sister.

672. Proto-Nostratic root *ʔit'- (~ *ʔet'-):
(vb.) *ʔit'- ‘to chew, to bite, to eat, to consume’;
(n.) *ʔit'-a ‘the act of eating; that which is eaten: food, nourishment’

A. Proto-Afrasian *ʔit'-, *ʔet'- ‘to eat, to bite into’: Proto-Semitic *ʔat'-am- ‘to bite into’ > Arabic *ʔaṭama* ‘to bite into’; Ugaritic *ủṭm* ‘bite, mouthful, morsel’. D. Cohen 1970— :16. (?) Egyptian *ỉdbw* ‘of the mouth’ (medical term). Erman—Grapow 1926—1963.1:153. Berber: Tawlemmet *əṭṭəḍ* ‘to suck’, *suḍəḍ* ‘to suckle, to nurse, to breast-feed’; Nefusa *taḍḍa* ‘leech’; Mzab *əṭṭəḍ* ‘to suck’, *ssəṭṭəḍ* ‘to suckle, to nurse, to breast-feed’; Wargla *əṭṭəḍ* ‘to suck’; Tamazight *əṭṭəḍ* ‘to suck’, *ssuṭṭəḍ* ‘to suckle, to nurse, to breast-feed’, *tiḍiṭṭ* ‘leech’; Tashelhiyt / Shilha *əṭṭəḍ* ‘to suck’; Riff *əṭṭəḍ* ‘to suck’, *uḍuḍ* ‘nursing, breast-feeding’; Kabyle *əṭṭəḍ* ‘to suck’, *tuṭṭḍa* ‘sucking’; Chaouia *əṭṭəḍ* ‘to suck, to be sucked’, *timsuḍḍəṭ* ‘wet-nurse’; Zenaga *ḍuḍ* ‘to suck’, *sudduḍ* ‘to suckle, to nurse, to breast-feed’, *əḍəḍ* ‘to bite’. (?) Chadic: Fyer *et-* ‘to eat’; Tangale *edi-* ‘to eat’. Jungraithmayr—Ibriszimow 1994.II:120—121. (?) East Cushitic: Burji *it-* ‘to eat’; Gedeo / Darasa *it-* ‘to eat’; Hadiyya *it-* ‘to eat’; Kambata *it-* ‘to eat’; Sidamo *it-* ‘to eat’; Galla / Oromo *it-o* ‘food’. Sasse 1982:108; Hudson 1989:55 Proto-Highland East Cushitic *it-. Orël—Stolbova 1995:23, no. 83, *ʔet- ‘to eat’.

B. Proto-Indo-European *ʔet'- (secondary *o*-grade form: *ʔot'-) ‘to eat’ (original meaning ‘to bite’): Sanskrit *ádmi* ‘to eat, to consume, to devour’; Greek ἔδω, ἔδομαι ‘to eat, to devour; (of worms) to gnaw’; Armenian *utem* ‘to eat’; Latin *edō* ‘to eat’; Gothic *itan* ‘to eat’; Old Icelandic *eta* ‘to eat’; Norwegian *eta* ‘to eat’; Swedish *äta* ‘to eat’; Old English *etan* ‘to eat’; Old Frisian *eta*, *īta* ‘to eat’; Old Saxon *etan* ‘to eat’; Dutch *eten* ‘to eat’; Old High German *ezzan* ‘to eat’ (New High German *essen*); Lithuanian *ėdu*, *ėsti* ‘to eat’, *ėda* ‘food’; Latvian *êst* ‘to eat’; Old Prussian *īst* ‘to eat’; Old Church Slavic *jasti* ‘to eat’; Russian *jest'* [есть] ‘to eat’; Polish *jeść* ‘to eat’; Czech *jísti* ‘to eat’; Hittite (1st sg. pres.) *e-it-mi* ‘I eat’; Palaic (3rd pl. pres.) *a-ta-a-an-ti* ‘they eat’; Luwian (inf.) *a-du-na* ‘to eat’; Hieroglyphic Luwian *at-* ‘to eat’. Rix 1998a:205—206 *$h_1$ed-* (‘to bite’ →) ‘to eat’; Pokorny 1959:287—289 *ed-* ‘to eat’; Walde 1927—1932.I:118—121 *ed-; Mann 1984—1987:230 *ēd-* (*ēdā, *-om*, *-i̯ə*, *-i̯om*, *-is*) ‘food, bait’, 230 *ĕdəlis, *-os*, *-om* ‘edible; food’, 230—231 *ĕdmi (*ĕdō*) ‘to eat’, 231 *ĕdmn-, *ĕdn-* ‘food; tooth, set of teeth’, 231 *edō(n)* ‘devourer, consumer’, 231 *ed̯nt-, *edont-* (*odont-*) ‘eating-; tooth’, 231 *edonts* (*edont, *edon*) (act. ptc.) ‘eating’, 231 *ēdō(n)* (*ēdon-, *ēdi̯os*) ‘eater’, 231 *ēdrā, *-is* ‘food’, 231 *ēds-, *ēdsmn-* ‘eating, food’, 231—232 *edsk- (*odsk-*) ‘foodstuff, food-crop’, 232 *ĕdsō, *-i̯ō*, 232 *ĕdtis (*ĕstis*) ‘eating, food’, 862 *ŏd-* ‘to eat’; Watkins 1985:16 *ed-* and 2000:22 *ed-* ‘to eat’ (original meaning ‘to bite’); Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.I:41 *et'-/*ot'-* and 1995.I:37 *et'-/*ot'-* ‘to eat’, I:218 *et'-mi* ‘I eat’, *et'-men* ‘food’; Mallory—Adams 1997:175 *$h_1$édmi* ‘to eat’; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.I:28; Boisacq 1950:216 *ĕd-; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:312—313 *ĕd-mi*, *ed-;

Frisk 1970—1973.I:444—445 **ĕd-mi*; Hofmann 1966:69 **ed-*; Beekes 2010.I:375 **$h_1$ed-*; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:392—393 **éd-mi*; Ernout—Meillet 1979:191—192 **ed-*; De Vaan 2008:185—186; Orël 2003:27 Proto-Germanic **atjanan*, 86 **etanan*, 86 **etulaz*; Kroonen 2013:39 Proto-Germanic **atjan-* 'to make eat' and 119 **etan-* 'to eat'; Lehmann 1986:208 **ed-* ← **ʔed-*; Feist 1939:296—297; De Vries 1977:106 **ed-mi*; Onions 1966:298 **ed-*; Klein 1971:235 **ed-*; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:175—176 **ed-*; Kluge—Seebold 1989:190 **ed-*; Smoczyński 2007.1:148—149; Fraenkel 1962—1965.I:124—125; Derksen 2008:154 **$h_1$ed-mi* and 2015:157—158 **$h_1$ed-mi*; Wodtko—Irslinger—Schneider 2008:208—220 **$h_1$ed-*; Puhvel 1984— .1/2:315—320; Kloekhorst 2008b: 261—263.

C. Proto-Altaic **ite* (~ **eti*) 'to eat': Proto-Mongolian **ide-* 'to eat' > Mongolian *ide-* 'to eat, to feed on, to gnaw, to eat up, to devour, to consume', *idegde-* 'to be eaten', *idegen* 'food, nourishment, provisions', *idegül-* 'to give food to, to feed (tr.)', *idelče-* 'to eat (something) together with others', *ideši* 'food, meals'; Khalkha *ide-* 'to eat'; Buriat *ede-* 'to eat'; Kalmyk *idə-* 'to eat'; Ordos *ide-* 'to eat'; Moghol *idä-* 'to eat'; Dagur *ide-* 'to eat'; Dongxiang *eǯie-* 'to eat'; Monguor *ide-* 'to eat'; Shira-Yughur *ede-* 'to eat'. Poppe 1955:107. Proto-Turkic **et-mek* 'bread' > Old Turkic (Old Uighur) *ötmek* 'bread'; Karakhanide Turkic *etmek* 'bread'; Turkish *etmek*, *ekmek* 'bread, food', *ekmekçi* 'baker'; Karaim *ekmek*, *etmek*, *ötmek* 'bread'; Gagauz *iekmek* 'bread'; Azerbaijani *äppäk* 'bread' (< **äpmäk* < **epmek*); Turkmenian (dial.) *ekmek*, *epmek* 'bread'; Tatar *ikmäk* 'bread'; Bashkir *ikmäk* 'bread'; Noghay *ötpek* 'bread'; Khakas *ipek* 'bread'; Oyrot (Mountain Altai) *ötpök* 'bread'. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:594 **ite* (~ **eti*) 'to eat'. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak (2003:514) note that some of the above Turkic forms may be from Proto-Turkic **ep-mek* 'bread' instead.

Buck 1949:4.58 bite (vb.); 5.11 eat. Illič-Svityč 1971—1984.I:273—274, no. 136, **ʔitä* 'to eat'; Bomhard—Kerns 1994:558, no. 418; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 91,**ʔitê* 'to eat'.

673. Proto-Nostratic root **ʔiy-* (~ **ʔey-*):
(vb.) **ʔiy-* 'to come, to go';
(n.) **ʔiy-a* 'approach, arrival; path, way'
Note also:
(vb.) **ʔay-* 'to go, to proceed';
(n.) **ʔay-a* 'journey'

A. Proto-Afrasian **ʔiy-* 'to come, to go': Egyptian *i͗i͗*, *i͗y* 'to come' (also *i͗w* 'to come'); Coptic *i* [ϵι] 'to come, to go'. Hannig 1995:27—28; Faulkner 1962:10 and 11; Erman—Grapow 1921:6 and 1926—1963.1:37; Gardiner 1957:551; Vycichl 1983:59—60; Černý 1976:44. North Cushitic: Beja / Beḍawye *yiʔ-*, *ʔiʔ-* 'to arrive at, to come'. Reinisch 1895:241. Lowland

East Cushitic: Arbore *ʔiʔit-* ‘to go’. Proto-Chadic (imptv.) **ya* ‘come!’ > Hausa *yaa-ka* ‘come!’; Ngizim *yé-n* ‘come!’; Sukur *yo* ‘come!’. Ngizim *yí* ‘go, went’ (form of ‘go’ used in the subjunctive aspect). Newman 1977:24; Jungraithmayr—Ibriszimow 1994.II:82—83 and II:162—163; Schuh 1981:177. Orël—Stolbova 1995:31, no. 118, **ʔiw-*/**ʔiy-* ‘to come’.

B. Dravidian: Tamil *iyaṅku* (*iyaṅki-*) ‘(vb.) to move, to stir, to go, to proceed, to walk about; (n.) movement, act of going’, *iyakku* (*iyakki-*) ‘(vb.) to cause to go, to train or break in (as a bull or horse); (n.) motion, going, marching’, *iyakkam* ‘motion, moving about, way’, *iyal* (*iyalv-*, *iyan̲r̲-*, *iyali-*) ‘(vb.) to go on foot, to dance; (n.) pace, gait’, *iyavu* ‘way, leading, proceeding’, *iyavai* ‘way, path’; Malayalam *iyaṅṅuka* ‘to move steadily’, *iyakkuka* ‘to cause to move’, *iyakkam* ‘motion, movement’; Kota *i·y-* (*i·c-*), *i·c-* (*i·c-*) ‘to drive (cattle)’; Kannaḍa *esagu* ‘to drive’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:45, no. 469. Tamil *eytu* (*eyti-*) ‘to approach, to reach, to obtain, to be suitable’; Malayalam *eytuka* ‘to get, to obtain’, *ettuka* ‘to stretch as far as, to reach, to arrive’; Toda *ïc-* (*ïč-*) ‘to reach, to be sufficient’; Kannaḍa *aydu*, *eydu* ‘to approach, to reach, to go to, to join, to obtain, to be suitable’; Koḍagu *ett-* (*etti-*) ‘to arrive’; Tuḷu *ettāvuni*, *ettāḍuni* ‘to reach, to deliver’, *ettu̯*, *ekku̯* ‘to reach’; Telugu *ey(i)du*, *ēdu* ‘to attain, to go to, to join, to obtain; to suit, to be proper’; Parji *ēd-*, *ēy-* ‘to arrive’; Koṇḍa *ī-* ‘to arrive’; Kuwi *ejali* ‘to arrive, to reach, to overtake’; Brahui *hining* ‘to go, to depart, to disappear, to be past, to pass beyond, to be no longer fit for, to flow, (stomach) to have diarrhea’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:79, no. 809.

C. [Proto-Indo-European **ʔey-*/**ʔoy-*/**ʔi-* ‘to go’: Greek (1st sg. pres.) εἶμι ‘I go’, (1st pl. pres.) ἴμεν ‘we go’; Sanskrit (1st sg. pres.) *émi* ‘I go’, (3rd sg. pres.) *éti* ‘goes’, (1st pl. pres.) *imáḥ* ‘we go’, (3rd pl. pres.) *yánti* ‘they go’; Avestan (3rd sg. pres.) *aēiti* ‘goes’; Old Persian (3rd sg. pres.) *aitiy* ‘goes’; Paelignian (imptv.) *eite* ‘go!’; Latin (1st sg. pres.) *eō* ‘I go’; Old Lithuanian (1st sg. pres.) *eĩmi* ‘I go’, (3rd sg. pres.) *eĩti* ‘goes’; Old Prussian (3rd sg. pres.) *ēit* ‘goes’, *per-ēit* ‘comes’; Old Church Slavic *idǫ*, *iti* ‘to go’; Luwian (3rd sg. pres.) *i-ti* ‘goes’; Hittite (imptv.) *i-it* ‘go!’; Tocharian A (1st pl.) *ymäs* ‘we go’, B (1st sg.) *yam*, *yaṁ* ‘I go’. Rix 1998a:207—208 **h₁ei̯-* ‘to go’; Pokorny 1959:293—297 **ei-* ‘to go’; Walde 1927—1932.I:102—105 **ei-*; Mann 1984—1987:234 **eimi* (**ei̯ō*) ‘to go’; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.I:180 **ei̯*/*i-* and 1995.I:155, I:194 **ei-*/*i-* ‘to go’, I:296 **ei-mi* ‘I go’, **ei-si* ‘you go’, **ei-ti* ‘he, she goes’; Watkins 1985:16 **ei-* and 2000:22 **ei-* ‘to go’ (oldest form **ə̯₁ei-*); Mallory—Adams 1997:227—228 **h₁ei-* ‘to go’; Boisacq 1950:225—226 **ei-*; Frisk 1970—1973.I:462—463; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:321—322; Hofmann 1966:73 **ei-*; Beekes 2010.I:388 **h₁ei-*; De Vaan 2008:191—192; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:406—409 **ei-*; Ernout—Meillet 1979:197—199 **ei-*, **i-*; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.I:128; Derksen 2008:216 **h₁ei-* and 2015:151—152 **h₁ei-*; Smoczyński 2007.1:144—145; Fraenkel 1962—1965.I:119. Proto-Indo-European **ʔy-eh-* [**ʔy-ah-*] (> **ʔyā-*) ‘to go, to proceed’: Sanskrit (3rd sg. pres.) *yā́ti* ‘goes, proceeds, moves, walks,

sets out, marches, advances, travels, journeys'; Avestan (3rd sg. pres.) *yāiti* 'goes, rides'; Hittite (3rd sg. pres.) *i-ya-at-ta(-ri)* 'goes' (so Sturtevant 1951:34, §61, Indo-Hittite **ʔyehty*; Puhvel 1984— .1/2:330—335, however, derives the Hittite form from **iya-* < **eyo-* and compares it with Vedic *áyate* 'to go'); Lithuanian *jóju*, *jóti* 'to ride on horseback'; Tocharian A *yā-* 'to go, to move'. Rix 1998a:275 **i̯eh₂-* 'to proceed, to move along, to go, to travel, to ride'; Pokorny 1959:294 **i̯ā-* 'to go'; Walde 1927—1932.I:104 **i̯ā-*; Mann 1984—1987:439 **i̯āi̯ō*, **i̯āmi* 'to go, to ride'; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.II:724 **i̯āH-* and 1995.I:627 **yāH-* 'to ride (in a vehicle)'; Derksen 2015:212—213 **ieh₂-*; Mallory—Adams 1997:228 **i̯eh$_a$-* 'to go, to travel'; Kloekhorst 2008b:380; Wodtko—Irslinger—Schneider 2008:220—230 **h₁ei̯-*.] Note: Two separate Proto-Nostratic stems have fallen together in Proto-Indo-European: (A) **ʔay-* (~ **ʔəy-*) 'to go, to proceed' and (B) **ʔiy-* (~ **ʔey-*) 'to come, to go'.

D. Chukchi-Kamchatkan: Proto-Chukotian **jæt-* 'to come' > Chukchi *jet-* 'to come, to arrive (by boat or sledge)'; Kerek *jat-*, *jattə-* 'to come, to arrive'; Koryak *jet-* 'to come, 2008'; Alyutor *jat-* (Palana *jet-*, *tet-*) 'to come, to arrive'. Fortescue 2005:112.

Sumerian *è* 'to go out, to come out, to leave; to bring out', *è* 'to get away from, to escape, to flee, to run away', e_{11} 'to ride, to travel'.

Buck 1949:10.47 go; 10.48 come. Illič-Svityč 1971—1984.I:265—267, no. 130, **ʔejʌ* 'to arrive, to come'; Bomhard—Kerns 1994:574—575, no. 442; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 102, **ʔ[e]yV* 'to come, to arrive'; Möller 1911:65.

674. Proto-Nostratic 1st person personal pronoun stem **ʔiya*: (a) 'by me'; (b) agent marker of the 1st singular of verbs; (c) postnominal possessive pronoun: 'my':

A. Proto-Afrasian **ʔiya* first person suffixed personal pronoun stem: Proto-Semitic **-(i)ya* first person singular suffixed personal pronoun > Old Babylonian *-ī*, *-ya*; Ugaritic *-y*; Hebrew *-ī*; Aramaic *-ī*; Classical Arabic *-ī*, *-ya*; Mehri *-i*, *-yä*; Geez / Ethiopic *-ya* [**-ዮ**]; Tigre *-ye*; Tigrinya *-äy*. Moscati 1964:106, §13.14; O'Leary 1921:149—150; Lipiński 1997:306—307, 308; Gray 1934:63—64; W. Wright 1890:95—98. Egyptian *-i̯* 1st singular suffix: 'I, me, my'. Hannig 1995:21; Faulkner 1962:7; Erman—Grapow 1926—1963.1:25; Gardiner 1957:39 and 550. Berber: Kabyle *-i*, *-iyi*, *-yi* 'me, to me', *-i* 'me' as in: *fəll-i* 'for me', *yid-i* 'with me', *əɣr-i* 'towards me', *gar-i d-ṛəbbi* 'between me and God', *wəḥd-i* 'me alone', *zdat-i* 'in front of me', etc.; Tuareg *-i*, *-iyi* 'me, to me'; Tamazight (1st sg. direct object pronoun, placed either before or after verbs according to the syntactic conditions) *i*, *yi* 'me'. Proto-East Cushitic **ya*/**yi* 'me, my' > Saho *yi* 'me'; Afar (poss.) *yi* 'my'; Burji (1st sg. abs. [obj.]) *ee* 'me', *íi-ya* 'my'; Arbore *ye-* 'me'; Dasenech *ye-* 'me'; Elmolo *ye-* 'me'; Kambata *e(e)s* 'me'; Hadiyya *e(e)s* 'me'; Sidamo *-e* 'me'; Dullay *ye* 'me'; Yaaku *i(i)*

'me'. Sasse 1982:67 and 104; Hudson 1989:97; Heine 1978:53. Proto-Agaw (oblique) *yə- 'me, my' > Bilin *yi-* 'me, my'; Xamir *yə-* 'me, my'; Kemant *yə-* 'me, my'; Awngi / Awiya *ə́y-/yí-* 'me, my'. Appleyard 2006:87; Reinisch 1887:365. Proto-Southern Cushitic *ʔe/*ʔi 'my' > Iraqw *e* 'my'; Burunge *ayi* 'my'; Alagwa *i* 'my'; K'wadza -ʔ*e* 'my'; Dahalo ʔ*i* 'my'. Ehret 1980:289. Ehret 1995:478, no. 1011, **i* or **yi* 'me, my' (bound 1st sg. pronoun); Diakonoff 1988:76—77.

B. Elamo-Dravidian: McAlpin (1981:112—114, §531.0) reconstructs a Proto-Elamo-Dravidian **i* 'I'. In Elamite, this became *u* 'I'. McAlpin assumes that the following developments took place in Dravidian: **i-ən* > **i̯ən* [**yən*] > (with vowel lengthening in accordance with Zvelebil's Law) **yān* 'I' > Tamil *yāṉ* 'I'; Kota *a·n* 'I'; Toda *o·n* 'I'; Kannaḍa *ān* 'I'; Tuḷu *yānu*, *yēnu* 'I'; Telugu *ēnu* 'I'; Kolami *a·n* 'I'; Naikṛi *ān* 'I'; Parji *ān* 'I'; Gadba *ān* 'I'; Gondi *anā*, (emph.) *annā* 'I'; Pengo *ān*/*āneŋ* 'I'; Maṇḍa *ān* 'I'; Kui *ānu* 'I'; Kuṛux *ēn* 'I'; Malto *én* 'I'; Brahui *ī* 'I'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:468, no. 5160; Caldwell 1913:359—373; Zvelebil 1990:24—26 (1st sg. nom.) **yān* 'I', (obl.) **yan-*, (1st pl. excl. nom.) **yām* 'we', (obl.) **yam-*; Bloch 1954:30—31; Steever 1998a:21 (1st sg. nom.) **yān*, (obl.) **yan-*/**(y)en-*; Krishnamurti 2003:245 **yān*/**yan-* 'I'.

Dolgopolsky 1984:85—87 **HoyV* (a) 'by me', (b) agent marker of the 1st sg. of verbs, (c) postnominal possessive pronoun ('my') and 2008, no. 822, **H₂oyV* (= **hoyV* ?) 'by me, my'; Bomhard—Kerns 1994:597—598, no. 470.

675. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **ʔom-a* 'rounded prominence at the end of a bone forming a ball and socket joint with the hollow part of another bone, condyle (of the lower jaw, the shoulder, the elbow, the hip, etc.)':

Note: Semantic shifts took place in Semitic, Indo-European, and, in part, Altaic; the original meaning was preserved in Egyptian and Turkic.

A. Proto-Afrasian **ʔ[o]m-* 'rounded prominence at the end of a bone forming a ball and socket joint with the hollow part of another bone, condyle (of the lower jaw, the shoulder, the elbow, the hip, etc.)': Proto-Semitic **ʔamm-at-* 'forearm, cubit' > Akkadian *ammatu* 'forearm, cubit'; Ugaritic *ảmt* 'elbow'; Hebrew *ʔammāh* [אַמָּה] 'ell, cubit'; Ancient Aramaic *ʔmh* 'cubit'; Aramaic *ʔammā* 'cubit'; Syriac *ʔammәθā* 'cubit'; Sabaean *ʔmt* 'cubit'; Geez / Ethiopic *ʔәmat* [አመት] 'cubit, forearm'; Tigre *ʔammät* 'cubit, forearm'; Tigrinya *ʔәmmät* 'cubit, forearm'; Amharic *amät* 'cubit, forearm' (Geez loan). D. Cohen 1970— :22; Murtonen 1989:93; Klein 1987:34; Leslau 1987:26. Egyptian *ȝmˁt* 'rounded prominence at the end of a bone forming a ball and socket joint with the hollow part of another bone, condyle (of the lower jaw, the shoulder, the elbow)' (medical term). Hannig 1995:9; Faulkner 1962:3 *ȝmˁt* 'ramus of jaw; fork of bone'; Erman—Grapow 1926—1963.1:10.

B. Proto-Indo-European *ʔom-es-, *ʔom-so- ‘shoulder’: (?) Hittite *anašša-* (< **ams-*) name of a body-part, perhaps ‘rear of shoulders, upper back’ or ‘hip’; Sanskrit *áṁsa-ḥ* ‘shoulder’; Greek ὦμος (< **omsos*) ‘shoulder’; Latin *umerus* ‘shoulder’ (< **omesos*); Umbrian *onse* ‘shoulder’; Gothic *ams* ‘shoulder’; Old Icelandic *áss* ‘mountain ridge’ (< Proto-Germanic **amsaz* ‘shoulder’); Tocharian B *āntse* ‘shoulder’. Pokorny 1959:778 **om(e)so-s* ‘shoulder’; Walde 1927—1932.I:178 **om(e)so-s*; Mann 1984—1987:875—876 **omsos* (**omes-*) ‘shoulder’; Mallory—Adams 1997:515—516 **$h_{1/4}$ómsos* ‘shoulder’; Watkins 1985:45 **omeso-* (also **omso-*) ‘shoulder’ and 2000:60 **om(e)so-* ‘shoulder’; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.I:14 **omsos*; Boisacq 1950:1081—1082 **omso-*; Hofmann 1966:430 **ōmsos*; Beekes 2010.II:1679—1680 **$h_3$ems-o-*; Frisk 1970—1973.II:1148 **ŏmsos*, **ōmsos*; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:1301 **ŏmso-*, **oměso-*; **ōmso-*; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.II:815 **omesos*, **ōmsos*; De Vaan 2008:640; Ernout—Meillet 1979:746; Orël 2003:17 Proto-Germanic **amsaz*; Kroonen 2013:25 Proto-Germanic **amsa-* ‘shoulder’; Lehmann 1986:30 **omsos*; Feist 1939:40—41; De Vries 1977:16; Adams 1999:43—44 **$h_{1/4}$om(e)so-* or **$h_{1/4}$ōm(e)so-*; Melchert 1994a:186 **ómso-*; Puhvel 1984— .1/2:63—64 **omso-* (this is rejected by Kloekhorst 2008b:178).

C. Proto-Altaic **om-ur^{y}V* ‘shoulder, collar bone’: Proto-Mongolian **omur-* ‘collar bone, clavicle’ > Written Mongolian *omuruγu(n)*, *omuruu* ‘sternum, clavicle, breast’; Khalkha *omrū* ‘collar bone, clavicle’; Buriat *omoŕū(n)* ‘breast bone, sternum’; Kalmyk *omrūn* ‘collar bone, clavicle’; Ordos *omorū*, *umurū* ‘collar bone, clavicle’; Monguor *muršdaɢ* ‘Adam’s apple’. Proto-Turkic **om-ur^{y}* ‘shoulder’ > Turkish *omuz* ‘shoulder’; Turkmenian *omuz* ‘shoulder’; Uzbek *o̧miz* ‘shoulder’; Karaim *omuz* ‘shoulder’; Kumyk *omuz* ‘shoulder’; Chuvash *ъ^{w}mъ^{w}r* ‘shoulder’. Poppe 1960:68 and 129; Street 1974 **omur²* ‘shoulder, clavicle’; Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:1052 **omuŕV* ‘shoulder, collar bone’. Proto-Altaic **ŏmu* ‘bone head, head of hip bone’ (original meaning preserved in Turkic) > ‘upper part of hip, backside, behind’: Proto-Tungus (**ŏmu-kV* >) **omga* ‘upper part of hip, behind’ > Ulch *ombo*/*oŋbo* ‘upper part of the hip, behind’; Orok *omɢo* ‘upper part of the hip, behind’; Nanay / Gold *oŋbo* ‘upper part of the hip, behind’; Oroch *ombo* ‘upper part of the hip, behind’. Proto-Mongolian **omu-* ‘buttocks’ > ‘large intestines; North, backside’ > Written Mongolian *umusu* ‘large intestines’, *umara* ‘North, backside’; Khalkha *ums* ‘large intestines’, *umar* ‘North, backside’; Buriat *omho(n)* ‘large intestines’, *umara* ‘North, backside’; Kalmyk *umsṇ*, *omsṇ* ‘large intestines’. Proto-Turkic **omV* ‘bone head, head of hip bone; hip bone, thigh bone; clavicle’ > Turkish *omurga* ‘backbone, keel’, *omaca*, *umaça*, *uma* ‘bone head’; Azerbaijani *omba* ‘head of hip bone’; Turkmenian *omača* ‘hip bone, thigh bone’; Khakas (dial.) *omiχ* ‘knee-cap’. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:1052 **ŏmu* ‘hip; back part, buttocks’. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak note: “The meaning ‘buttocks’ in Mong[olian] gave rise to two widely separated semantic reflexes: a) > ‘large intestine’; b) > ‘back’ > ‘North’.”

Buck 1949:4.30 shoulder.

676. Proto-Nostratic root *ʔ*or*-:
(vb.) *ʔ*or*- ‘to move rapidly, quickly, hastily; to set in motion’;
(n.) *ʔ*or-a* ‘any rapid motion: running, flowing, pouring, etc.’; (adj.) ‘rapid, quick, hasty’

A. Proto-Afrasian *ʔ*or*- ‘(vb.) to hasten, to hurry; (n.) road, way’: Proto-Semitic *ʔ*ar-ax*- ‘to go, to journey, to hurry’, *ʔ*urx*- ‘road, way’ > Hebrew *ʔāraḥ* [אָרַח] ‘to go, to wander, to journey’, *ʔōraḥ* [אֹרַה] ‘way, path, route’; Palmyrene *ʔrḥ* ‘road’; Aramaic *ʔōrḥā* ‘road, path, way’; Akkadian *arāḫu* ‘to hasten, to hurry’, *urḫu* ‘road, path’; Sabaean *ʔrḫ* ‘road’. D. Cohen 1970— :32—33; Murtonen 1989:101; Klein 1987:54. Highland East Cushitic *ʔ*or*- ‘(vb.) to go; (n.) road’ > Kambata *orokk’*- ‘to go’; Gedeo / Darasa *ora* ‘road’. Hudson 1989:124, 258, and 335. Southern Cushitic: Rift *ʔ*uruw*- ‘path, way’ > Gorowa *uruwa* ‘path, way’. East Chadic *ʔ*war*- ‘road’ > Bidiya *ʔoora* ‘road’. West Chadic *ʔ*wara*- (< *ʔ*waraH*-) ‘road’ > Sura *ar* ‘road’; Kulere *ʔaraw* ‘road’; Angas *ar* ‘road’; Ankwe *war* ‘road’. Orël—Stolbova 1995:31—32, no. 122, *ʔ*oraḫ*- ‘road, way’.

B. (?) Dravidian: Tamil *oṟuku* (*oṟuki*-) ‘to flow, to leak, to trickle down’, *oṟukal* ‘leaking, dripping; leak’, *oṟukku* (*oṟukki*-) (vb.) to cause to drop, drip; (n.) leaking, dripping, flowing’, *oṟukkal* ‘pouring (as into the mouth)’; Malayalam *uṟukkuka* ‘to pour, to inundate, to set afloat’, *oṟukku* ‘current, stream’, *oṟukkam* ‘running, flowing’, *oṟiyuka* ‘to run off (as water)’, *oṟivu* ‘watercourse’, *oṟikka* ‘to pour’, *oṟippu* ‘discharge’, *ōṟuka* ‘to flow’; Kota *ok*- (*oky*-) ‘to ooze, to pour out (liquid, e.g., blood)’; (?) Toda *waɾʃ*- (*waɾt*-) ‘to flow’; Kannaḍa *oṟku* ‘(vb.) to flow; (n.) torrent or strong current of a stream’; Koḍagu *okk*- (*okki*-) ‘to flow, to float away, to be carried away (by stream)’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:97, no. 1010. Tamil *oṟuṅkai* ‘lane, alley’; Kannaḍa *orŋku* ‘narrow path between two walls in a garden’ (Tuḷu loan); Tuḷu *orṅku*, *oṟuṅkṳ* ‘lane, footpath’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:97, no. 1014. Note: Contamination of Proto-Nostratic *ʔ*or*- ‘to move rapidly, quickly, hastily; to set in motion’ by *ʔ*or^{y}*- ‘to rise (up)’ in Dravidian (?).

C. [Proto-Indo-European *ʔ*or*-/*ʔ*$_{\underline{r}}$- ‘to move, to set in motion; to arise, to rise; to raise’: Hittite (3rd sg. pres.) *a-ri* ‘to arrive, to come’, (3rd sg. pres.) *a-ra-(a-)i* ‘to (a)rise, to lift, to raise; to (a)rouse’, (3rd sg. pres.) *a-ar-aš-ki-iz-zi* ‘to be arriving’, (3rd sg. pres.) *ar-nu-(uz-)zi* ‘to move along, to make go; to stir, to raise; to transport, to deport, to remove; to bring, to transmit, to deliver, to produce; to further, to promote’, (3rd sg. pres.) *(a-)ar-aš-zi* ‘to flow’; Sanskrit *árṣati* ‘to flow’, *árṇa-ḥ* ‘undulating, surging; wave’, *ṛcchá*ti* ‘to go, to move, to send’, *ṛṇóti* ‘to go, to move, to arise’; Avestan *ar*- ‘to go, to move, to come’, *aurva*-, *aurvant*- ‘rapid, quick’, *ərənaoiti* ‘to set in motion’; Old Persian *ar*- ‘to move, to go or come toward’, *aruvā* ‘action’, *aruva*- ‘rapid, quick’; Greek ὄρνῡμι ‘to urge on, to incite, to

move, to stir oneself, to make to arise'; Latin *orior* 'to rise, to arise'. Rix 1998a:266—267 **h₃er-* 'to set in (rapid) motion'; Pokorny 1959:326—332 **er-*, **or-*, **r-* 'to set in motion; to incite, to stir up, to arouse; to arise'; Walde 1927—1932.I:136—142 **er-*; Mann 1984—1987:249 **ersō* 'to go, to glide, to wander, to creep, to dawdle', 884 **or-* 'to start, to start up, to rise', 889 **orneu-*, **or-nū-mi* 'to move, to rouse; to dash, to fly', 891 **orsō*, *-i̯ō* 'to go, to proceed, to flow, to slide, to glide, to creep'; Watkins 1985:17 **er-* and 2000:23 **er-* 'to move, to set in motion' (oldest form **ə₁er-*); Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.I:218 **r̥neu̯-*, **ornu-*, I:295 **or-* and 1995.I:187, I:194 **er-*/**r̥-*, **or-* 'to rise, to get up; to come into motion; to attain', I:172 **r̥neu-*, **ornu-* 'to move'; Mallory—Adams 1977:506 **h₁er-* 'to set in motion'; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.I:51, I:53, I:119 **er-*, and I:122; Boisacq 1950:714—716 **er-*, **ere-*; **erei-*, **ereu-*; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:823—824 **er-*, **r̥-*; Hofmann 1966:238—239 **er-*; **ereu-*, **erei-*; Frisk 1970—1973.II:422—424 **er-*; Beekes 2010.II:1107 **h₃er-*; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.II:222—223 **er-* (**ere-*, **erē-*); Ernout—Meillet 1979:468; De Vaan 2008:434—435; Kloekhorst 2008b:196—197; Puhvel 1984— .1/2:108—111 **er-*, 1/2:123—127, 1/2:162—167, and 1/2:170—172 **H₂ér-s-*, **H₂r-és-*.] Note: Two separate Proto-Nostratic stems have fallen together in Proto-Indo-European: (A) **ʔor-* 'to move rapidly, quickly, hastily; to set in motion' and (B) **ʔorʸ-* 'to rise (up)'.

D. Proto-Uralic **orko* originally 'riverbed, ravine, gully', then, by extension, 'any low-lying place or spot': Finnish *orko* 'a low-lying brook in a meadow; a humid valley; any low-lying place or spot'; Estonian *org* 'valley; a ravine or gully in a forest'; Lapp / Saami *årgo* 'a sandy stretch of land where trees have been planted'; (?) Cheremis / Mari *oŕ* [орь] 'ditch'; (?) Votyak / Udmurt (Sarapul) *e̮r*, (Kazan) *ȯr* 'riverbed, ditch'. Rédei 1986—1988:721 **orkɜ*; Aikio 2020:79 **orko* 'valley / riverbed'

E. Proto-Altaic **oru-si-* '(vb.) to flow; (n.) river': Proto-Mongolian **urus-* 'to flow' > Mongolian *urus-* 'to flow, to run, to stream', *urusqa-* 'to cause to flow; to shed, to pour', *urusqal* 'stream, flow; current of water or air; running, flowing'; Khalkha *ursa-* 'to flow'; Buriat *urda-* 'to flow'; Kalmyk *ursə-* 'to flow'; Ordos *urus-* 'to flow'; Dagur *orsu-*, *orese-*, *orso-* 'to flow'; Dongxiang *usuru-*, *urusu-* 'to flow'; Shira-Yughur *urus-*, *urusu-*, *usuru-* 'to flow'; Monguor *urosə-* 'to flow'. Proto-Turkic **örs*, **örsen* '(vb.) to flow; (n.) river, riverbed' > Karakhanide Turkic *özen* 'river, riverbed'; Azerbaijani *öz-* 'to flow'; Turkmenian *özen* 'river, riverbed'; Chuvash *vazan* 'river, riverbed'; Yakut *örüs* 'river, riverbed'. Note also: Yakut *üreχ* 'river'; Dolgan *ürek* 'river', which suggest that **-si* may originally have been a suffix. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:1063 **orusi* '(n.) river; (vb.) to flow'. Poppe (1960:102) compares Mongolian *urus-* 'to flow, to run, to stream' with Lamut / Even *ūru-* 'to flow out', Evenki *ūrī̮gdān* 'current, stream, flow' (Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak write *urigden* 'backwater'), and Koibal *ur-* 'to flow'.

Buck 1949:1.36 river; stream; brook; 10.11 move (vb.); 10.21 rise (vb.); 10.32 flow (vb.); 10.47 go; 10:48 come. Möller 1911:69—70; Bomhard—Kerns 1994:707—708, no. 593.

677. Proto-Nostratic root **ʔor^{y}-*:
(vb.) **ʔor^{y}-* 'to rise (up)';
(n.) **ʔor^{y}-a* 'rising movement or motion'
Extended form:
(vb.) **ʔor^{y}-V-g-* 'to climb on, to mount, to copulate (with)';
(n.) **ʔor^{y}-g-a* 'mounting, copulation'

A. [Proto-Indo-European **ʔor-/*ʔr̥-* 'to move, to set in motion; to arise, to rise; to raise': Hittite (3rd sg. pres.) *a-ri* 'to arrive, to come', (3rd sg. pres.) *a-ra-(a-)i* 'to (a)rise, to lift, to raise; to (a)rouse', (3rd sg. pres.) *a-ar-aš-ki-iz-zi* 'to be arriving', (3rd sg. pres.) *ar-nu-(uz-)zi* 'to move along, to make go; to stir, to raise; to transport, to deport, to remove; to bring, to transmit, to deliver, to produce; to further, to promote', (3rd sg. pres.) *(a-)ar-aš-zi* 'to flow'; Sanskrit *árṣati* 'to flow', *árṇa-ḥ* 'undulating, surging; wave', *ṛcchá́ti* 'to go, to move, to send', *ṛṇóti* 'to go, to move, to arise'; Avestan *ar-* 'to go, to move, to come', *aurva-*, *aurvant-* 'rapid, quick', *ərənaoiti* 'to set in motion'; Old Persian *ar-* 'to move, to go or come toward', *aruvā* 'action', *aruva-* 'rapid, quick'; Greek ὄρνῡμι 'to urge on, to incite, to move, to stir oneself, to make to arise'; Latin *orior* 'to rise, to arise'. Rix 1998a:266—267 **h$_3$er-* 'to set in (rapid) motion'; Pokorny 1959:326—332 **er-*, **or-*, **r-* 'to set in motion; to incite, to stir up, to arouse; to arise'; Walde 1927—1932.I:136—142 **er-*; Mann 1984—1987:249 **ersō* 'to go, to glide, to wander, to creep, to dawdle', 884 **or-* 'to start, to start up, to rise', 889 **orneu-*, **or-nū-mi* 'to move, to rouse; to dash, to fly', 891 **orsō*, *-i̯ō* 'to go, to proceed, to flow, to slide, to glide, to creep'; Watkins 1985:17 **er-* and 2000:23 **er-* 'to move, to set in motion' (oldest form **ə$_1$er-*); Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.I:218 **r̥neu̯-*, **ornu-*, I:295 **or-* and 1995.I:187, I:194 **er-/*r̥-*, **or-* 'to rise, to get up; to come into motion; to attain', I:172 **r̥neu-*, **ornu-* 'to move'; Mallory—Adams 1977:506 **h$_1$er-* 'to set in motion'; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.I:51, I:53, I:119 **er-*, and I:122; Boisacq 1950:714—716 **er-*, **ere-*; **erei-*, **ereu-*; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:823—824 **er-*, **r̥-*; Hofmann 1966:238—239 **er-*; **ereu-*, **erei-*; Frisk 1970—1973.II:422—424 **er-*; Beekes 2010.II:1107 **h$_3$er-*; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.II:222—223 **er-* (**ere-*, **erē-*); Ernout—Meillet 1979:468; De Vaan 2008:434—435; Kloekhorst 2008b:196—197; Puhvel 1984— .1/2:108—111 **er-*, 1/2:123—127, 1/2:162—167, and 1/2:170—172 **H$_2$ér-s-*, **H$_2$r-és-*.] Note: Two separate Proto-Nostratic stems have fallen together in Proto-Indo-European: (A) **ʔor-* 'to move rapidly, quickly, hastily; to set in motion' and (B) **ʔor^{y}-* 'to rise (up)'.

B. Yukaghir (Southern / Kolyma) *orpoː-* ‘hung up’, *arpušaj-*, *orpušaj-* ‘to rise, to get up, to drive upwards’, *arpaj-* ‘to go up’. Nikolaeva 2006:337—338.

C. Proto-Altaic **ōrʸi-* ‘to rise up’: Proto-Mongolian **ergü-* (**örgü-*) ‘to lift, to raise’ > Written Mongolian *ergü-*, *örgü-* ‘to raise, to lift up’; Khalkha *örgö-* ‘to lift, to raise’; Buriat *ürge-* ‘to lift, to raise’; Kalmyk *örgə-* ‘to lift, to raise’; Ordos *ürgü-* ‘to lift, to raise’; Dagur *erewē-*, *ergue-* ‘to lift, to raise’; Dongxiang *ugu-* ‘to lift, to raise’; Monguor *urgu-* ‘to lift, to raise’. Poppe 1955:48. Proto-Turkic **ūrʸ-* (**ōrʸ-*) ‘on top, high above’ > Old Turkic (Orkhon, Old Uighur) *üze*/*öze* ‘on top, high above’; Turkish *üzere*, *üzre* ‘on, upon’, *üzeri* ‘upper or outer surface of a thing; space above a thing; on, over, about’; Azerbaijani *üzäri* ‘on top, high above’; Sary-Uighur *üze*, *üzi* ‘on top, high above’; Oyrot (Mountain Altai) *üzeri* ‘on top, high above’; Chuvash *vir* (< **ŏrʸ-*) ‘on top, high above’; Yakut *ühe*, *üöhe* ‘on top, high above’; Dolgan *ühe*, *üöhe* ‘on top, high above’. A common Turkic derivative is **ürʸ-t* (with secondary vowel shortening) ‘upper part’ > Old Turkic *üst* ‘upper part’; Turkmenian *üst* ‘upper part’; Tatar *ös* ‘upper part’; Khalay *ist* ‘upper part’. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:1065 **ōŕi* ‘to rise up’.

Buck 1941:10.21 rise (vb.).

678. Proto-Nostratic root **ʔorʸ-*:
Extended form:
(vb.) **ʔorʸ-V-g-* ‘to climb on, to mount, to copulate (with)’;
(n.) **ʔorʸ-g-a* ‘mounting, copulation’
Derivative of:
(vb.) **ʔorʸ-* ‘to rise (up)’;
(n.) **ʔorʸ-a* ‘rising movement or motion’

A. Afrasian: Proto-East-Cushitic **ʔorg-* (‘mounter’ >) ‘male animal’ > Somali *orgi* ‘billy-goat’; Harso *ork-akko* ‘billy-goat’; Rendille *ogor* ‘gazelle’; Gidole *ork-eta* ‘billy-goat’, *ork-eet* ‘non-castrated male goat’; Yaaku *org-ei* ‘male giraffe’; Galla / Oromo *org-ee* ‘baby she-camel’. Sasse 1979:23.

B. Proto-Indo-European **ʔorgʰ-*/**ʔr̥gʰ-* ‘to climb on, to mount, to copulate (with)’, **ʔorgʰi-s* ‘testicle’: Avestan *ərəzi* ‘scrotum’; Greek ὄρχις ‘testicle’; Armenian *orjikʰ* ‘testicles’, *orj* ‘male’; Hittite (3rd sg. pres. act.) *a-ar-ki* ‘to mount, to copulate (with)’, (nom. pl.) *ar-ki-i-e-eš* ‘testicles’; Old Irish *uirge* ‘testicle’; Old Icelandic *argr* ‘unmanly, effeminate, cowardly; passive homosexual’, *ergi* ‘lust, lewdness’; Old English *earg* ‘cowardly; bad, depraved’; Old Frisian *erch* (also *erg*, *arch*) ‘angry, evil; wrong, bad, disgraceful; severe (wounds)’, *erg* ‘mean, cowardly’; Old Saxon *arug* ‘mean, cowardly’; Old High German *arg*, *arag* ‘mean, cowardly’; Lithuanian *aržùs* ‘lusty’, *eržilas* (dial. *aržilas*) ‘stallion’; Albanian *herdhë* ‘testicle’. Pokorny 1959:782 **orĝhi-*, **r̥ĝhi-* ‘testicle’; Walde 1927—

1932.I:182—183 **orĝhi-*, **r̥ĝhi-* (**erĝhi-*); Mann 1984—1987:888 **orĝhis* ‘testicle’; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.II:817 **orĝ[ʰ]-i-* and 1995.I:716 **orĝʰ-i-* ‘testicle’; Watkins 1985:17 **ergh-* and 2000:24 **ergh-* ‘to mount’ (oldest form **ə₁erĝh-*); Mallory—Adams 1997:507 **h₄órĝhis* ‘testicle’ and 508 **h₄órĝhei-* ~ **h₄r̥ĝhór* ‘to mount, to cover’; Arbeitman 1980a:71—88; Puhvel 1984— .1/2:142—143 **erĝh-*, **orĝh-*; Kloekhorst 2008b:203—204; Smoczyński 2007.1:24—25 **h₁orǵʰi-*; Fraenkel 1962—1965.I:123—124; Derksen 2015:62 **h₁orǵʰ-* and 157; Frisk 1970—1973.II:433—434; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:830—831; Hofmann 1966:241 **orĝhi-* (**r̥ĝhi-*); Beekes 2010.II:1116 **h₃(e/o)rǵʰ-i-*; Boisacq 1950:721; Hamp 1965a:129; Huld 1984:73—74; Orël 1998:145 and 2003:23 Proto-Germanic **arʒaz*, 23 **arʒīn*, 23 **arʒjanan*; Kroonen 2013:34 Proto-Germanic **arga-* ‘unmanly’; De Vries 1977:13 and 104; Boutkan—Siebinga 2005:90—91.

Buck 1949:4.49 testicle. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:564—565, no. 428.

679. Proto-Nostratic root **ʔot'-*:
(vb.) **ʔot'-* ‘to move to or toward; to move away from; to move out of the way, to step aside’;
(n.) **ʔot'-a* ‘movement to or toward; movement away from; step, track’

A. Afrasian: Proto-Southern Cushitic **ʔoot'-* ‘to come in, to enter’ > K’wadza *tsaw-* ‘to come from’ (stem plus *-aw-* consequentive, with normal deletion of *#ʔV-*); Dahalo *ʔoot'-* ‘to come in, to enter’. Ehret 1980:293.
B. Dravidian: Tamil *ottu* (*otti-*), *o<u>rr</u>u* (*o<u>rr</u>i-*) ‘to make room for’, *o<u>rr</u>i-ppō-* ‘to go away from’, *o<u>rr</u>i-vai-* ‘to place out of the way, to adjourn’; Malayalam *o<u>rr</u>uka* ‘to step aside, to retire, to cringe’; Kota *ot-* (*oty-*) ‘to precede on the way, to go fast’; Kannaḍa *ottu* ‘to give way, to leave space, to step aside’; Telugu *ottu*, *ottilu*, *ottigillu* ‘to step aside, to make way, to move out of the way’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:93, no. 973(a). Tamil *otuṅku* (*otuṅki-*) ‘to get out of the way, to step aside (as a mark of respect, before a superior), to retreat, to be defeated, to seek refuge; to be finished, settled, adjusted, completed’, *otukku* (*otukki-*) ‘(vb.) to put on one side (as the hair), to cause to get out of the way (as cattle in the road), to push into a corner, to separate (as persons in a quarrel), to gather on one side or tuck up (as one’s clothes while crossing a river), to place out of reach, to expel (as from a caste), to dispatch (as a business), to settle; (n.) that which is apart, refuge, screen’, *otukkam* ‘privacy, retiring, hiding-place’; Malayalam *otuṅṅuka* ‘to give way, to step aside, to yield; to be adjusted’, *otukkuka* ‘to subdue, to settle’, *otukkam* ‘subjection, being settled and compressed’, *otukku* ‘shelter’; Toda *wïθx-* (*wïθxy-*) ‘(horns of fighting buffaloes) ‘to slip apart’; Telugu *odūgu* ‘to move or step aside, to make room, to sidle, to shrink from, to sneak, to slink’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:93, no. 973(b).
C. Proto-Altaic **ŏti-* (~ *-tʰ-*) ‘to move to or toward; to move away from; to move out of the way, to step aside’: Proto-Tungus **(χ)utur-* ‘to reel, to turn

around' > Evenki *utur-* 'to reel, to turn around'. Proto-Mongolian **očі-* 'to walk, to move, to go' > Written Mongolian *očі-* 'to go to a place'; Khalkha *očі-* 'to walk, to move, to go'; Buriat *ošo-* 'to walk, to move, to go'; Dagur *važire-* 'to come in', *vāžі* 'track'; Dongxiang *ečі-* 'to walk, to move, to go'; Monguor *śźі-* 'to walk, to move, to go'. Poppe 1955:113. Note also the following (without palatalization): Middle Mongolian *ot-*, *udu-* 'to be on one's way'; Written Mongolian *od(u)-* 'to go to, to proceed to'; Kalmyk *od-* 'to be on one's way'. Poppe 1955:110. Proto-Turkic **öt-* 'to pass by, to pass through' > Old Turkic (Orkhon, Old Uighur) *öt-* 'to pass by, to pass through'; Karakhanide Turkic *öt-* 'to pass by, to pass through'; Azerbaijani *öt-* 'to pass by, to pass through'; Turkmenian *öt-* 'to pass by, to pass through'; Uzbek *ọt-* 'to pass by, to pass through'; Uighur *öt-* 'to pass by, to pass through'; Karaim *öt-* 'to pass by, to pass through'; Tatar *üt-* 'to pass by, to pass through'; Bashkir *üt-* 'to pass by, to pass through'; Kirghiz *öt-* 'to pass by, to pass through'; Kazakh *öt-* 'to pass by, to pass through'; Noghay *öt-* 'to pass by, to pass through'; Sary-Uighur *yüt-* 'to pass by, to pass through'; Oyrot (Mountain Altai) *öt-* 'to pass by, to pass through'; Tuva *öt-* 'to pass by, to pass through'; Chuvash *vit-* 'to pass by, to pass through'; Yakut *öt-* 'to pass by, to pass through'. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:1066—1067 **ŏti* (~ *-t'-*) 'to move, to change place'.

Buck 1949:10.11 move; 10.45 walk (vb.); 10.47 go; 10.57 enter.

680. Proto-Nostratic root **ʔow-*:
Extended form:
(vb.) **ʔow-V-ħ-* 'to hatch eggs';
(n.)**ʔow-ħ-a* 'egg'

A. Afrasian: Semitic: Arabic *ʾāḥ* [ˀ] (root *ʾwḥ*) 'eggwhite, albumen'. D. Cohen 1970— :12 'WḤ; Wehr 1966:34.

B. Proto-Indo-European **ʔowħ͡ħ-yo-m* 'egg': Latin *ōvum* 'egg' (> Spanish *huevo* 'egg'; Catalan *ou* 'egg'; Portuguese *ovo* 'egg'; Italian *uovo* 'egg'; French *oeuf* 'egg'; Romanian *ou* 'egg'); Young Avestan *aēm* 'egg'; Greek (Attic) ᾠόν, (Aeolian) ᾤον, (Doric) ᾠεων 'egg'; Middle Cornish *uy* 'egg'; Old Welsh *ui* 'egg' (Modern Welsh *wy*); Crimean Gothic *ada* (Gothic [nom. pl.] **addja* [unattested]) 'egg'; Old Icelandic *egg* 'egg'; Faroese *egg* 'egg'; Norwegian *egg* 'egg'; Swedish *ägg* 'egg'; Danish *eg* 'egg'; Old English *æg* 'egg' (Middle English *ēi*, *ēy* 'egg'; Modern English *egg* is a Scandinavian loan); Old Saxon *ei* 'egg'; Dutch *ei* 'egg'; Old High German *ei* 'egg' (pl. *eigir*) (New High German *Ei*); Old Church Slavic *ajьce* 'egg'; Russian *jajcó* [яйцо] 'egg'. Pokorny 1959:783—784 **ō(u̯)i̯-om* 'egg'; Walde 1927—1932.I:21—22 **ōu̯(e)i̯-om* (derived from **au̯ei-* 'bird'); Watkins 1985:4 **ōwyo-*, **əyo-* 'egg' (possibly derived from **awi-* 'bird') (Germanic **ajja(m)* in Old English *æg* 'egg') and 2000:6 **ōwyo-*, **ōyyo-* (suffix lengthened *o*-grade form **ə₂ōw-yo-*) 'egg' (possibly derived from

*awi- ‘bird’); Mallory—Adams 1997:176 *h_aō(u̯)iom ‘egg’ (quite possibly a vṛddhied derivative of the word for ‘bird’, *$h_a$eu̯ei-) and 2003:143 *h_aō(u̯)i-om ‘egg’; Mann 1984—1987:897—898 *ōu̯i̯om (*ōu̯om, *ō’u̯i̯o-) ‘egg’; Frisk 1970—1973.II:1150; Boisacq 1950:1082—1083 *ōu̯i̯o-m; Hofmann 1966:430 *ōu̯i̯-om; Beekes 2010.II:1681 *h_2ōui-o-; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:1303; De Vaan 2008:438 *h_2ōu̯i̯om; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.II:230 *ōu̯(i)om; Ernout—Meillet 1979:472; Orël 2003:11 Proto-Germanic *ajjaz; Kroonen 2013:17 Proto-Germanic *ajja- ‘egg’ (< *h_2ōu̯-i̯ó-); Feist 1939:2 Proto-Germanic *ai̯i̯am, *ai̯i̯az; Lehmann 1982:2 *ō(w)i-om < *oH(w)i-om; Krause 1968:110 Proto-Germanic *ajjan; Falk—Torp 1903—1906.I:131; De Vries 1977:94—95 Proto-Germanic *ai̯i̯am; Klein 1971:239; Onions 1966:303 Common Germanic *ajjaz; Barnhart 1995:233; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:153—154 Common Germanic *ajjaz; Kluge—Seebold 1989:167; Derksen 2008:27 *h_2ōui-om.

C. Proto-Eskimo *əva- ‘to sit on eggs’: Alutiiq Alaskan Yupik *waa-* ‘to sit on eggs (bird)’; Seward Peninsula Inuit *iwa-*, (Qawiaraq) *ua-*, *waa-* ‘to sit on eggs, to care for young or baby’; North Alaskan Inuit *iva-* ‘to bear a litter, to whelp, to sit on eggs, to feed or care for young’, *ivaaq* ‘young of animal’; Western Canadian Inuit *iva-* ‘to hatch’; Eastern Canadian Inuit *iva-* ‘to hatch’; Greenlandic Inuit *iva-* ‘to hatch eggs (bird), to lie up close to, to lie with litter of puppies (bitch)’, *ivaaq* ‘egg bird sits on’. Fortescue—Jacobson—Kaplan 1994:119.

(?) Sumerian *u₅* ‘to break or burst open’.

Buck 1949:4.48 egg. Dolgopolsky 1998:60, no. 72, *ʔ[a|o]ħ|χi or *ʔuħ|χi ‘egg’ (or ‘white of egg’) and 2008, no. 98, *ʔûXi ‘egg’; Bomhard 1999a:60 *ʔaw-ħ- ‘egg’ (or ‘white of egg’). Dolgopolsky has proposed a very attractive etymology. However, it must be noted that Arabic ʾāḥ ‘eggwhite, albumen’ is isolated within Semitic. Moreover, even though the Proto-Indo-European form is traditionally reconstructed as *ōu̯i̯om ‘egg’ (cf. Pokorny 1959:783—784; Mann 1984—1987:897—898), no single reconstruction can account for all of the forms found in the Indo-European daughter languages (cf. Walde 1927—1932.I:21—22 for discussion; see also Buck 1949:4.48; Kilday 2017; Schindler 1969; Zair 2011). Accordingly, there are difficulties with this etymology. If this is a valid etymology, it would imply that the Proto-Indo-European form is to be reconstructed as *$\underset{\sim}{\text{ə}}_1$ou̯$\underset{\sim}{\text{ə}}_2$i̯om ‘egg’, with short vowel in the first syllable and a laryngeal (*$\underset{\sim}{\text{ə}}_2$ [= *$\underset{\sim}{\text{ħ}}$h]) between *u̯ and *i̯ (the long vowel found in the first syllable of the forms attested in several of the Indo-European daughter languages would then be due to compensatory lengthening following the loss of this laryngeal). There may have been a non-apophonic *o (original, or inherited, *o) in the first syllable, in which case the Proto-Nostratic form would have been *ʔow-ħ-. Reconstructing a medial laryngeal (*$\underset{\sim}{\text{ə}}_2$ [= *$\underset{\sim}{\text{ħ}}$h]) would also account for the Germanic developments (cf. Jasanoff 1978a:85; Lehmann 1952:44, §4.44d; Lindeman 1964:112—114, §10.2). *ʔow$\underset{\sim}{\text{ħ}}$h-yo-m (traditional

*$\underline{ʔ}_1o\underline{u}\underline{ʔ}_2\underline{i}om$) ‘egg’ cannot, as is often assumed, be a derivative of the common Proto-Indo-European word for ‘bird’, which requires an initial *a*-coloring laryngeal (preserved in Armenian [cf. Winter 1965a:102 and 107]): *$\underset{\smile}{\underline{ħ}}$*éw-i-s* [*$\underset{\smile}{\underline{ħ}}$*áw-i-s*], *$\underset{\smile}{\underline{ħ}}$*w-éy-s* (cf. Pokorny 1959:86 *$a\underline{u}$*ei-*; Mallory—Adams 1997:66 *$h_a e\underline{u}$*ei-* [nom. *$h_a\underline{é}\underline{u}$*is*, gen. *$h_a\underline{u}$*éis*]) > Armenian *hav* ‘bird, hen, chicken’ (cf. Hübschmann 1897:465); Latin *avis* ‘a bird’ (De Vaan 2008:65—66 *$h_2e\underline{u}$*-i-*); Umbrian (acc.) *avif* ‘bird’; Sanskrit (nom. sg.) *ví-ḥ*, (Rigveda) *vé-ḥ* ‘a bird’ (Mayrhofer 1956—1980.III:265—266 *$\underline{ʔ}_2\underline{é}\underline{u}$*i-s*, *$\underline{ʔ}_2\underline{u}$*éi-s*); etc.

681. Proto-Nostratic root **ʔoy-*:
(vb.) **ʔoy-* ‘to be by oneself, to be alone’;
(n.) **ʔoy-a* ‘solitude, aloneness’; (adj.) ‘single, alone; one’

A. Proto-Afrasian **ʔVy-* ‘single, alone; one’: Proto-Semitic **ʔay-am-* ‘(to be) single, alone’ > Arabic *ʔāma* (root /ʔym/) ‘to be without a husband or a wife (single, divorced, widowed); to lose one’s wife, to become a widower; to lose one’s husband, to become a widow’, *ʔayma* ‘widowhood’, *ʔayyim* (pl. *ʔayāmā*) ‘unmarried man or woman; widow, widower’. D. Cohen 1970— :17 *’ym; Steingass 1884:99—100; Wehr 1976:37; Zammit 2002:85; Biberstein-Kazimirski 1875.1:95—96. The following Berber forms may belong here as well, assuming development from Pre-Proto-Berber **ʔ-y-w* > **y-y-w* > Proto-Berber (m.) **yīw-ăn*, (f.) **yīw-ăt* (Prasse 1974:404) or (m.) **iyyaw-an*, (f.) **iyyaw-at* (Militarëv 1988:101—107), participle meaning ‘being alone, sole, unique’ (> ‘one’): Tuareg *yən* (f. *yət*) ‘one; a certain one, someone’; Siwa *əğən*, *iğən* (f. *əğət*, *iğət*) ‘one’; Nefusa *uğun* (f. *uğət*) ‘one’; Ghadames *yun* (f. *yut*) ‘one’; Wargla *iggən* (f. *iggət*) ‘one’; Mzab *iggən* (f. *iggət*) ‘one’; Tamazight *yiwən*, *yun* (f. *yiwt*, *yut*) ‘one’; Tashelhiyt / Shilha *yan* (f. *yat*) ‘one’; Riff *iğ*, *iğən* (f. *ict*), *iwən* (f. *iwət*) ‘one’; Kabyle *yiwən* (f. *yiwet*) ‘one’; Chaoia *iji* (f. *ijt*) ‘one’; Zenaga *yun* ‘one’. Haddadou 2006—2007:224.

B. Proto-Indo-European **ʔoy-* ‘single, alone; one’ (with non-apophonic *-o-*) (extended forms: **ʔoy-no-*, **ʔoy-wo-*, **ʔoy-k^{h}o-*): (A) **ʔoy-no-*: Latin *ūnus* ‘one’ [Old Latin *oinos*]; Umbrian *unu* ‘one’; Old Irish *óen*, *óin* ‘one’; Welsh *un* ‘one’; Gothic *ains* ‘one’; Old Icelandic *einn* ‘one’; Faroese *ein* ‘one’; Danish *en* ‘one’; Norwegian *ein* ‘one’; Old Swedish *en* ‘one’; Old English *ān* ‘one; alone, sole, lonely; singular, unique’; Old Frisian *ān*, *ēn* ‘one’; Old Saxon *ēn* ‘one’; Dutch *een* ‘one’; Old High German *ein* ‘one’ (New High German *ein*); Albanian *një* ‘one’; Lithuanian *víenas* (with unexplained initial *v-*) ‘one; alone’; Latvian *viêns* ‘one’; Old Prussian *ains* ‘one’; Old Church Slavic *inъ* ‘some(one), other’; Russian Church Slavic *inokyj* ‘only, sole, solitary’; Russian *inój* [иной] ‘different, other’ — it is also found in Greek οἴνη, οἰνός ‘roll of one (in dice)’. (B) **ʔoy-wo-*: Avestan *aēva-* ‘one’; Old Persian *aiva-* ‘one’ — it is also found in Greek οἶος ‘alone, lone, lonely’ (Cyprian οἶϜος). (C) **ʔoy-k^{h}o-*: Sanskrit *éka-ḥ* ‘one’; Mitanni (“Proto-Indic”) *aika-* ‘one’. Pokorny 1959:286 **oi-nos*

'one'; Walde 1927—1932.I:101**oi-nos*; Mann 1984—1987:866 **oinos*, **-ā* 'one; unit'; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1995:741 **oi-* 'one' (extended forms: **oi-no-*, **oi-kʰo-*, **oi-wo-*); Watkins 1985:45 **oi-no-* and 2000:59 **oi-no-* 'one, unique'; Mallory—Adams (eds.) 1997:398—399 **oi-no-s* ~ **oi-u̯o-s* ~ **oi-ko-s* (or **h₁oi-no-s* ~ **h₁oi-u̯o-s* ~ **h₁oi-ko-s*) and 2006:61 **h₁oi-no-s* 'one'; Boisacq 1950:691 and 692; Frisk 1970—1973.II:364 **oino-s* and II:367 **oiu̯o-s*; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:784 and II:786; Hofmann 1966:228; Beekes 2010.II:1058 **Hoi-no-*; De Vaan 2008:642 **Hoi-no-*; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.II:821—823; Ernout—Meillet 1979:748—749; Lindsay 1894:409; Sihler 1995:405 **oy-*: **oy-no-*, **oy-wo-*, and possibly **oy-ko-*; Matasović 2009:304—305; Kroonen 2013:11 Proto-Germanic **aina-* < Proto-Indo-European **Hoi-Hn-o-*; Lehmann 1986:17 **oy-no-* 'sole, alone; one'; Feist 1939:24 **oi̯-no-*; Falk—Torp 1903—1906.I:137, 1909:3, and 1910—1911.I:190—192; De Vries 1977:97; Onions 1966:627 Common Germanic **ainaz*; Klein 1971:513 **oi-nos*; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:157—158; Kluge—Seebold 1989:169 Proto-Germanic **aina-*; Orël 1998:304—305 and 2003:9 Proto-Germanic **ainaz*; Fraenkel 1962—1965.II:1239—1240; Smoczyński 2007.1:747—748 Proto-Baltic **ai̯-na-* < Proto-Indo-European **H₁oi̯-no-*; Derksen 2008:212 and 212—213 **HiH-no-*; Burrow 1973:248; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.I:126 **oi-(ko-)*; Szemerényi 1996:222. Notes: (1) According to Kloekhorst (2008:181—182) and Puhvel (1984— .1/2:73), Hittite *a-an-ki* 'once' is related to the above forms. Kloekhorst derives it from Proto-Indo-European **Hoi̯onki*. (2) Latin *aequus* 'level, equal', on the other hand, does not belong here (cf. De Vaan 2008:27).

C. Uralic: Proto-Samoyed **oj-* ~ **ə̄j-* 'one' > Tavgi Samoyed / Nganasan *˜o'ai* 'one' (gen. *˜oadaŋ*), *˜o'ałâ* 'single, alone', *˜o'ałei'*, *˜o'adu'* 'once'; Motor *öjläk* (?) 'one' (only in independent use). Castrén 1854:193 and 1855:45; Helimski 1997:145, 326 (no. 798) (Motor) and 1998a:500, table 16.9, (Nganasan) *(ŋuʔ)əiʔ* ~ *(ŋuʔ)əj* 'one', numerical adverb *(ŋuʔ)əδuʔ* 'once'. Note: Not related to Proto-Samoyed **op* 'one' (cf. Blažek 1999b: 90).

D. Altaic: Tungus: Oroch *ojoke* 'some, one'.

Buck 1949:13.33 alone, only (adj., adv.); Blažek 1999b.

682. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **ʔul-a* 'the bottom or lowest part of anything; the sole of the foot; soil, earth, ground, land':

Semantics as in Latin *sŏlum* 'the bottom or lowest part of anything; the sole of the foot; soil, earth, ground, land' (cf. Buck 1949:1.212).

A. Afrasian: Proto-Highland East Cushitic **ulla* 'earth, land' > Hadiyya *uulla*, *u(u)lla* 'country, land'; Kambata *ulla(-ta)* 'earth', *ulla-ta* 'land'; Sidamo *ulla* 'earth, land'. Hudson 1989:44, 55, and 88.

B. Proto-Altaic **ŭla* ‘sole of foot or footwear; basis, foundation’: Proto-Tungus **olā-či* ‘short boots’ > Evenki *olōt*, *olōčik* ‘short boots’; Lamut / Even *olāčiq* ‘short boots’; Negidal *olot* ‘short boots’; Ulch *olǯụma* ‘short boots’; Orok *ollōčị* ‘short boots’; Oroch *olōčị* ‘short boots’; Solon *alóci*, *olóci* ‘short boots’. Proto-Mongolian **ula* ‘sole of foot or footwear; basis, foundation’ > Written Mongolian *ula* ‘sole of foot or footwear; basis, foundation’; Khalkha *ul* ‘sole of foot or footwear; basis, foundation’; Buriat *ula* ‘sole of foot or footwear; foundation, basis’; Kalmyk *ul* ‘sole of foot or footwear; basis, foundation’; Moghol *ulō* ‘sole of foot or footwear; basis, foundation’; Dagur *uale* ‘sole of foot or footwear; basis, foundation’; Bonan / Baoan *la* ‘sole of foot or footwear; basis, foundation’. Proto-Turkic **ul* ‘foundation; sole (of foot)’ > Old Turkic (Old Uighur) *ultaŋ* ‘sole (of foot)’; Karakhanide Turkic *ul* ‘foundation’, *uldaŋ* ‘sole (of foot)’; Turkish *oltan*, (dial.) *oltaŋ* ‘sole (of foot)’; Turkmenian *oltaŋ* ‘sole (of foot)’; Uzbek *ultɔn* ‘sole (of foot)’; Uighur *ultaŋ* ‘sole (of foot)’, (dial.) *ūl*, *ul* ‘basis, foundation’; Tatar *ŭltan* ‘sole (of foot)’; Bashkir *ŭltan* ‘sole (of foot)’; Kazakh *ŭltan* ‘sole (of foot)’; Noghay *ultan* ‘sole (of foot)’; Oyrot (Mountain Altai) *ultaŋ*, *ultan*, *ïltam* ‘sole (of foot)’; Tuva *ulduŋ* ‘sole (of foot)’; Yakut *ulluŋ* ‘sole (of foot)’. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:1492—1493 **ŭla* ‘sole, footwear’.

Sumerian *ùl* ‘field(s), cultivated land’, *úlul* ‘field; steppe, open land’, *ulul* ‘field’.

Buck 1949:1.212 earth = ground, soil; 1.23 plain, field; 12.34 bottom. Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 30, **ʔulīV* ‘soil, foundation, earth’.

683. Proto-Nostratic deictic stem indicating distance farthest away from the speaker **ʔul-* (~ **ʔol-*) ‘that over there, that yonder’:

A. Afrasian: Proto-Semitic **ʔilla*, **ʔillay*, **ʔul(l)a* demonstrative pronoun stem > Hebrew *ʔēl* [אֵל], *ʔēlleh* [אֵלֶּה] ‘these’; Imperial Aramaic *ʔlh*, *ʔln*, *ʔlw* ‘these’; Phoenician *ʔl* ‘these’; Akkadian *ullū* ‘those’; Arabic *ʔulā* ‘these’; Sabaean *ʔl* ‘these’; Soqoṭri *elhe* ‘those’; Geez / Ethiopic (m.) *ʔəllu* [እሉ], (f.) *ʔəllā* [እላ] ‘these’; Tigre (m.) *ʔəll-om* ‘these’; Amharic *əllih* ‘these’. D. Cohen 1970— :18—20; Klein 1987:28; Leslau 1987:17—18; Lipiński 1997:315—323.

B. Proto-Indo-European **ʔol-* demonstrative pronoun stem: Latin (later variants of *ollus*, etc.) *ille*, *illa*, *illud* ‘that’, *ōlim* ‘at that time’, *ole*, *olle*, *ollus*, *olus*, *olla* ‘that’, *ultrā* (< **oltrād*) ‘beyond, on the far side, farther’; Umbrian *ulo*, *ulu* ‘there, at that place’; Old Church Slavic *lani* (< **ol-nei*) ‘last year’. Pokorny 1959:24—26 **al-*, **ol-* demonstrative stem; Walde 1927—1932.I:84—86 **al-*, **ol-*; Mann 1984—1987:872—873 **olnī* ‘then, formerly’; Ernout—Meillet 1979:309, 460, and 461; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:679—680 and II:206—207; Sihler 1995:393—394, §377.4

**ol-* ‘that, yonder’; De Vaan 2008:298; Lindsay 1894:430 and 436—437; Buck 1933:225—226. Note: The initial *i-* found in the later Latin forms *ille*, *illa*, *illud* is usually explained as due to the influence of *is* ‘that’.

Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 28, **[ʔ]olV̄* ‘that (visible)’; Bomhard—Kerns 1994:566, no. 431.

684. Proto-Nostratic root **ʔum-* (~ **ʔom-*):
(vb.) **ʔum-* ‘to bear, to give birth’;
(n.) **ʔum-a* ‘offspring, descendant’

A. Proto-Afrasian **ʔum-* ‘(vb.) to bear, to give birth; (n.) clan, kinsmen’: Proto-Semitic **ʔumm-* ‘people, clan’ > Hebrew *ʾummāh* [אֻמָּה] ‘clan, tribe, nation, people’; Aramaic *ʾūmmā* ‘people, nation’; Ugaritic *ủmt* ‘sibling, kinsman’; Arabic *ʾumma* ‘nation, people, generation’; Akkadian *ummātu* ‘people, army’; Tigre *ʾammät* ‘nation, tribe, people’. Klein 1987:34; D. Cohen 1970— :23. (?) Berber: Tuareg *iman* ‘soul, person’; Nefusa *iman* ‘person’; Wargla *iman* ‘soul, person’; Mzab *iman* ‘soul, life-force, self’; Riff *iman* ‘soul, life, person’; Chaouia *iman* ‘person, being’. Also used in the formation of reflexive pronouns: Nefusa *iman-ənnəs* ‘himself’; Mzab *imən-əs* ‘himself’; Tuareg *iman-in* ‘myself’; Riff *iman-əs* ‘himself’; Kabyle *iman-iw* ‘myself’, *iman-ik* ‘yourself’; Chaouia *iman-əs* ‘oneself, himself, herself’. Southern Cushitic: Proto-Rift **ʔim-i-* (assimilated from **ʔum-i-*) ‘people’ > Iraqw *imi* ‘people’; Alagwa *imi* ‘crowd’; Burunge *im-et* ‘people’. Proto-Southern Cushitic **ʔumuṭ'-* ‘to give birth’ > Burunge *murungu* ‘navel’; Alagwa *mugungu* ‘navel’; Dahalo *ʾumuš-* ‘to give birth’, *ʾumušikuð-* ‘to be born’. Ehret 1980:295. Orël—Stolbova 1995:34, no. 131, **ʔum-* ‘people’.

B. Dravidian: Tamil *umpal* ‘descendant’; Toda *ub-* in song-units: *en mox uba·*, *en maṟy uba·* ‘Oh my child!’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:61, no. 639.

C. Proto-Altaic **umu-* ‘to bear, to give birth’: Proto-Tungus **omu-*/**umu-* ‘(vb.) to lay eggs; (n.) offspring, descendant, grandchild’ > Evenki *umū-* ‘to lay eggs’, *omolgī* ‘offspring, descendant, grandchild’; Lamut / Even *omolgo* ‘offspring, descendant, grandchild’; Negidal *omolgī* ‘offspring, descendant, grandchild’; Manchu *omolo* ‘grandson’; Spoken Manchu (Sibo) *omələ* ‘offspring, descendant, grandchild’; Jurchen *omo-lo* ‘offspring, descendant, grandchild’; Oroch *omolā̄* ‘daughter-in-law’; Udihe *omolo* ‘offspring, descendant, grandchild’; Solon *omolī* ‘offspring, descendant, grandchild’. Proto-Mongolian **(h)umay* ‘womb’ > Written Mongolian *umay* ‘womb’; Khalkha *umay* ‘womb’; Buriat *umay* ‘womb’; Kalmyk *omā̄* ‘female ancestor’; Ordos *omā̄* ‘womb’. Poppe 1955:32. Note: the Mongolian forms cited above may be loans from Turkic. Proto-Turkic **umay* ‘placenta, afterbirth; goddess of birth’ > Old Turkish (Old Uighur) *umay* ‘placenta, afterbirth’; Karakhanide Turkic *umay* ‘placenta, afterbirth; goddess of birth’; Turkish *umacı* ‘ogre, bogy man’; Kirghiz *umay* ‘goddess

of birth'. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:1498 **umu* 'to bear, to give birth'. The following probably belong here as well: Proto-Altaic **umu-tki* 'egg': Proto-Tungus **umū-kta* 'egg' > Evenki *umūkta* 'egg'; Lamut / Even *ụmtъ* 'egg'; Negidal *omụkta* 'egg'; Manchu *umχan*, *umɢan* 'egg'; Spoken Manchu (Sibo) *umәhan* 'egg'; Ulch *omụkta* 'egg'; Nanay / Gold *omaqta* 'egg'; Oroch *umukta* 'egg'; Udihe *umukta* 'egg'; Solon *ụmatta* 'egg'. Proto-Mongolian **ömdege*, **emdüge* 'egg' > Middle Mongolian *öndege(n)*, *ömdege(n)*, *öndüge*, *ömdüge* 'egg'; Khalkha *öndög* 'egg'; Buriat *ündege(n)* 'egg'; Kalmyk *öndəgə* 'egg'; Ordos *öndögö* 'egg'; Moghol *ündäγōn* 'egg'; Dagur *enduge* 'egg'; Dongxiang *endeɢi* 'egg'; Monguor *ndige* 'egg'. Poppe 1955:75. Proto-Turkic **yumurtka* 'egg' > Old Turkic (Old Uighur) *yumurtγa*, *yumurγa* 'egg'; Karakhanide Turkic *yumurtγa* 'egg'; Turkish *yumurta* 'egg'; Gagauz *yïmïrta* 'egg'; Azerbaijani *yumurta* 'egg'; Turkmenian *yumurtɢa* 'egg'; Uzbek (dial.) *yumurtqa* 'egg'; Karaim *yïmïrta*, *imïrtxa* 'egg'; Tatar *yomïrqa* 'egg'; Bashkir *yomortqa* 'egg'; Kirghiz *ǯumurtqa* 'egg'; Kazakh *žu̲mïrtqa* 'egg'; Noghay *yumïrtqa* 'egg'; Sary-Uighur *yomut* 'egg'; Oyrot (Mountain Altai) *d'ïmïrtqa* 'egg'; Tuva *čuurγa* 'egg'; Chuvash *śъʷmarda* 'egg'; Yakut *sïmī̄t* 'egg'. Initial **y-* is most likely due to the influence of Proto-Altaic **nāmo* 'testicle' (and/or **ǯi̯ŏmu* 'round'). Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:1499 **umu-tki* 'egg'.

Buck 1949:4.47 womb; 4.48 egg; 4.72 bear (of mother).

685. Proto-Nostratic root **ʔupʰ-* (onomatopoeic):
(vb.) **ʔupʰ-* 'to blow';
(n.) **ʔupʰ-a* 'puff of air, breath'

A. Proto-Afrasian **ʔuf-* 'to blow': Proto-East Cushitic **ʔuf(u)f-* 'to blow' > Burji *ufu(u)f-* 'to blow (on fire)'; Gedeo / Darasa *ufuuf-eem-* 'to blow (on fire)'; Hadiyya *ufaʔ-* 'to blow (on fire)'; Sidamo *uffu ass-* 'to blow (on fire)', *ufuuf-* 'to blow (on fire)'; Saho *ufu-* 'to breathe'; Afar *uff-uy* 'breath'; Bayso *ufuuf-* 'to blow'; Dasenech *ʔuf-* 'to blow'; Elmolo *uuf-* 'to blow'; Galla / Oromo *uff-i jed-* 'to blow'; Konso *uff-* 'to inflate'; Gidole *uff-* 'to blow'; Gawwada *uʔuf-* 'to blow'; Gollango *uff-* 'to blow'; Dobase *uff-* 'to blow'; Dullay *uff-* 'to blow, to inflate'. Sasse 1979:19 and 1982:183—184; Hudson 1989:29 Proto-Highland East Cushitic **ufuuf-* 'to blow (on fire)'. Central Cushitic: Bilin *ʔuf y-* 'to blow'; Xamir *əf y-* 'to blow'; Kemant *əf y-* 'to blow'. Appleyard 2006:34—35. Note: Reinisch 1887:117 lists Bilin *fūf y-* 'to blow'. North Cushitic: Beja / Beḍawye *fūf-* 'to blow'. Reinisch 1895:77. Proto-Southern Cushitic **ʔuuf-* 'to blow' > Iraqw *ufuf-* 'to blow'; Asa *ʔuf-* 'to blow'; Ma'a *-ʔúfu* 'to blow (with the mouth)', *-ʔúfuka* 'to give off smoke'; Dahalo *ʔuuf-*/*juuf-* 'to blow', *júúfume* 'wind'. Ehret 1980:294.

B. Dravidian: Toda *üf ïn-* (*ïḏ-*) 'to blow, to blow away (e.g., ashes)'; Kannaḍa *uph*, *uphi* 'sound emitted when strongly blowing with the mouth to remove

impurities'; Brahui *huf* 'puff of wind, blast, windy talk', *huf kanning* 'to blow upon'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:61, no. 633.

Buck 1949:10.38 blow (vb. intr.).

686. Proto-Nostratic root **ʔut'-* (~ **ʔot'-*):
(vb.) **ʔut'-* 'to stretch, to lengthen';
(n.) **ʔut'-a* 'wide-open space, outdoor area, exterior; length, distance'; (adj.) 'wide, broad, long'

A. Proto-Afrasian **ʔut'-* 'wide, broad, long': Semitic: Arabic *ʔaṭaṭ-* 'long, tall'. D. Cohen 1970— :16. Proto-Southern Cushitic **ʔuḍ-* (or **uḍ-* or **ʔuuḍ-* or **uuḍ-*) 'wide, broad' > Iraqw *ur* 'big, large', *uraw-* 'to grow up', *ures-* 'to rear'; K'wadza *ulungayo* 'wide, broad'; Ma'a *uda* 'far'. Ehret 1980:295.

B. Dravidian: Iruḷa *uddya* 'long'; Kota *udm* 'length'; Kannaḍa *udda*, *uddi*, *uddu* 'height, length, depth'; Koḍagu *udda* 'length, height', *uddatë* 'long'; Tuḷu *udda* 'length, distance'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:60, no. 621. Malayalam *utakuka* 'to prosper, to thrive'; Kannaḍa *odagu*, *odugu*, *odavu* 'to become endowed with power, to prosper, to thrive, to increase'; Tuḷu *odaguni* 'to prosper'; Telugu *odavu* 'to flourish', *odalu* 'to increase, to flourish', *odugu*, *oduvu* '(vb.) to increase, to thrive; (n.) abundance'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:59, no. 605.

C. Proto-Indo-European **ʔŭ̆t'-* 'out, out of, outside, away from': Sanskrit (prefix) *ud-* 'up, upwards; upon, on; over, above; out, out of, away from, apart', *úttara-ḥ* 'upper, higher, superior', *uttamá-ḥ* 'uppermost, highest'; Old Persian *ud* 'up'; Gothic (adv.) *ūt* 'out', (adv.) *ūta* 'outside', (adv.) *ūtana* 'from outside, up to'; Old Icelandic *út* 'out, towards the outer side', *úti* 'out, out of doors'; Swedish *ut* 'out'; Danish *ud* 'out'; Old English *ūt* 'out', *ūte* 'outside, in the open air', *ūterra* 'outer, exterior', *ūtan* 'outside, from outside', *ȳtan* 'to drive out, to banish'; Old Frisian *ūt* 'out'; Old Saxon *ūt* 'out'; Dutch *uit* 'out'; Old High German *ūz* 'out' (New High German *aus*), *ūzan(a)* (adv.) 'outside'; Latin *ūs-* in *ūsque* 'at every point, through and through, from…to, all the way, continuously'. Pokorny 1959:1103—1104 **ŭ̆d-* 'up, out'; Walde 1927—1932.I:189—190 **ŭ̆d*; Mann 1984—1987:1473—1474 **ŭ̆d*, **ŭ̆d-* 'out, off, away, up', 1475 **ŭ̆dsk̂os* 'high', and 1475 **ŭ̆d-ter-* (**ŭ̆ter-*) 'extreme, outer, upper, further'; Watkins 1985:72 **ud-* (also **ūd-*) and 2000:94 **ud-* (also **ūd-*) 'up, out'; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.I:243 **ut[ʰ]-*, **ut'-* and 1995.I:212 **utʰ-*, **ut'-* 'up, out'; Mallory—Adams 1997:612 **ūd* 'upward, out (from under)'; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.I:101 and I:102; Lindsay 1894:595 **ud* 'out, up out'; De Vaan 2008:646; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.II:844; Ernout—Meillet 1979:756; Orël 2003:437 Proto-Germanic **ūt*, 437 **ūtai*, 437 **ūtanĕ̆*, 437 **ūtaraz*, 437 **ūtjanan*; Kroonen 2013:562 **ūt* 'out' and 563 **uz* 'out (of)'; Feist 1939:537; Lehmann 1986:384 **ŭ̆d-* 'upward'; De

Vries 1977:636 **ud-*; Falk—Torp 1903—1906.II:406—408 **ŭd*; Onions 1966:636; Klein 1971:523 **ud* ‘up, out, away’; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:39 **ŭd*; Kluge—Seebold 1989:49 **ud-*; Boutkan—Siebinga 2005:425. Note: The original meaning was ‘wide-open space, outdoor area, exterior’.

Buck 1949:12.57 long; 12.61 wide, broad.

22.35. PROTO-NOSTRATIC *h

				Eurasiatic			
Proto-Nostratic	Proto-Afrasian	Proto-Dravid.	Proto-Kartvel.	Proto-IE	Proto-Uralic	Proto-Altaic	Proto-Eskimo
h-	h-	Ø-	Ø-	h-	Ø-	Ø-	Ø-
-h-	-h-	-Ø-	-Ø-	-h-	-Ø-	-Ø-	-Ø-

687. Proto-Nostratic root **hag-* (~ **həg-*):
(vb.) **hag-* ‘to burn, to be on fire, to be aflame, to be ablaze, to shine brightly’;
(n.) **hag-a* ‘midday heat, heat of sun, sunlight’

A. Proto-Afrasian **hag-* ‘to burn, to be on fire, to be aflame, to be ablaze, to shine brightly’: Proto-Semitic **hag-ag-* ‘to burn, to be on fire, to be aflame, to be ablaze’ > Arabic *haǧǧa* ‘to burn, to be on fire, to be aflame; to flame, to blaze, to be ablaze; to set ablaze, to stir up, to stroke (the fire)’; Akkadian *agāgu* ‘to be angry, to flare up with anger’; Hebrew **hāγīγ* [הָגִיג] ‘heat, fervor of mind’; Śḥeri / Jibbāli *ɛhgég* ‘to make a big blaze, to flash’; Tigrinya *hagägä* ‘to give off a strong odor, to smell strong, to smoke (fire)’. D. Cohen 1970— :6 and 364; Von Soden 1965—1981.I:14; Murtonen 1989:155. Proto-Semitic **hag(ĭ)r-* ‘hottest time of day, midday, noon’ > Arabic *haǧara* (inf. *tahǧīr*) ‘to travel in the heat of midday’, *haǧr* ‘hottest time of day’, *haǧīra* ‘midday heat, midday, noon’, *haǧīr* ‘midday heat’, *hāǧira* ‘midday heat, midday, noon’, *hāǧirī* ‘midday’; Śḥeri / Jibbāli *hɔ́gər* ‘midday’; Mehri (*hēgər*), *həgərūt* ‘to be hot at midday’, *hgōr* ‘to go out in the midday heat’. D. Cohen 1970— :369—370. (?) Geez / Ethiopic *hagwaza* [**ሀግወዘ**] ‘to produce light, to make produce light’ (if not a misprint for *hanwaza* [**ሀንወዘ**]). Leslau 1987:216. Proto-Southern Cushitic **hag-* ‘full moon’ (that is, ‘that which is shining or bright’) > Iraqw *homo* ‘full moon’; Dahalo *háge* ‘moon’. Ehret 1980:306.

B. Dravidian: Kuṛux *axrnā* ‘to warm oneself (by the fire, in the sun)’; Malto *awġe* ‘to expose to the heat of the sun or fire’, *awġre* ‘to bask in the sun, to warm oneself at a fire’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:4, no. 18.

C. Proto-Indo-European **heg^{h}-* [**hag^{h}-*] ‘day’: Sanskrit *ahi-ḥ* ‘the sun’, *áhar*, *áhas-* (gen. sg. *áhnaḥ*) ‘a day’, (Vedic) (nom. pl.) *áhā* ‘a day’; Avestan (gen. pl.) *asnąm* (base *azan-*) ‘a day’. Semantic development from ‘heat of sun, sunlight’ to ‘daylight, daytime, day’. Pokorny 1959:7 **ăĝher-*, **ăĝhen-*, **ăĝhes-* (or **ŏĝher-*, etc.) ‘day’; Walde 1927—1932.I:849—850 **ăĝhr-*, **ăĝhn-*, **ăĝhes-* (or **ŏĝhr-*, etc.); Mann 1984—1987:863 **ogh-* (?) (variant **oĝh-*) ‘day, spirit’; Mallory—Adams 1997:149 **h$_{a}$éĝhr̥* ‘day’; Watkins 1985:1 **agh-* and 2000:1**agh-* ‘a day’ (considered as a span of time); Mayrhofer 1956—1980.I:68.

D. Proto-Chukchi-Kamchatkan **əkəka* ‘hot’: Alyutor *n-əkakə-qin* ‘hot’, *əkəka-sʔən* ‘hottest’; Kamchadal / Itelmen *xka-laX* ‘hot’, *xkakkəm* ‘heat (in summer)’. Fortescue 2005:339.

Buck 1949:1.53 moon; 14.41 day. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:588—589, no. 461.

688. Proto-Nostratic root **hakʰ-* (~ **həkʰ-*):
(vb.) **hakʰ-* ‘to be sluggish, slow; to do or approach something gradually, slowly, step by step’; (adv.) ‘slowly, gradually’;
(n.) **hakʰ-a* ‘slowness, gradualness, sluggishness’

A. Afrasian: Proto-Semitic **hak-ay-* ‘to be lazy, idle, inactive’ > Geez / Ethiopic *hakaya* [ሀከየ], *ḥakaya* [ሐከየ] ‘to be lazy, sluggish; to be slack, inactive; to be weary; to languish; to be indolent’, *hakkāy* ‘sluggard, indolent, inert, idle, languishing, lazy, slothful, negligent’, *haket* ‘weariness, idleness, slothfulness, laziness, apathy, inertia, negligence’; Tigre *hakka* ‘to be weary, indolent’; Tigrinya *hakäyä* ‘to be weary, indolent’; Amharic *haket* ‘indolence’ (Geez loan). Metathesis in: Arabic *kahiya* ‘to be weak, cowardly’; Hebrew *kāhāh* [כָּהָה] ‘to be or grow dim, faint’; Aramaic *kəhā* ‘to grow dim, to be sad’. Murtonen 1989:228; Klein 1987:271; Leslau 1987:216—217.
B. Proto-Altaic **ăkʰe* ‘to advance gradually, slowly’: Proto-Mongolian **aki-*, **akuy-* ‘(vb.) to advance gradually; (n.) work, earnings, mode of life’ > Written Mongolian *aki-* ‘to advance, to progress, to move forward, to increase’, *akiča* ‘advancement, progress, success’; Khalkha *aχi-* ‘to advance, to approach step by step; to advance in years; to promote’, *aχui* ‘being, existence, life’; Buriat *aχi-* ‘to advance slowly’; Kalmyk *aχū* ‘work, earnings, mode of life’; Ordos *aχʷī* ‘work, earnings, mode of life’. Proto-Turkic **(i)akuru-* (< **ăkʰe-ru-*) ‘slowly, quietly, gradually’ > Old Turkic (Old Uighur) *aquru* ‘slowly, quietly, gradually’; Karakhanide Turkic *aqru*, *aqrun* ‘slowly, quietly, gradually’; Tatar *ɛkren*, *ɛkerten*, (dial.) *ɛkert* ‘slowly, quietly, gradually’; Bashkir *aqrïn* ‘slowly, quietly, gradually’; Kirghiz *aqïrïn* ‘slowly, quietly, gradually’; Kazakh *aqïrïn* ‘slowly, quietly, gradually’; Oyrot (Mountain Altai) *aqqïrïn*, *aqqïr-aqqïr* ‘slowly, quietly, gradually’. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:282 **ăkʹe* ‘to advance gradually, slowly’.

Buck 1949:14.22 slow (adj.). Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 759, **hakV* ‘slow, inactive’.

689. Proto-Nostratic root **hakʼ-* (~ **həkʼ-*):
(vb.) **hakʼ-* ‘to press, squeeze, pack, or cram together; to confine, to oppress’;
(n.) **hakʼ-a* ‘oppression, affliction, pain’

A. Proto-Afrasian **hak'-* ‘to press, to squeeze hard, to cause pain’: Semitic: Arabic *haḳaġa* ‘to be weak, to be weakened by an illness or by hunger’. D. Cohen 1970— :446. Egyptian *hq* ‘to oppress, to inflict pain, to diminish’ (medical term), *hq* ‘head ailment’, *hqs* ‘to defraud, to steal’. Hannig 1995:498; Faulkner 1962:160; Erman—Grapow 1926—1963.2:503.

B. [Dravidian: Kannaḍa *agacu*, *agucu*, *agusu* ‘to press firmly, to confine, to hold firmly’, *agacāṭ(a)lu*, *agacāṭ(a)le*, *agacāṭu* ‘affliction, trouble’; Telugu *agacāṭlu* ‘troubles, difficulties, affliction’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:3, no. 2.] Either here or with Proto-Nostratic **ħag-* (~ **ħəg-*) ‘(to be) pressed or weighed down; (to be) oppressed; (to be) disheartened, vexed, distressed, afflicted, troubled’.

C. Proto-Indo-European **hek'-os-* [**hak'-os-*] ‘pain, affliction, injury’: Sanskrit *áǵas-* ‘transgression, sin, offense, injury, fault’; Greek ἄγος ‘curse, guilt, pollution’; Old English *acan* ‘to ache’, *ece* ‘ache, pain’. Pokorny 1959:8 **agos-* ‘fault, blemish’; Walde 1927—1932.I:38 **agos-*; Mann 1984—1987:2 **āgos*, *-es-* ‘evil; bitterness, harshness, turmoil’; Watkins 1985:1 **ag-es-* and 2000:2 **ag-es-* ‘fault, guilt’ (perhaps < ‘to cause mental pain’); Uhlenbeck 1898—1899.1:30; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.I:70; Boisacq 1950:9; Frisk 1970—1973.I:14; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:13 (Chantraine rejects the comparison of Greek ἄγος with Sanskrit *áǵas-*); Beekes 2010.I:14—15 **(H)ieh$_2$ǵ-*; Hofmann 1966:2; Prellwitz 1905:5; Orël 2003:11 Proto-Germanic **akanan*; Kroonen 2013:18 Proto-Germanic **akan-* ‘to ache’; Onions 1966:8—9 Old English *ece* < **akis*; Klein 1971:7 — English *ache* is “of uncertain origin”; Skeat 1898:6.

D. Uralic: Proto-Finno-Ugrian **akta-* ‘to press, cram, or pack together; to confine, to trap’ > Finnish *ahta-* ‘to stuff, to cram, to pack; to set or put (traps, snares)’, *ahta- riihtä* ‘to fill the kiln, to put corn into the kiln for drying’, *ahtauma* ‘constriction, contraction’, *ahtautu-* ‘to pack, to cram, to crowd’, *ahtojää* ‘pack-ice’; Estonian *ahta-*, *ahti-* ‘to stuff, to cram, to pack’, *ahta- reht* ‘to put corn into the kiln’, *ahtake(ne)* ‘narrow, straight, slender, slim’; Lapp / Saami *vuoktinje* ‘frame for drying nets’; Mordvin (Moksha) *afto-* ‘to set (nets or traps)’, *aftuma* ‘fishing-net, trap, snare’, (Erza) *avtuma* ‘fishing-net’; (?) Cheremis / Mari *opte-* ‘to put, to load (e.g., flour in a bin, hay or wood on a load); to build (a nest, of a bird); to pour out (water); to set (nets, traps)’, *optõš*, *oktõš* ‘snare (for catching birds or hares), net (for catching wild animals, e.g., foxes)’; Zyrian / Komi *okty-* ‘to set a trap’, *oktym*, *oktyn* ‘ledger-tackle’; Ostyak / Xanty *ygət-* ‘’to hang (up); to spread (the seine or the nets, on poles to dry)’. Collinder 1955:71 and 1977:88; Rédei 1986—1988:5—6 **akta-*.

E. Proto-Eskimo **aka(a)* and **akəka* ‘ouch!’ (exclamation of pain): Central Alaskan Yupik *akəka(taki)*, *akkatak*, (Nelson Island, Hooper Bay-Chevak) *akaa* ‘ouch!’; Sirenik *aka-kaa* expression of surprise; Eastern Canadian Inuit *aʔaa* cry of pain; Greenlandic Inuit *aɣaa* ‘ouch!’. Fortescue—Jacobson—Kaplan 1994:10.

Buck 1949:11.28 harm, injure, damage (vb.); 16.31 pain, suffering. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:587, no. 459.

690. Proto-Nostratic root **hal-* (~ **həl-*):
(vb.) **hal-* ‘to light up, to beam forth, to shine, to brighten up, to radiate’;
(n.) **hal-a* ‘clearness, brightness, radiance, purity’; (adj.) ‘clear, pure, bright, shining, radiant’

A. Proto-Afrasian **hal-* ‘to light up, to beam forth, to shine, to brighten up, to radiate’: Proto-Semitic **hal-al-* ‘to light up, to shine, to brighten up, to radiate’ > Akkadian *elēlu* ‘to purify, to make clean’, *ellu* ‘clean, pure, bright, shining’, *elliš* ‘in a pure fashion, brilliantly’, *ellūtu* ‘purity’; Eblaite *ul-lum* ‘festival’; Ugaritic *hll* ‘new moon’ (?); Hebrew *hālal* [הָלַל] ‘to shine’, *hēlēl* [הֵילֵל] (appellative) ‘shining one’ (epithet of the king of Babylon); Arabic *halla* ‘to appear, to come up, to show (new moon); to shout with joy, to rejoice, to exult, to jubilate; to shine, to gleam, to glow, to be radiant; to beam with joy’, *tahallala* ‘it shone, gleamed’, *hilāl* ‘new moon’; Geez / Ethiopic *həlāl* [ህላል] ‘new moon’ (Arabic loan), (denominative) *halala* [ሀለለ] ‘to shine, to be bright’; Amharic *həlal* ‘full moon’. D. Cohen 1970— :414—417; Leslau 1987:217; Klein 1987:152; Murtonen 1989:157; Zammit 2002:420. Berber: Tuareg *tallit* ‘(lunar) month, new moon’; Ghadames *lal* ‘to be born’; Nefusa *lal* ‘to be born’; Wargla *llal* ‘to come to light, to be born’, *tlallit* ‘birth, coming to light’; Mzab *llal* ‘to be born’, *tlallit* ‘birth’; Tamazight *lal* ‘to be born, to appear’, *talalit* ‘birth’; Tashelhiyt / Shilha *lal* ‘to be born’, *talalit* ‘birth’; Riff *lal*, *rar* ‘to be born’, *talalit*, *tararit* ‘birth’; Kabyle *lal* ‘to be born, to lay (eggs), to break (dawn)’, *talalit* ‘birth’; Chaouia *lal* ‘to be born, to break (day)’, *talalit* ‘birth’. Orël—Stolbova 1995:262, no. 1176, **hilāl-* ‘new moon’.

B. Dravidian: Tamil *alari* ‘beauty’; Kannaḍa *alampu*, *lampu* ‘beauty, ornament, pleasure, magnificence’; Telugu *alarāru* ‘to shine, to glitter; to suit well, to be proper, to be fit; to rejoice, to be pleased’, *alarincu* ‘to please, to gratify’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:24, no. 248.

C. Proto-Indo-European **hel-b^{h}o-s* [**hal-b^{h}o-s*] ‘white; cloud, whiteness’: Hittite (nom. sg.) *al-pa-aš* ‘cloud’; Greek ἄλφος ‘whiteness, white leprosy’; Latin *albus* ‘white’; Umbrian *alfu* ‘white’; Old Icelandic *elptr* ‘swan’ (named for its white color); Old English *ielfetu* ‘swan’; Old High German *albiz* ‘swan’; Old Church Slavic *lebedь* (< Proto-Slavic **olb-edь*) ‘swan’; Czech *labud* ‘swan’; Polish *łabędź* ‘swan’; Russian *lébed′* [лебедь] ‘swan’. Pokorny 1959:30—31 **albho-* ‘white’; Walde 1927—1932.I:92—94 **albho-*; Mann 1984—1987:14 **albhos* ‘white’; Watkins 1985:2 **albho-* and 2000:3 **albho-* ‘white’; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.II:783 **alb[^{h}]o-* and 1995.I:685 **alb^{h}o-* ‘white, white-colored’; Mallory—Adams 1997:641 **h$_{4}$elbhós* ‘white’; Puhvel 1984— .1/2:37—38; Kloekhorst 2008b:169; Boisacq 1950:48; Frisk 1970—1973.I:81—82; Chantraine

1968—1980.I:67; Beekes 2010.I:77—78 *h_2elb^ho-; Hofmann 1966:14 **albhos*; De Vaan 2008:32; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:26—27; Ernout—Meillet 1979:20; Orël 2003:13 Proto-Germanic **alƀatiz* ~ **alƀetiz*; Kroonen 2013:20 Proto-Germanic **albut-* 'swan'; De Vries 1977:101 **albh-*; R. Woodhouse 2012:226—227; Derksen 2008:365—366 *h_2elb^h-ond-i-*.

Sumerian *al-è* 'to light up, to shine, to brighten up, to radiate, to beam forth'. Buck 1949:1.53 moon; 15.64 white; 16.22 joy; 16.81 beautiful. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:586, no. 457.

691. Proto-Nostratic root **hal-* (~ **həl-*):
(adv.) **hal-* 'else, otherwise';
(n.) **hal-a* 'other side'; (adj.) 'other'

A. Proto-Afrasian **hal-* 'else, otherwise': Proto-Southern Cushitic **hal-* 'else, otherwise' > Iraqw *halahali* 'sixth finger'; Ma'a *háli* 'other'; Dahalo *halló* 'and, with'. Ehret 1980:306. (?) Egyptian *hnw* 'associates, family'. Hannig 1995:494; Faulkner 1962:159; Erman—Grapow 1926—1963.2:494; Gardiner 1957:579. Ehret 1995:381, no. 776, **hal-*/**hil-* 'other'.

B. Proto-Indo-European **hel-yo-* [**hal-yo-*] 'else, otherwise; other': Greek ἄλλος 'another, one besides', ἀλλά 'otherwise, but'; Armenian *ayl* 'other'; Latin *alius* 'other, another'; Oscan *allo* 'other, another; the other' (= Latin *alia*, *cetera*); Old Irish *aile* 'other'; Welsh *ail* 'second' (Middle Welsh *eil*); Cornish *yll*, *eyll* 'the one'; Breton *eil* 'the one'; Gothic *aljis* 'other', *alja* 'but'; Old Icelandic *ella*, *ellar*, *elligar* 'else, otherwise'; Faroese *ella* 'else, otherwise'; Swedish *eller* 'else, otherwise'; Old Danish *ællær*, *ællæ*, *ællæs* 'else, otherwise'; Norwegian *elles(t)* 'else, otherwise'; Old English *elles* 'otherwise, in another manner; if it were otherwise, else'; Old Frisian *elles*, *ellis* 'otherwise'; Middle Dutch *els* 'otherwise'; Old High German *alles*, *elles* 'otherwise' (New High German *als* 'as, than'); Tocharian A *ālak*, B *alyek*, *allek* 'other', A *yn-ālek* 'elsewhere, somewhere else'. Pokorny 1959:25—26 **alio̯s* 'another'; Walde 1927—1932.I:85—86 **alio̯s*; Mann 1984—1987:15 **alio̯ə* 'but, yet', 15 **alio̯-alio̯-* 'each other, one another', 15—16 **alio̯s* 'other', 16 **alio̯te* (**alio̯tə*, **alio̯t*) 'elsewhere', 17 **alter-* 'other'; Watkins 1985:2 **alyo-* and 2000:3 **alyo-* 'other of more than two'; Mallory—Adams 1997:411 **$h_a$élio̯s* 'other'; Hofmann 1966:13; Boisacq 1950:46 **al-i̯os*; Frisk 1970—1973.I:76—77 **alio̯-*; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:63—64; Beekes 2010.I:72—73 **$h_2$el-io-*; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:30—31 **alio̯s*; Ernout—Meillet 1979:21—22; De Vaan 2008:34; Orël 2003:15 Proto-Germanic **aljaz*; Kroonen 2013:23 Proto-Germanic **alja-* 'someone else'; Feist 1939:37 and 39 **alio̯s*; Lehmann 1986:27 and 28—29 **alyos*; Falk—Torp 1903—1906.I:135 Germanic **alja-*; De Vries 1977:100; Onions 1966:307 Common Germanic **aljaz*;

Klein 1971:242—243 **alį̂-os*; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:16; Kluge—Seebold 1989:22; Adams 1999:28—29 **$h_a$elno-*, **$h_a$elyo-* ‘other’; Van Windekens 1976—1982.I:160—161 **alį̂-* : **alį̂o-*.

C. Uralic: Proto-Ugrian **älɜ* (**äl(ɜ)-mɜ*) ‘other (side)’ > Ostyak / Xanty (Yugan) *ȧʌəm* ‘other’; Vogul / Mansi (Lower Konda) *ӧ̈ӧ̈ləmpӧ̈ӧ̈lt*, (Sosva) *aaləmpaalt* ‘behind, on the other side (of the water)’; Hungarian (dial.) *el*, *elü*, *elv* ‘region or district on the other side’, (dial.) *elvé*, *elvett* ‘on the other side, beyond, yonder’, (dial.) *elvől* ‘from the other side’. Rédei 1986—1988:836 **älɜ* (**äl(ɜ)-mɜ*).

D. Altaic: Written Mongolian *alus* ‘on the other side; far away’; Khalkha *als* ‘far, remote, distant’; Buriat *alas* ‘on the other side; far away’; Kalmyk *als* ‘on the other side; far away’; Ordos *alus* ‘on the other side; far away’.

E. Proto-Chukchi-Kamchatkan **ælvæ-* ‘other, different’: Chukchi *alwa-ŋ*, *alwaɣtə* ‘otherwise, in another way’; Kerek *alwa-ŋ* ‘otherwise’, *alwalʁan*, *alwaki*, *am-alwa-ŋ* ‘other, different’; Koryak *alva-ŋ* ‘otherwise, not right’; Alyutor *alva-ŋ* ‘otherwise, not right’; Kamchadal / Itelmen *ɬva-ɬʔan* ‘other, different’. Fortescue 2005:32—33.

F. Proto-Eskimo **alər* ‘other (of a pair)’: Alutiiq Alaskan Yupik *aɬəq* ‘(its) other, companion, placenta’; Central Alaskan Yupik *allәXpak* ‘placenta’; Naukan Siberian Yupik *alʁaXpak* ‘placenta’; Central Siberian Yupik *aləq* ‘other of a pair, companion, afterbirth’, *aalʁaq* ‘other of a cooperating pair of boats, hunting partner, another family in the same clan’; Sirenik *alәX* ‘companion’, *alʁәX* ‘partner, other of a pair’, *alʁәʁa* ‘second’; Seward Peninsula Inuit *aʁlaaq* ‘placenta, afterbirth’; North Alaskan Inuit *alʁa(i)* ‘other one of a pair’, *alʁaaq* ‘afterbirth’; Western Canadian Inuit *alʁaq* ‘reticulum of caribou used as bag for carrying blood’; Eastern Canadian Inuit (Labrador) *axxaak* ‘placenta’; Greenlandic Inuit *aʁɬa(ʁ)-* ‘one of them’, *aʁɬaaq* ‘afterbirth’. Fortescue—Jacobson—Kaplan 1994:17.

Bomhard—Kerns 1994:590, no. 464. Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 770a, **[h]al[V?]E* ‘on the other side’.

692. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **ham-a* ‘blackness; black object’; (adj.) ‘black’:

A. Afrasian: Proto-Southern Cushitic **ham-* ‘black’ > Iraqw *hanta* ‘shadow, spirit’; Burunge *hante* ‘darkness’; Asa *huma* ‘red’; Ma’a *-háme* ‘to be black’; Dahalo *hímmat̲e* ‘black’. Ehret 1980:304.

B. Proto-Indo-European **hem-s-* [**ham-s-*], **hm-es-* ‘blackbird’ (named due to its color): Latin *merula* ‘blackbird’; Welsh *mwyalch* ‘blackbird’; Breton *moualch* ‘blackbird’; Old English *ōsle* ‘blackbird’ (Modern English *ousel*, *ouzel*); Old High German *amusla*, *amsala* ‘blackbird’ (New High German *Amsel*). Pokorny 1959:35—36 **ames-* or **omes-* (: **mes-* : **ams-* : **oms-*) ‘blackbird’; Walde 1927—1932.I:53—54 **ames-* or **omes-*; Mann 1984—1987:20 **ameslā* (**aməslā*) ‘blackbird, ouzel’; Watkins 1985:2 **ames-* and

2000:3 **ams-* ‘black; blackbird’; Mallory—Adams 1997:70 **h$_a$emes-l-* ‘blackbird’; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.II:77—78 **ames-* or **omes-*: **mes-*; Ernout—Meillet 1979:400; De Vaan 2008:375—376 possible “loanword from a non-IE substratum language”; Onions 1966:571 and 636; Klein 1971:458 and 523; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:19—20 **ames-*; Kluge—Seebold 1989:26 **mes-*, **ames-*. Perhaps also: Sanskrit *ásita-ḥ* (f. *ásiknī* < **ásit-nī*) ‘black, dark’ and Greek ἄσις ‘slime, mud’ (if from Proto-Indo-European **hm̥s-* ‘black’). Mayrhofer 1956—1980.I:64; Hofmann 1966:25; Boisacq 1950:87; Frisk 1970—1973.I:162; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:123; Beekes 2010.I:148—149 (etymology uncertain); Kroonen 2013:25—26 Proto-Germanic **amslōn-* ‘blackbird’; Orël 2003:17 Proto-Germanic **amslōn*.

Bomhard—Kerns 1994:589, no. 462.

693. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **ham-a* ‘water’:

A. Proto-Afrasian **ham-* ‘water’: Proto-Semitic **ham-aw/y-* ‘to flow, to pour forth, to overflow’ > Arabic *hamā* ‘to flow, to pour forth, to overflow, to run, to shed tears’, *hamūm* ‘abounding in water’. D. Cohen 1970— :422—423. Proto-Semitic **ham-aʕ-* ‘to shed tears, to cry, to flow’ > Arabic *hamaʿa* ‘to shed tears, to cry, to flow, to drop’, *hamūʿ* ‘flowing’. D. Cohen 1970— :425. Proto-Semitic **ham-ar-* ‘to pour out’ > Arabic *hamara* ‘to pour out, to shed (water, tears); to be poured out, to be shed; to pour down (rain), to flow (tears)’, *hamra* ‘shower of rain’, *munhamir* ‘poured out’; Sabaean *hmr* ‘ejaculation of semen’; Hebrew *mahămōrāh* [מַהֲמוֹרָה] ‘watery pit’ (a hapax legomenon in the Bible); (?) Ugaritic *mhmrt* ‘gullet’. D. Cohen 1970— :426; Klein 1987:322; Zammit 2002:421. Proto-Chadic **ham-* ‘water’ > Sura *àm* ‘water’; Tal *hàm* ‘water’; Yiwom *γàm* ‘water’; Fyer *ham* ‘water’; Dafo-Butura *ham* ‘water’; Bokkos *ham* ‘water’; Kulere *ʔaàm*, *àmm̩* ‘water’; Tangale *am* ‘water’; Karekare *ʔam*, *amu* ‘water’; Geruma *amma* ‘water’; Kirfi *amma*, *àmmá* ‘water’; Bole *aməi*, *àmmá* ‘water’; Pa’a *ambi*, *ámbi* ‘water’; Yedina *āmái*, *àámài* ‘water’; Bade *amun* ‘water’; Kotoko-Logone *ạm*, *àm*, *ʔàm* ‘water’; Migama *àmmì* ‘water’; Birgit *ʔàmì* ‘water’; Mubi *ààmé*, *ʔàḿ*, *ʔàm* ‘water’. Newman 1977:34, no. 142, **am* ‘water’; Jungraithmayr—Ibriszimow 1994.II:340—341. Orël—Stolbova 1995:258, no. 1156, **ham-* ‘water’.

B. Dravidian: Tamil *am*, *ām* ‘water’, *amm-e<u>n</u>al* onomatopoeic expression of filling or overflowing (as of water); Kuṛux *emnā* ‘to take a bath (all over the body), to be covered all over (with sweat, blood)’, *emtaʔānā* ‘to help one to bathe, to bathe (a child, corpse)’, *amm* ‘water, urine, dropsy’; Malto *amu* ‘water’, *am-amre* ‘to water (as the mouth)’, *amsro* ‘waterish’, *amye* ‘to bathe (oneself)’, *amte* ‘to bathe (another)’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:18, no. 187.

C. Proto-Indo-European **hem-b^h-* [**ham-b^h-*]/**hom-b^h-*/**hm̥-b^h-*, possibly also **hem-p'-* [**ham-p'-*]/**hom-p'-*/**hm̥-p'-* 'water, rain, rain-cloud': Sanskrit *ámbu* 'water', *ámbhas-* 'water', *abhrám* 'rain-cloud'; Pāḷi *ambu* 'water', *abbha-* 'dark cloud'; Avestan *awrəm* 'cloud'; Greek ὄμβρος 'a rain-storm, a thunder-storm; heavy rain; water; a shower'; Armenian *amb*, *amp* 'cloud, rain-cloud'; Latin *imber* 'a shower, a rain-storm; a rain-cloud; water'. I assume here that **hem-b^h-* [**ham-b^h-*]/**hom-b^h-*/**hm̥-b^h-* 'water, rain, rain-cloud' was distinct from **neb^h-* 'sky, cloud' and that **nemb^h-* was a contamination of what were originally two separate stems. Pokorny 1959:315—316 (**enebh-*): **nebh-*, **embh-*, **m̥bh-* (contaminated form **nembh-*); **emb-*, **omb-* (from **embh-*, **ombh-*) 'wet, water'; Walde 1927—1932.I:131—132 (**enebh-*): **nebh-*, **embh-*, **m̥bh-* (contaminated form **nembh-*); **emb-*, (**omb-*) from **embh-*; Mann 1984—1987:824 **m̥bhros*, *-is* 'cloud, vapor, drizzle', 874 **ombos*, *-us* (**ombəros*, **ombro-*) 'water, rain, rain-cloud'; Mallory—Adams 1997:477 **n̥bh(ro/ri)-* 'rain'; Watkins 1985:46 **ombh-ro-* (zero-grade form **m̥bh-ro-*) and 2000:60 **ombh-ro-* 'rain' (zero-grade form **m̥bh-ro-*); Mayrhofer 1956—1980.I:43 and I:45; Boisacq 1950:106 **m̥bh-*, **embh-*, **ombh-* and 700; Hofmann 1966:231 **omb(h)-*; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:796—797 **enbh-> *embh-*; Frisk 1970—1973.II:384—385 **ómbhro-s*, **m̥bhró-*, **embhro-*; Beekes 2010.II:1075; De Vaan 2008:299; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:680—681 **m̥bh-*, **emb(h)-*, **omb(h)-*; **m̥bhrós*; Ernout—Meillet 1979:310: "The *b* of *imber* can be derived from either **bh* or **b*.".

D. Proto-Altaic **āmu* 'lake, river': Proto-Tungus **āmu-* 'lake, river' > Evenki *āmut* 'lake'; Lamut / Even *amar*, *āmār* 'river'; Negidal *amụt* 'lake'; Manchu *omo* 'lake, pond'; Spoken Manchu (Sibo) *omə* 'lake'; Jurchen *omo* 'lake'; Nanay / Gold *amoã* 'lake'; Oroch *amu* 'lake'; Udihe *amuli* the name of a river; Solon *amụ̆ži* 'lake', *amur* 'river'. Proto-Mongolian **ama-n* 'valley' > Middle Mongolian *ama-sar* 'mountain fold'; Written Mongolian *ama(n)* 'narrow mountain valley'; Khalkha *am(an)* 'narrow mountain valley'; Kalmyk *amn̥* 'valley'; Ordos *ama(n)* 'valley'. Note: **ama-n* 'valley' should be distinguished from **ama-n* 'mouth' (on which see below). Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:297 **āmu* 'river, valley'.

Buck 1949:1.24 valley; 1.31 water; 1.32 sea; 1.33 lake; 1.36 river; stream; brook; 1.73 cloud; 1.75 rain.

694. Proto-Nostratic root **ham-* (~ **həm-*):
(vb.) **ham-* 'to take into the mouth, to eat';
(n.) **ham-a* 'mouth'

A. Proto-Afrasian **ham-* 'to take into the mouth, to eat': Semitic: Arabic *nahima* (< **na-ham-*) 'to have a ravenous appetite, to be insatiable; to be greedy, covetous', *naham* 'ravenous hunger, insatiable greed, gluttony',

nahim ‘voracious, insatiable, glutton’. Berber: Tuareg *əmi* ‘mouth, orifice, entrance, opening’; Nefusa *imi* ‘mouth, entrance, opening’; Ghadames *ami* ‘mouth, entrance, opening’; Wargla *imi* ‘mouth, orifice, opening’; Mzab *imi* ‘mouth, orifice, opening’; Tamazight *imi* ‘mouth, opening, entrance, threshold’, *timmitt* ‘small mouth’; Tashelhiyt / Shilha *imi* ‘mouth, entrance, threshold’; Riff *imi* ‘mouth, orifice’; Kabyle *imi* ‘mouth, orifice, entrance, threshold’; Chaouia *imi* ‘mouth, orifice’. Southern Cushitic: Dahalo *ham-* ‘to toss a piece of food in the mouth’. West Chadic **ham-* ‘to eat’ > Pa’a *ʔm̀ma*, *ma*, *m̩mâ* ‘to eat’. East Chadic **ham-* ‘to eat’ > Kera *hàmɛ̀* ‘to eat’; Somray *ʔə́m-* ‘to eat’. Central Chadic **ham-* ‘to eat, to chew’ > Buduma *ham* ‘to eat’; Daba *həmu* ‘to eat’; Musgoy *ḥam* ‘to chew’. Jungraithmayr—Ibriszimow 1994.II:120—121. Ehret 1995:383, no. 781, **hom-* ‘to take into the mouth’; Orël—Stolbova 1995:258, no. 1157, **ham-* ‘to eat’.

B. Yukaghir (Southern / Kolyma) *amliː-* ‘to swallow’, *amlədaj-*, *emlədej-* ‘to swallow; to embrace’, *amlibe* ‘digestive tract’. Nikolaeva 2006:103.

C. Proto-Altaic **ămo-* ‘(vb.) to taste; (n.) mouth, taste’ (**amo-t^{h}a*, **amo-sa*): Proto-Tungus **amŋa* ‘mouth’, **amta-* ‘to taste’ > Evenki *amŋa* ‘mouth’, *amta-* ‘to taste’; Lamut / Even *amŋъ* ‘mouth’, *amtъ-* ‘to taste’; Negidal *amŋa* ‘mouth’, *amta-* ‘to taste’; Manchu *aŋga* ‘mouth; opening, hole’; Spoken Manchu (Sibo) *aŋə* ‘mouth’; Jurchen *am-ŋa* ‘mouth’; Ulch *aŋma* ‘mouth’; Orok *amŋa* ~ *aŋma* ‘mouth’; Nanay / Gold *amɢa* ‘mouth’; Oroch *amma* ‘mouth’; Udihe *aŋma* ‘mouth’; Solon *amma*, *angai* ‘mouth’. Proto-Mongolian **ama-* ‘mouth’, **amsa-* ‘to taste’, **amta* ‘taste’ > Written Mongolian *ama(n)* ‘mouth’, *amsa-* ‘to taste’, *amta(n)* ‘taste, flavor’; Khalkha *am* ‘mouth’, *amsa-* ‘to taste’, *amt(an)* ‘taste’; Buriat *aman* ‘mouth’, *amha-* ‘to taste’, *amta(n)* ‘taste’; Kalmyk *amn̩* ‘mouth’, *amsa-* ‘to taste’, *amtn̩* ‘taste’; Ordos *ama* ‘mouth’, *amsa-* ‘to taste’, *amta* ‘taste’; Moghol *aman*, *amun* ‘mouth’, *amsa-* ‘to taste’, *amta* ‘taste’; Dagur *ama* ‘mouth’, *anta-* ‘to taste’, *anta* ‘taste’; Dongxiang *amaŋ* ‘mouth’, *amusa-* ‘to taste’, *anda-tu* ‘tasty’; Monguor *ama* ‘mouth’, *amusa-* ‘to taste’, *amata*, *amta* ‘taste’. Poppe 1955:53. Proto-Turkic **um-*, **um-sa-* (‘to taste, to have taste for’ >) ‘(vb.) to hope for, to envy; (n.) an object of hope, desire; hope’ > Old Turkic (Old Uighur) *umuɣ* ‘an object of hope, desire; hope’; Karakhanide Turkic *um-* ‘to hope for’, *umdu* ‘an object of hope, desire; hope’, *umdu-čï* ‘beggar’; Turkish *um-* ‘to hope, to expect’, *umsan-* ‘to hope for’, *umma* ‘hope, expectation’; Gagauz *um-* ‘to hope for’; Azerbaijani *um-* ‘to hope for’, *umsun-* ‘to be disappointed’, *umažaɢ* ‘an object of hope, desire; hope’; Turkmenian *ïmtïl-* ‘to wait for food’; Uzbek *um-* (dial.) ‘to hope for’, *umsun-* ‘to experience a flow of milk in one’s beast and a desire to feed a baby’; Karaim *um-*, *umsun-* ‘to hope for’; Tatar *omtï-l-* ‘to hope for’; Kirghiz *umu-*, *umsun-* ‘to hope for’, *umtul-* ‘to strive’; Kazakh *umtï-* ‘to dart, to lunge’; Noghay *ïmtï-* ‘to dart, to lunge’; Oyrot (Mountain Altai) *umzan-* ‘to go in a direction’, *umza-* ‘to make somebody to go in a direction’; Chuvash *ъ^{w}mza-* ‘to envy’; Yakut *umsu-gu-y-* ‘to be keen on, to

be addicted', *umnahĭt* 'beggar'. Poppe 1960:40, 68, 94, 121, and 140; Street 1974:7 **ama* 'mouth, opening', **ama-gay*; Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:296—297 **ămo* 'mouth; taste' (**amo-t'a*, **amo-sa*).

Buck 1949:4.24 mouth; 5.11 eat; 15.31—15.34 taste (vb.; sb.); 16.62 desire (vb.).

695. Proto-Nostratic root **haŋ-* (~ **həŋ-*):
(vb.) **haŋ-* 'to split apart, to open (tr.); to gape, to open the mouth, to yawn';
(n.) **haŋ-a* 'opening: yawn, gape, mouth; hole; crack, crevice'

A. Afrasian: Highland East Cushitic: Hadiyya *an-* 'to split (wood)'. Hudson 1989:269.

B. Dravidian: Tamil *aṅkā* '(vb.) to open the mouth; (n.) opening the mouth', *aṅkāppu* 'opening the mouth, thirsting'; Tuḷu *aṅgāvuni* 'to yawn, to gape, to open the mouth', *aṅguni* 'to open the mouth, to be seized with a fit of yawning'; Kolami *aŋgasi* 'a yawn'; Naikṛi *aŋgāśi* 'a yawn'; Parji *aŋalp-* (*aŋalt-*) 'to gape, to open the mouth wide'; Gondi *aŋil-*/*aŋl-* 'to open the mouth', *aŋgal-* 'gaping, yawning', *ānglānā* 'to yawn'; Manḍa *aŋlā-* 'to open the mouth'; *angalanga* 'with mouth agape, with foolish appearance; foolishly, crazily'; Kuwi *angalacali* 'to gape'; Kuṛux *aŋglnā*, *aŋgla?ānā* 'to gape, to open the mouth wide, to be open'; Malto *aŋ̲ġle* 'to gape', *aŋ̲ġlo* 'open-mouthed'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:5, no. 34. Tamil *aṇal* 'neck, side of the upper jaw, chin, throat, windpipe, beard, dewlap', *aṇar*, *aṇari* 'side of the upper jaw', *aṇār* 'neck'; Malayalam *aṇa* 'jaw, hinder part of the jaw', *aṇal* 'jaw, hinder part of the mouth', *aṇṇāti* 'cheekbone', *aṇṇi* 'inside of the cheek, joint of jaws'; Kota *aṇg* 'lower cheek'; Kannaḍa *aṇal* 'under part of the mouth, mouth'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:12, no. 114.

C. Proto-Indo-European **hen-t^{h}ro-* [**han-t^{h}ro-*] ('hole, opening' >) 'cave, cavern': Greek ἄντρον 'cave, cavern, grotto'; Latin *antrum* 'cave' (loan from Greek); Armenian *ayr* 'hollow, cave'. Pokorny 1959:50 **antro-m* 'hollow, cave'; Mann 1984—1987:28 **antro-* 'interior, hollow'; Boisacq 1950:64—65; Frisk 1970—1973.I:115; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:93; Hofmann 1966:19; Beekes 2010.I:110 (substrate word); Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:49—50; Ernout—Meillet 1979:37.

D. Uralic: Proto-Finno-Ugrian **aŋa-* 'to open' > Finnish *avaa-* 'to open, to unwrap, to unlock, to unfasten, to untie, to undo, to unbutton, to unstrap, to uncork', *avo-* 'open, bare', *avara* 'wide, vast, extensive, broad, spacious', *avoin*/*avoime-* 'open, vacant', *avanto* 'ice-hole'; Estonian *ava-* 'to open'; Mordvin (Erza) *aŋksima*, *avsima*, (Moksha) *ańćəma* 'ice-hole' (regular deverbative noun from **aŋksi-*, etc., which may be a frequentative of **aŋ-* 'to open'); Vogul / Mansi *õõŋqw-* 'to take off (a garment)'; Ostyak / Xanty (Kazym) *õŋk-* 'to untie (a knot, etc.)', *õŋkəs-*, (Southern) *oŋhəs-*, *ăŋkəs-* 'to take off (a garment, shoes, etc.)'; Hungarian *old-* 'to loosen, to open'.

Collinder 1955:72—73 and 1977:89; Aikio 2020:20—22 **aŋa-* ‘to open, to take off’; Rédei 1986—1988:11 **aŋa-*. Proto-Uralic **aŋi* ‘mouth, opening’: Lapp / Saami *vuoŋâs/vuogŋâsâ-* ‘halter or band on the muzzle of a dog, to prevent it from biting a reindeer; the muzzle of a calf, to prevent it from sucking the cow’ (derivative of **vuogŋâ*, possibly ‘mouth’); Mordvin *ovks* (pl. *oŋkśt'*, *ojkst*) ‘bit on a bridle’ (derivative of **ov*, **oŋ*, **oj*, possibly ‘mouth’); (?) Cheremis / Mari *äŋ*, *aŋ* ‘mouth, opening, gap (in a doorway, in a sack); rent in a garment’; Votyak / Udmurt *ym* ‘mouth; opening, outlet, estuary’; Zyrian / Komi *võm*, *vom* ‘mouth; opening, outlet; mouth (of a river)’, *kõrt-võm* ‘bit on a bridle’ (*kõrt* ‘iron’); Ostyak / Xanty *oŋ* ‘opening, mouth (of a bottle, vessel, etc.); entrance, bay; mouth, entry of a river’; Yurak Samoyed / Nenets *nææʔ*, (Forest) *nææŋ* ‘mouth’; Yurak Samoyed / Nganasan *ŋaaŋ* ‘mouth’; Yenisei Samoyed / Enets (Hatanga) *eeʔ*, (Baiha) *naʔ/nan-* ‘mouth’; Selkup Samoyed *åŋ*, *aaŋ*, *aak* ‘mouth’, *aaŋaj*, *aakal'* ‘bridle’; Kamassian *aŋ* ‘mouth’; Koibal *an* ‘mouth’. Collinder 1955:68—69 and 1977:85; Rédei 1986—1988:11—12 **aŋe-*; Décsy 1990:97 **anga* ‘opening’; Sammallahti 1988:542 Proto-Finno-Ugrian **åŋi* ‘mouth’; Janhunen 1977b:20 **äŋ*; Aikio 2020:22—23 **aŋi* / **aŋa* ‘opening, mouth’. Yukaghir (Northern / Tundra) *aŋa* ‘mouth’, (Southern / Kolyma) *aŋa* ‘mouth’, *aŋil'* ‘opening, mouth (of a river)’. Nikolaeva 2006:106.

E. Proto-Altaic **aŋa* ‘hole, crack, gape’: Proto-Tungus **aŋa-* ‘(vb.) to dig; to open; (n.) crack, hole’ > Evenki *aŋa-* ‘to dig’, *aŋa-/āŋā-* ‘to open’, *aŋa* ‘crack, hole’; Lamut / Even *aŋ-* ‘to dig’, *āŋa-* ‘to open’; Negidal *aŋa-* ‘to dig; to open’, *aŋa* ‘crack, hole’; Ulch *aŋɢala* ‘crack, hole’; Orok *āŋɢa-* ‘to dig’. Proto-Mongolian **aŋ-*, **aŋga-* ‘(vb.) to open one’s mouth, to gape; (n.) crack, hole, gape’ > Written Mongolian *aŋγ-a* ‘bifurcation, branch’, *aŋ* ‘crack, chink, cleft, fissure, crevice; ravine’, *aŋγai-* ‘to open up, to be wide open’, *aŋγailγ-a* ‘opening, gap; hiatus’, *aŋγalǯa-* ‘to gape, to open and shut the mouth repeatedly’, *aŋγarqai* ‘crevice, cranny, fissure, gaping’, *aŋγar* ‘crevice, cranny, fissure, cleft’, *aŋta-* ‘to split, to crack, to cleave’; Khalkha *aŋ* ‘crack, hole, gape’, *aŋgai-* ‘to open one’s mouth, to gape’; Buriat *aŋg(an)* ‘crack, hole, gape’; Kalmyk *aŋ*, *aŋgə* ‘crack, hole, gape’; Ordos *aŋ* ‘crack, hole, gape’; Dagur *xangai-* ‘to open one’s mouth, to gape’; Dongxiang *aŋɢəi-* ‘to open one’s mouth, to gape’; Shira-Yughur *aŋγī-* ‘to open one’s mouth, to gape’; Monguor *ŋɢai-* ‘to open one’s mouth, to gape’. Proto-Turkic **aŋ-* ‘(vb.) to be wide open, to have one’s mouth opened, to gape; to be perplexed, astonished; to look at with surprise; to be faint, drowsy; (adj.) wide open, obtuse, stupid, astonished; (n.) fool, simpleton’ > Karakhanide Turkic *aŋïl*, *ačuq* ‘wide open’; Turkish (dial.) *anuk*, *anız* ‘fool, simpleton’; Turkmenian *aŋal-* ‘to be perplexed, astonished’, *aŋqar-* ‘to be perplexed, astonished; to have one’s mouth opened’; Uzbek *aŋray-* ‘to be perplexed, astonished; to have one’s mouth opened’; Tatar *aŋγï-miŋge bul-* ‘wide open’, (dial.) *aŋγïl* ‘obtuse, stupid’;

Kirghiz *aŋqay-*, *aŋγar-* ‘to be wide open; to look at with surprise’, *aŋqō* ‘fool, simpleton’, *aŋïr-* ‘to be perplexed, astonished’, *aŋïray-* ‘to gape’; Kazakh *aŋtar-*, *aŋïr-* ‘to be perplexed, astonished’, *aŋqaw* ‘fool, simpleton’; Noghay *aŋqï-tiŋke* ‘daffy’, *aŋra* ‘fool, simpleton’, *aŋšay-* ‘to have one’s mouth opened’; Tuva *aŋγada-* ‘to be perplexed, astonished’; Yakut *aŋar-* ‘to be drowsy, faint’. Poppe 1960:72; Street 1974:8 **aŋ* ‘crack, cleft’, **aŋ-a-* ‘to open’; Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:304 **aŋa* ‘hole, crack, gape’.

F. Proto-Eskimo **aŋva-* ‘to be open’: Central Siberian Yupik *aŋvanəq* ‘hollow beneath shoulder blade’; Sirenik *aŋvanəX* ‘hollow beneath shoulder blade’; Seward Peninsula Inuit *aŋma-* ‘to be open, to be free of ice (lake)’, *aŋmaq* ‘hole’; North Alaskan Inuit *aɣma-*, (Malimiut) *aŋma-* ‘to be open’; Western Canadian Inuit *aŋma-* ‘to be open’; Greenlandic Inuit *amma-* ‘to be open’. Fortescue—Jacobson—Kaplan 1994:36. Proto-Eskimo **aŋvaʁ-* ‘to open’: Alutiiq Alaskan Yupik *ampaʁ-* ‘to open’; Central Alaskan Yupik *aŋpaʁ-*, (Nunivak) *aŋvaʁ-* ‘to open’; Seward Peninsula Inuit *aŋmaq-* ‘to open’; North Alaskan Inuit *aɣmaq-*, (Malimiut) *aŋmaq-* ‘to (become or make) open’; Western Canadian Inuit *aŋmaq-* ‘to open’; Eastern Canadian Inuit *amma(q)-* ‘to open, to be open’; Greenlandic Inuit *ammaʁ-* ‘to (become or make) open’. Fortescue—Jacobson—Kaplan 1994:36.

Buck 1949:4.207 jaw; 4.24 mouth; 4.52 yawn, gape; 12.24 open (vb.). Illič-Svityč 1971—1984.I:244—245, no. 105, **Hanga* ‘to gape’; Bomhard—Kerns 1994:590—592, no. 465; Hakola 2000:26, no. 52.

696. Proto-Nostratic root **hap*^{h}- (~ **həp*^{h}-):
(vb.) **hap*^{h}- ‘to turn, to turn away, to turn back’;
(n.) **hap*^{h}*-a* ‘the act of turning away, turning back, overturning’; (adj.) ‘turned away from, turned back, overturned’

A. Afrasian: Proto-Semitic **hap-ak-* ‘to turn, to turn away, to turn back, to overturn’ > Hebrew *hāφaχ* [הָפַךְ] ‘to turn, to turn away, to turn back, to overturn’; Aramaic *həφaχ* ‘to turn, to change, to move, to return’; Ugaritic *hpk* ‘to overturn’; Phoenician *hpk* ‘to overturn’; Palmyrene *hpk* ‘to overturn’; Akkadian *abāku* ‘to turn upside down, to upset, to overturn’. D. Cohen 1970— :28 and 440; Murtonen 1989:158; Klein 1987:161.

B. Proto-Indo-European **hep*^{h}*o* [**hap*^{h}*o*] ‘(turned) away, back’: Sanskrit *ápa* ‘away, forth, back’; Old Persian (prefix) *apa-* ‘away’; Greek ἄπο, ἀπό ‘off, away, back’; Latin *ab* ‘away from’; Gothic *af* ‘of, from, by, away from’; Old Icelandic *af* ‘off, from’; Old English *of* ‘from, away from’; Old Frisian *af*, *of* ‘off, from, away from’; Old Saxon *af* ‘off, from, away from’; Dutch *af* ‘off, down’; Old High German *ab*, *aba* ‘off, from, away from’ (New High German *ab*); Hittite *a-ap-pa* ‘afterwards, back, again’; Luwian

a-ap-pa ‘back, again, after’; Lycian *epñ* ‘back, after, further’. Pokorny 1959:53—55 **apo* ‘off, away’; Walde 1927—1932.I:47—50 **apo*; Mann 1984—1987:30 **apo* (**apō*, **apə*, **po*) ‘away; from, after’; Watkins 1985:3 **apo* (also **ap-*) and 2000:5 **apo* (also **ap-*) ‘off, away’; Mallory—Adams 1997:42 **h₄épo* ‘back, behind’, **h₄ep-ér-* ‘back, behind’; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.I:37; Hofmann 1966:20—21; Boisacq 1950:69; Beekes 2010.I:117 **h₂epo*; Frisk 1970—1973.I:122; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:97—98; Ernout—Meillet 1979:1—2; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:1—2 **ap*, **apo*; De Vaan 2008:19—20 **h₂ep-*; Orël 2003:1 Proto-Germanic **aƀa*; Kroonen 2013:1 Proto-Germanic **aba* ‘(away) from, off’; Feist 1939:3 **apo*; Lehmann 1986:2 **apo-*; De Vries 1977:2; Klein 1971:510; Onions 1966:624 **ap*, **apo* (Common Germanic adv. and prep. **aƀ(a)*); Kluge—Mitzka 1967:1 **apo*; Kluge—Seebold 1989:2 **apo*; Boutkan—Siebinga 2005:292—293; Sturtevant 1942:45, §42b, Indo-Hittite **:ápo* and 1951:53, §76, **hép-*; Puhvel 1984— .1/2:91—94; Kloekhorst 2008b:192—195.

Bomhard—Kerns 1994:585—586, no. 456.

697. Proto-Nostratic root **haw-* (~ **həw-*):
(vb.) **haw-* ‘to long for, to desire’;
(n.) **haw-a* ‘desire’

A. Proto-Afrasian **haw-* ‘(vb.) to long for, to desire; (n.) desire’: Proto-Semitic **haw-ay-* ‘(vb.) to long for, to desire; (n.) desire’ > Hebrew *hawwāh* [הַוָּה] ‘desire’; Arabic *hawiya* ‘to love, to desire’, *hawan* ‘love, affection, desire, longing’; Mehri *šəhwū* ‘to like’; Śḥeri / Jibbāli *šhəbé* ‘to appreciate something (beautiful), to think something is fine; to like something overmuch’. D. Cohen 1970— :386; Klein 1987:142. Cushitic: Somali *hawo* ‘desire, passion’; Galla / Oromo *haw-* ‘to covet’, (adj.) *hawa* ‘covetous, envious’. Orël—Stolbova 1995:259, no. 1162, **haw-* ‘to want’.
B. Dravidian: Tamil *āvu* (*āvi-*) ‘to desire’, *avāvu* (*avāvi-*) ‘to desire, to crave for, to covet’, *avā* ‘desire for a thing, covetousness’; Malayalam *āvikka* ‘to desire’, *āval* ‘desire’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:36, no. 394.
C. Proto-Indo-European **hew-* [**haw-*] ‘to long for, to desire’: Sanskrit *ávati* ‘to be pleased, to strive for’, *áva-ḥ* ‘favor, protection, gratification’; Avestan *avaiti* ‘to protect, to help’, *avah-* ‘protection’; Latin *aveō* ‘to long for, to desire’, *avidus* ‘passionately desiring, longing for’; Welsh *ewyllys* ‘will’, *awydd* ‘desire’ (Latin loan). Rix 1998a:244 **h₂eu̯-* ‘to enjoy’; Pokorny 1959:77—78 **au̯-*, **au̯ē-*, **au̯ēi-* ‘to like’; Walde 1927—1932.I:19 **au̯-*, **au̯ē-*, **au̯ēi-*; Mann 1984—1987:45—46 **au̯ē-i̯ō* ‘to like, to favor, to want’, 47 **au̯is* ‘desire’; Mallory—Adams 1997:197 **hₐeu-* ‘to favor’ and 317 **h₄eu-* ‘to enjoy’; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.I:57 and I:58;

Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:81—82; Ernout—Meillet 1979:56; De Vaan 2008:65.

Buck 1949:16.62 desire (vb.). Illič-Svityč 1971—1984.I:241—242, no. 100, **hawʌ* 'to desire passionately'; Caldwell 1913:588 and 607; Bomhard—Kerns 1994:587, no. 458; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 790, **hawV* 'to desire, to love'.

698. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **hay-a* 'a kind of cereal or grain':

A. Proto-Afrasian **hay-* 'a kind of cereal or grain': Egyptian *ỉhy* 'cereal'. Hannig 1995:95; Erman—Grapow 1926—1963.1:118. West Chadic **hay-* 'grain' > Angas *he* 'corn'; Fyer *hay* 'a kind of millet'; Bokkos *hay* 'a kind of millet'. Orël—Stolbova 1995:260—261, no. 1167, **hay-* 'cereal'.
B. Dravidian: Parji *ayk* 'a kind of grain called in Halbi *kaŋg*'; Gadba (Salur) *aykil* 'a kind of grain called in Telugu *kor̲ralu*'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:19, no. 195.
C. Indo-European: Proto-West Germanic **ayt-* 'a type of cereal or grain' > Old English *āte*, *æte* '(wild) oats' (Middle English *āte* '[cultivated] oats'); West Frisian *oat* 'oats'; Flemish *ate*, *ote* 'oats'; Zeelandic *ôôte* 'oats'. Note also: Old Saxon *er(iw)it* 'pea'; Old High German *araweiz*, *arawīz* 'pea', literally, 'pea grain' (New High German *Erbse*) (< **arw(a)-(a)itō*). Orël 2003:10 Proto-Germanic **aitōn*; Onions 1966:619 ("peculiar to English and of uncertain origin"); Hoad 1986:318; Klein 1971:505 ("of uncertain origin"); Liberman 2008:170—174; Weekley 1921:998—999; E. Müller 1879.II:156; Vercoulie 1898:211; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:170; Kluge—Seebold 1989:184. Skeat (1898:398) compares Old English *āte*, *æte* 'oats' with Old Icelandic *eitill* 'a nodule in stone'; Norwegian *eitel* 'a gland, knot, nodule in stone'; Russian *jadró* [ядро] 'a kernel in fruit, bullet, ball, shot'; Greek οἶδος 'a swelling'. Kroonen (2013:37) reconstructs Proto-Germanic **arwīt-* 'pea' and considers it to be of non-Indo-European origin.

Buck 1949:8.42 grain; 8.46 oats.

699. Proto-Nostratic exclamation of surprise, astonishment, grief, or misfortune **hay*:

A. Proto-Afrasian **hay* exclamation of surprise, astonishment, grief, or misfortune: Proto-Semitic **haw/y* exclamation of surprise, astonishment, grief, or misfortune > Hebrew *hōy* [הוֹי] exclamation of dissatisfaction and pain (used in lamentations): 'ah!, alas!, ha!', *hī* exclamation of grief: 'woe!'; Syriac *hāwāy* 'ah!'; Akkadian *aya* in *uʾa aya* 'alas!'; Arabic (interjection) *hayyā* 'up!, come on!, let's go!, now then!', *yā hayya* 'oh!'. D. Cohen 1970— :386; Klein 1971:142. Egyptian (interjection) *hy* 'oh!, hail!'; Coptic *hayo* [ϩⲁ(ⲉ)ⲓⲟ], *ayo* [ⲁ(ⲉ)ⲓⲟ] 'hey!, hail!'. Hannig 1995:489;

Faulkner 1962:157; Erman—Grapow 1921:200 and 1926—1932.2:482; Gardiner 1957:579; Vycichl 1983:290; Černý 1976:270. Berber: Kabyle *uy!* exclamation of pain. Highland East Cushitic: Gedeo / Darasa *aai* ‘alas!’. Hudson 1989:230.

B. Dravidian: Tamil *aiya* exclamation of wonder, pity, concern; Malayalam *ayyō*, *ayyayyō* interjection of pain, grief; Kota *aya·* exclamation of surprise or grief; Kannaḍa *ayyō*, *ayyayyō*, *ayyayyē* interjection of grief, annoyance; Tuḷu *ayyō*, *ayyayyō* interjection of grief, annoyance, pain; Telugu *ayyo*, *ayyō*, *ayyayō*, *ayyayyō*, *ayayō* interjection denoting sorrow, lamentation, pity, pain. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:19, no. 196(b).

C. Proto-Indo-European **hay-* exclamation of surprise, astonishment, grief, or misfortune: Hittite *a(y)i-* ‘pain’; Sanskrit *ai* particle of addressing, summoning, remembering; Avestan *āi* particle of summoning; Greek αἴ, αἶ exclamation of astonishment, αἰαῖ exclamation of grief; Lithuanian *aĩ*, *ái* ‘oh!’. Pokorny 1959:10 **ai* interjection; Walde 1927—1932.I:1 **ai*; Mann 1984—1987:5 **ai* ‘oh!’; Puhvel 1984— .1/2:13—14; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.I:130; Beekes 2010.I:30: “Elementary formation, found in many languages”; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:28—29.

D. Uralic: Finnish *ai* ‘oh!, oh dear!’; Hungarian *ajaj* ‘oh dear!’.

E. Altaic: Classical Mongolian *ai*, *aia* (*aya*) interjection expressing pity, sympathy, worry, or fear: ‘oh!, ah!’; Manchu *ai* ‘hey!’, *aya* interjection of praise or surprise.

Bomhard—Kerns 1994:589—590, no. 463; Hakola 2000:15—16, no. 6.

700. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **hay-a* ‘metal, ore’:

A. Dravidian: Tamil *ayil* ‘iron’; Malayalam *ayir*, *ayiram* ‘any ore’; Kannaḍa *aduru* ‘native metal’; Tuḷu *ajirda karba* ‘very hard iron’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:18, no. 192.

B. Proto-Indo-European **hey-os-*/**hey-es-* [**hay-os-*/**hay-es-*] ‘metal, ore’ (> ‘copper, bronze’): Sanskrit *áyas-* ‘iron, metal; Avestan *ayah-* ‘iron, metal’; Latin *aes* ‘copper, bronze, brass; copper or bronze as a metal of currency, copper or bronze money, a copper or bronze coin’, *aēneus*, *aēnus* ‘made of bronze (or any alloy of copper); derived from or connected with bronze, of bronze; bronze-colored’; Gothic *aiz* ‘money, metal coin’; Old Icelandic *eir* ‘brass’; Old Swedish *ēr* ‘copper’ (Modern Swedish *erg* ‘verdigris, copper rust’); Old Danish *eer* ‘copper’; Norwegian *eir*, *irr* ‘copper rust’; Old English *ār*, *ǣr* ‘ore; brass, copper’, *ǣren* ‘made of brass’; Old Saxon *ēr* ‘ore’; Dutch *oer* ‘bog-ore’, *erts* ‘ore’; Old High German *ēr* ‘ore, copper’, *ērīn* ‘of brass, of bronze’ (New High German *Erz* ‘ore; [poet.] brass, bronze’, *ehern* ‘of brass, of bronze’). Pokorny 1959:15—16 **aḭos-* ‘metal’; Walde 1927—1932.I:4 **aḭos-*; Mann 1984—1987:8 **aḭos*, *-es-* ‘metal, bronze, ore’; Gamkrelize—Ivanov 1995.I:380 **Haye/os-* ‘copper’ and

I:614 **Haye/os-*; Watkins 1985:4 **ayes-* ‘a metal, copper or bronze’ and 2000:6 **ayes-* ‘a metal, copper or bronze’; Mallory—Adams 1997:379 **h_aeḭ-es-* ‘metal’ > ‘copper’ > ‘bronze’; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.I:46 and 1986—2001.I:104 **aḭes-* (~ **h_2eḭes-*); Ernout—Meillet 1979:12—13 **ay(o)s*; De Vaan 2008:27—28 **$h_2$ei-os*, **$h_2$ei-es-* ‘bronze’ **$h_2$eies-no-* (adj.) ‘of metal’; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:19—20 **aḭos*; Kroonen 2013:16—17 Proto-Germanic **aiza-*, **aizīna-*; Orël 2003:11 Proto-Germanic **aizan*; Feist 1939:31; Lehmann 1980:22 **ayos-*; De Vries 1977:97; Falk—Torp 1910—1911.I:467; Onions 1960:632; Klein 1971:1093 **ayos-*; Vercoulie 1898:73 and 205; Walshe 1951:43 and 49; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:152—153 **aḭos* and 174; Kluge—Seebold 1989:166 **ajos* and 188 (New High German *Erz* ‘ore’ = loanword from Sumerian *urud*).

Note: Similar forms are found in Northwest Caucasian: Common Abkhaz **ajx̌á*: South Abkhaz *ajx̌á* ‘iron; axe; bit (of a horse)’; Abaza/Tapanta *ajx̌á* ‘iron; metal’; Ashkharywa *ájx̌a* ‘iron’. Note also: South Abkhaz *ajg^{o}šº* ‘small axe’; Abaza/Tapanta *g^{o}ašº* ‘small axe’, *k’^{o}aγa* ‘small axe’; Bzyp *ajk’^{o}áγ(a)* ‘small axe’; Abzhywa *ajk’^{o}áγa* ‘small axe’. These may have been borrowed from Indo-European.

Buck 1949:9.66 copper, bronze; 9.67 iron.

701. Proto-Nostratic root **her-* and/or **hor-*:
(vb.) **her-* and/or **hor-* ‘to escape, to flee, to run away’;
(n.) **her-a* and/or **hor-a* ‘escape, flight’; (adj.) ‘escaped, liberated, freed’

A. Proto-Afrasian **her-*, **hor-* ‘to escape, to flee, to run away’: Proto-Semitic **har-ab-* ‘to escape, to flee, to run away’ > Akkadian *arbu* ‘fugitive, runaway’; Arabic *haraba* ‘to flee, to escape, to desert, to run away, to elope; to help to escape, to force to flee, to put to flight; to liberate, to free (a prisoner); to smuggle’, *harab* ‘flight, escape, getaway; desertion; elopement’, *hurūb* ‘flight’, *harbān* ‘fugitive, runaway, on the run; a runaway, a fugitive, a refugee’, *hārib* ‘fugitive, runaway, on the run; a runaway, a fugitive, a refugee; deserter’; Sabaean *hrb* ‘to flee’; Ḥarsūsi *herōb* ‘to put to flight, to smuggle’; Śḥeri / Jibbāli *ohúrb* ‘to smuggle, to run away (from prison)’; Mehri *hōrəb* ‘to smuggle, to put to flight’; Tigre *harbä* ‘to flee’. D. Cohen 1970— :447; Zammit 2002:417. Ehret 1995: 385, no. 789, **her-*/**hor-* ‘to go rapidly on foot’; Ehret also posits Proto-Cushitic **horr-*/**herr-* ‘to go on foot’ (Proto-East Cushitic ‘to run away’), but he does not give examples.

B. Proto-Indo-European **her-* [**har-*]/**hor-*/**ḫr-* ‘(vb.) to liberate, to set free; (adj.) free’: Hittite *a-ra-a-u-(wa-)aš* ‘free’, (1st sg. pres.) *a-ra-wa-aḫ-ḫi* ‘to set free’; Lycian *arawa* ‘free’, *arawã* ‘exempt from tax’, ’Ερεύας /**erewa-/

'free(city)'. Tischler 1977— :53—55; Puhvel 1984— .1/2:119—121. Puhvel's rejection notwithstanding, the most convincing Indo-European cognate remains Lithuanian *árvas* 'free' (cf. Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1995.I: 397—398 **arw-* and I:781 **arwo-* 'free agriculturalist'). Fraenkel 1962—1965.I:16.

C. Proto-Eskimo **aʁullaʁ-* 'to leave': Alutiiq Alaskan Yupik *aʁulaXtə-* 'to run away'; Naukan Siberian Yupik *aʁulaXquq* 'gathered greens'; Central Siberian Yupik *aʁulaqə-* 'to leave', *aʁulaXquʁ-* 'to go and gather greens'; Sirenik *aʁəlaʁ-* 'to leave', *aʁəlaʁət(ə)-* 'to take away'; Seward Peninsula Inuit *aulaʁi-* 'to leave'; North Alaskan Inuit *aullaq-* 'to leave'; Western Canadian Inuit *aullaq-* 'to leave'; Eastern Canadian Inuit *aulla(q)-* 'to leave'; Greenlandic Inuit *aaɬɬaʁ-* 'to leave'. Fortescue—Jacobson—Kaplan 1994:45.

Buck 1949:10.51 flee; 11.34 release; 19.44 free (adj.). Bomhard—Kerns 1994:585, no. 455.

22.36. PROTO-NOSTRATIC *ħ

				Eurasiatic			
Proto-Nostratic	Proto-Afrasian	Proto-Dravid.	Proto-Kartvel.	Proto-IE	Proto-Uralic	Proto-Altaic	Proto-Eskimo
ħ-	ħ-	Ø-	x-	ħ͡h-	Ø-	Ø-	Ø-
-ħ-	-ħ-	-Ø-	-x-	-ħ͡h-	-Ø-	-Ø-	-Ø-

702. Proto-Nostratic root **ħac'-* (~ **ħəc'-*):
(vb.) **ħac'-* ‘to pick, to pluck’;
(n.) **ħac'-a* ‘the act of picking, plucking’; (adj.) ‘picked, plucked’

A. Proto-Afrasian **ħac'-* ‘to pick, to pluck’: Proto-Semitic **ħac'-ad-* ‘to harvest, to reap’ > Akkadian *eṣēdu* ‘to harvest’; Imperial Aramaic *ḥṣd* ‘to harvest’; Biblical Aramaic *ḥəṣaḏ* ‘to cut, to mow’, *ḥəṣāḏā* ‘crop, harvest-time’; Arabic *ḥaṣada* ‘to harvest, to reap, to mow’, *ḥaṣīd* ‘crop, harvest, yield’, *ḥaṣad* ‘mown grain’. Murtonen 1989:193; Klein 1987:228. (?) Egyptian *ḥḏ-t* ‘a kind of plant’. Hannig 1995:575; Erman—Grapow 1926—1923.3:211. Proto-East Cushitic **ħaɗ$_1$-* ‘to reap’ > Burji *hat'-* ‘to reap’; Galla / Oromo *hatt'-aw-* ‘to sweep’; Dobase *hat'-* ‘to hoe, to clean’; Kambata *hat'iid-* ‘to reap, to cut crops’, *hat'iidi-je(e)ccut* ‘harvest-time’. Sasse 1982:93; Hudson 1989:46.

B. Dravidian: Kota *ec-* (*ec-*) ‘to pick (berries, fruit)’; Konḍa *es-* ‘to play on *ṭoyla* or any stringed instrument’; Pengo *ec-* ‘to pluck’; Manḍa *eh-* ‘to pluck’; Kui *espa-* (*est-*) ‘to pluck’; Kuwi *eh-* (*est-*) ‘to pluck (fruit)’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:77, no. 779.

C. Proto-Indo-European **ħ͡het'-* [**ħ͡hat'-*] ‘crop, grain’: Latin *ador* ‘a species of grain, spelt’; Gothic *atisk* ‘grain, grain-field’; Old English *edisc* ‘enclosure, park; pasture’; Dutch *esch* ‘cultivated fields of a village’; Old High German *ezzisc* ‘seed’ (New High German *Esch*); Armenian *hat* ‘grain’; (?) Tocharian A *āti*, B *atiyo* ‘grass’. Semantic development from ‘to pick, to pluck’ > ‘to gather the crop, to harvest’ > ‘crop, grain’ as in Arabic *ḥaṣīd* ‘crop, harvest, yield’ and *ḥaṣad* ‘mown grain’ cited above. Pokorny 1959:3 **ades-*, **ados-* ‘type of grain’; Walde 1927—1932.I:45 **ados-*; Mann 1984—1987:2 **adhōr-*, **adhər-* ‘a course grain’ (?); Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.II:655 **Hat'-* and 1995.I:564 **Hat'-* ‘grain’; Mallory—Adams 1997:237 **h$_2$ed-* ‘grain, barley’; Orël 2003:26—27 Proto-Germanic **atiskaz*; Kroonen 2013:39 Proto-Germanic **atiska-* ‘grainfield’; Feist 1939:61; Lehmann 1986:46; Ernout—Meillet 1979:9; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:14; De Vaan 2008:25; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:174 **ados-*; Kluge—Seebold 1989:188; Van Windekens 1976—1982.I:624 considers the Tocharian forms to be loans from Turkic; Adams

1999:9, on the other hand, favors derivation from **āt-u-* and compares Old Irish *áith* (< **āt-i-*) ‘sharp, energetic’.

(?) Sumerian *ha-za* ‘to seize, to grasp’.

Buck 1949:8.32 mow, reap; 8.41 crop, harvest; 8.42 grain. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:355—356, no. 181.

703. Proto-Nostratic root **ħag-* (~ **ħəg-*):
(vb.) **ħag-* ‘to be pressed or weighed down; to be oppressed; to be vexed, distressed, disheartened, afflicted, troubled’;
(n.) **ħag-a* ‘trouble, affliction, oppression, distress, grief, sadness’

A. Proto-Afrasian **ħag-* ‘to be pressed or weighed down; to be oppressed; to be disheartened, vexed, distressed, afflicted, troubled’: Proto-Semitic (**ħag-an-* > **ħag^{y}-an-* > **ħad^{y}-an-* >) **ħaʒ-an-* ‘to grieve, to be sad’ > Arabic *ḥazana* ‘to make sad, to sadden, to grieve’; Ḥarsūsi *ḥezōn* ‘to be sad’; Śḥeri / Jibbāli *ḥázín* ‘sad’; Mehri *ḥzūn* ‘to be very sad’; Geez / Ethiopic *ḥazana* [ሐዘነ], *ḥazna* [ሐገነ] (also *ḫazana* [ኀዘነ]) ‘to be sad, to be sorrowful, to be grieved, to be in mourning, to have compassion, to be sorry for, to sympathize’, *ḥazan* [ሐዘን] ‘sadness, grief, sorrow, mourning, affliction, melancholy, care’; Tigrinya *ḥazänä* ‘to be sad’; Tigre *ḥazna* ‘to be sad’; Harari *ḥuzni* ‘sadness’; Argobba *hazzäna* ‘to be sad’; Amharic *azzänä* ‘to be sad’; Gurage *azänä* ‘to be sad, sorrowful’, *azän* ‘grief, sorrow’. Leslau 1963:89, 1979:121, and 1987:253—254; Zammit 2002: 139—140. Egyptian (**ħag-an-* > **ħag^{y}-an-* > **ħad^{y}-an-* >) *ḥḏn*, *ḥḏnw* ‘to be oppressed, disheartened, vexed, angry’, *sḥḏn* (causative) ‘to vex’. Hannig 1995:575 and 740; Faulkner 1962:239; Erman—Grapow 1921:120 and 1926—1923.3:214; Gardiner 1957:583.

B. [Dravidian: Kannaḍa *agacu*, *agucu* ‘to press firmly, to confine, to hold firmly’, *agacāṭ(a)lu*, *agacāṭ(a)le*, *agacāṭu* ‘affliction, trouble’; Telugu *agacāṭlu* ‘troubles, difficulties, affliction’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:3, no. 2.] Either here or with Proto-Nostratic **hak'-* (~ **hək'-*) ‘(vb.) to press, squeeze, pack, or cram together; to confine, to oppress; (n.) oppression, affliction, pain’. Kannaḍa *agi* ‘to tremble, to fear’, *agurvu*, *agurbu* ‘amazement, terror; a terrible form’, *agurvisu* ‘to be terrifying or formidable, to terrify’; Tuḷu *aguruni* ‘to totter, to stagger’; Telugu *agurvu* ‘fear, terror’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:4, no. 12.

C. Proto-Indo-European **ḫ̯heg^{h}-* [**ḫ̯hag^{h}-*] ‘(vb.) to be weighed down, oppressed, fearful; (n.) pain, sorrow, grief, fear’: Greek ἄχος ‘pain, sorrow, grief, distress’, ἄχομαι ‘to be vexed, annoyed, distressed’, ἀκαχεῖν ‘to grieve, to vex, to annoy, to distress’, ἄχνυμαι ‘to trouble oneself, to grieve for, to lament’; Old Irish *ad-ágor* ‘fear’; Gothic *agis* ‘fright, fear, terror’; Old English *ege* ‘fear’, *egesa* ‘fear, terror’, *egesian* ‘to terrify’; Old High

German *egis-līh* ‘terrible’. Pokorny 1959:7—8 **agh-* ‘to be depressed’; Walde 1927—1932.I:40 **agh-*; Mann 1984—1987:2 **agh-* ‘dread, terror’, 2 **aghəlos*, **aghulos* ‘evil, sorrow’, 3 **aghō*, *-i̯ō* ‘to groan, to fear, to sorrow’, 3 **aghos*, *-es-* ‘evil, harm, grief, gain, horror’; Watkins 1985:1 **agh-* and 2000:1 **agh-* ‘to be afraid, to be depressed’; Mallory—Adams 1997:413 **$h_a$éghleh$_a$* ‘affliction’; Frisk 1970—1973.I:200—201 and I:202—203; Boisacq 1950:108; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:150 and I:151; Hofmann 1966:30; Beekes 2010.I:184—185 **$h_2$eg^h-*; Orël 2003:3 Proto-Germanic **aǯez*; Kroonen 2013:4 Proto-Germanic **agiz-* ‘fear’; Lehmann 1986:10 **agh-* ‘to suffer in spirit’; Feist 1939:14 **agh-*.

Buck 1949:16.31 pain, suffering; 16.32 grief, sorrow; 16.36 sad; 16.53 fear, fright. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:457, no. 302. Different etymology in Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 1856, **qag[ʔ]a* ‘to fear’.

704. Proto-Nostratic root **ħag-* (~ **ħəg-*):
(vb.) **ħag-* ‘to cover over, to hide, to conceal, to obscure, to overshadow’;
(n.) **ħag-a* ‘mist, darkness, cloudy weather’; (adj.) ‘misty, dark, cloudy’

A. Proto-Afrasian **ħag-* ‘(vb.) to cover over, to hide, to conceal, to obscure, to overshadow; (adj.) misty, dark, cloudy; (n.) mist, darkness, cloudy weather’: Proto-Semitic **ħag-ab-* ‘to cover, to hide, to obscure’ > Arabic *ḥağaba* ‘to veil, to cover, to shelter, to seclude, to hide, to conceal, to obscure, to overshadow’; Hebrew *ḥāγāβ* [חָגָב] ‘locust’ (originally ‘locusts covering the sky’); Śḥeri / Jibbāli *ḥɔ́gɔ́b* ‘to outline the shape of a projected structure’, *ḥɔ́tgəb* ‘to wrap and tie cloth around one’s knees and sit cross-legged’; Mehri *ḥəgūb* ‘to outline the shape of a structure (house, pen, etc.) in stones and branches’. Murtonen 1989:174; Klein 1987:207; Zammit 2002:133. Proto-East Cushitic **ħagay-* ‘rainy season’ > Kambata *haguu(ha)* ‘dry season’; Burji *hagáy-ee* ‘rainy season’; Saho *ħagay* ‘rainy season’; Afar *ħaagay-* ‘summer’; Galla / Oromo *hag-ay-y-a* ‘wet season’; Somali *ħagaa* ‘dry season’; Gidole *haakay-t* ‘rainy season’; Hadiyya *hageyye* ‘rainy season’; Gollango *ħakay-te* ‘rainy season’. (Cushitic loans in Ethiopian Semitic: Geez / Ethiopic *ḥagāy* [ሐጋይ], *ḫagāy* [ኀጋይ] ‘summer, dry season [January—March]’, [denominative] *ḥagaya* [ሐገየ] ‘to spend the summer, to become summer’, *ḥagayāwi* [ሐገያዊ] ‘pertaining to summer’; Tigre *ḥagay* ‘dry season’; Amharic *hagay*, *agay* ‘dry season’ [cf. Leslau 1987:228].) Sasse 1982:89; Hudson 1989:120. (?) Proto-East Cushitic **ħagoog-* ‘to cover over’ > Galla / Oromo *hagoog-aḍ/t-* ‘to cover’; Saho *agoog-* ‘to be covered with cloths, to be draped in garments’; Somali *hagog* ‘cloth draped over the head’; Rendille *ogog-* ‘to cover’. Sasse (1979:39) reconstructs Proto-East Cushitic **hagoog-*; however, considering the more specialized meaning of the Saho and Somali forms, they may be loans, perhaps from Galla / Oromo.

B. Proto-Indo-European *$\underset{\smile}{ħ}eg^{h}$-*lu*- [*$\underset{\smile}{ħ}ag^{h}$-*lu*-] ‘mist, darkness, cloudy weather’: Greek ἀχλύς ‘mist, gloom, darkness’; Armenian *alǰalǰ*, *alǰamułǰk^{h}* ‘darkness, obscurity’; Old Prussian *aglo* (*u*-stem) ‘rain’. Pokorny 1959:8 **aghl(u)*- ‘dark cloud’; Walde 1927—1932.I:41 **aĝhl(u)*-; Mallory—Adams 1997:477 *h_{a}*eghlu*- (-*ĝh*- ?) ‘rain’; Boisacq 1950:108; Frisk 1970—1973.I:201—202; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:151; Hofmann 1966:30; Beekes 2010.I:184 *$h_{2}eg^{h}lu$*-; Derksen 2015:555 *$h_{2}eg^{h}lu$*-.

C. Proto-Altaic **aga* ‘rain, cloudy sky’: Proto-Tungus **aga* ‘rain’ > Manchu *aɢa* ‘rain’; Spoken Manchu (Sibo) *ahā* ‘rain’; Jurchen *ah-ga* ‘rain’. Proto-Mongolian **agaɣar* (< **aɣa-ɣar*) ‘cloudy sky’ > ‘air, atmosphere’ > Written Mongolian *aγar* ‘air, atmosphere, weather’; Khalkha *aγr*, *aγār* ‘air, atmosphere’; Ordos *aɢāri* ‘celestial space, the appearance of the sky’; Moghol *ɔ̄ur* ‘cloud’. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:273—274 **aga* ‘rain; air’.

Buck 1949:1.62 darkness. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:534—535, no. 388.

705. Proto-Nostratic root *$ħak^{h}$- (~ *$ħək^{h}$-):
(vb.) *$ħak^{h}$- ‘to be mentally sharp, keen’;
(n.) *$ħak^{h}$-*a* ‘wisdom, sound judgment, understanding’

A. Afrasian: Proto-Semitic **ħak-am*- ‘to be mentally sharp, keen; to judge’ > Arabic *ḥakama* ‘to pass judgment, to express an opinion, to judge; to decide, to give a decision, to pass a verdict, to pass sentence; to sentence, to impose, to inflict (a penalty) on someone; to pronounce a verdict or judgment, to deliver judgment, to rule (in someone’s favor); to adjudicate, to adjudge, to award; to have judicial power, to have jurisdiction, to have authority, to govern, to rule, to dominate, to command, to order; to bridle, to check, to curb’, *ḥakīm* ‘wise, judicious; wise man, sage; philosopher; physician, doctor’; Hebrew *ḥāχam* [חָכַם] ‘to be wise’, *ḥāχām* [חָכָם] ‘wise, skillful, shrewd, crafty, cunning’, *ḥāχmāh* [חָכְמָה] ‘wisdom, prudence’; Aramaic *ḥakkīm* ‘wise man’; Ugaritic *ḥkm* ‘wise’; Akkadian *ḫakāmu* ‘to know, to understand’ (initial *ḫ*- may be due to West Semitic [Aramaic] influence); Ḥarsūsi *ḥekōm* ‘to rule, to conquer’; Soqoṭri *ḥkem* ‘to judge’; Mehri *ḥəkūm* ‘to aim (a gun) at; to condemn, to rule; to be old’; Geez / Ethiopic *ḥakama* [ሐከመ] ‘to treat medically, to be wise’, *ḥakim* [ሐኪም] ‘physician, philosopher, wise man’; Tigre *ḥakim* ‘physician’; Amharic *ḥakim* ‘physician’; Harari *ḥakäma* ‘to judge, to rule; to recite the daily lesson of the Koran to the teacher or the father’, *ḥukmi* ‘judgment, law’, *ḥakīm* ‘physician’. The Ethiopian Semitic terms are loans from Arabic. Murtonen 1989:181; Klein 1971:216; Leslau 1963:81 and 1987:228—229; Militarëv 2011:70 Proto-Semitic **ḥkm*; Zammit 2002:146.

B. Dravidian: Kuṛux *axnā* (*axcas*, *akkhas*) ‘to know, to realize, to experience, to mistake for’, *axkā*, *akhkā* ‘knowledge, experience’; Malto *ágе* (*aqqa*)

‘to know, to understand’, *ágre* ‘to get accustomed to’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:4, no. 17.

C. Proto-Indo-European **ḫ̯hek^h-* [**ḫ̯hak^h-*] ‘to be mentally sharp, keen’: Hittite (nom. sg.) *ḫa-at-ta-an-za* (< **ḫakt-ant-*) ‘intelligent, clever, wise’, *ḫattaḫ̯-* ‘to make clever, to instruct’, (nom. sg.) *ḫa-at-ta-a-tar* ‘intelligence, (wise) counsel, wisdom’; Gothic *aha* ‘mind, understanding’, *ahjan* ‘to think’, *ahma* ‘spirit’, **ahmateins* ‘inspiration’, **ahmeins* ‘spiritual’; Old Icelandic *ætla* (< **aχtilōn*) ‘to think, to mean, to suppose’, *ætlan* ‘thought, meaning, opinion’; Old English *eaht* ‘council, deliberation, consideration’, *eahtian* ‘to watch over, to hold council, to deliberate, to consider’; Old Frisian *achte* ‘consideration’, *achtia* ‘to consider’; Old High German *ahta* ‘consideration’ (New High German *Acht*), *ahtōn* ‘to consider’ (New High German *achten*). Puhvel 1984— .3:260—263 **H$_1$ek-(t-)*; Kloekhorst 2008b:333; Feist 1939:15; Lehmann 1986:11; De Vries 1977:682; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:6 **ok-* ‘to think about, to consider’; Kluge—Seebold 1989:8—9 perhaps from **aḱ-* ‘pointed, sharp’. Note: Some of the Indo-European forms cited under Proto-Nostratic **ħok^h-* ‘sharp point’ may belong here instead.

Buck 1949:21.16 judge (vb.).

706. Proto-Nostratic root **ħak’-* (~ **ħək’-*):
(vb.) **ħak’-* ‘to spread, to widen, to extend’;
(n.) **ħak’-a* ‘expanse, wide-open space, earth, field’

A. Proto-Afrasian **ħak’-* ‘field’: Proto-Semitic **ħak’-l-* ‘field’ > Arabic *ḥaḳl* ‘field’; Aramaic *ḥəḳal* ‘field’; Syriac *ḥaḳlā* ‘field’; Akkadian *eḳlu* ‘field’; Sabaean *ḥḳl* ‘cultivated land, country, field’; Geez / Ethiopic *ḥaḳl* [ሐቅል] ‘field, plain, desert, wilderness, countryside, district’; Amharic *haḳl* ‘field’ (loan from Geez). Leslau 1987:239—240. [Orël—Stolbova 1995:271, no. 1222, **ḥaḳVl-* ‘earth, field’.]

B. Dravidian: Tamil *akal* (*akalv-*, *aka<u>nr</u>-*) ‘to spread, to widen, to extend; to depart, to go away’, *akalam* ‘width, extent, expanse, greatness, earth, sky’, *akali* ‘to broaden out, to enlarge (intr.)’, *akaluḷ* ‘width, expanse, greatness, earth, town, village, country’, *akalvu* ‘extent, expanse’, *aka<u>ṟ</u>ci* ‘breadth, separation, ascetic life’, *aka<u>rr</u>u* (*aka<u>rr</u>i-*) ‘to widen (tr.), to broaden, to extend; to remove, to expel, to banish’, *aka<u>ṟ</u>al* ‘extension’, *akavu* (*akavi-*) ‘to become long, to lengthen out’; Malayalam *akaluka* ‘to become extended, distant; to part, to retire’, *akalca* ‘separation, distance’, *aka<u>rr</u>uka* ‘to extend (tr.), to open; to remove; to put away’, *akattuka* ‘to distend’, *akalam* ‘breadth, distance’, *akala*, *akalē* ‘far off, aside’; Kota *agalm* ‘width’; Kannaḍa *agal-* (*agald-*) ‘to be spacious, extensive; to separate from, to go away’, *agala* ‘space, width, extension’, *agalike* ‘separation from’, *agalcu* ‘to spread out; to remove’, *agundale* ‘extensiveness,

greatness', *agunti* 'greatness, vastness'; Tuḷu *agapuni* 'to depart; to separate (tr.), to extend', *agapāvuni* 'to send away, to cause to depart', *agela* 'breadth', *agelu̯* 'to go apart, to widen'; Telugu *agalu* 'to leave, to depart, to be gone (of strength in war, liveliness, etc.)'; (?) Malto *agare* 'to spread, to increase, to become public', *agatre* 'to spread, to distribute'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:3, no. 8.

C. Proto-Indo-European **ħ̬ek'-ro-* [**ħ̬ak'-ro-*] 'field, plain': Sanskrit *ájra-ḥ* 'field, plain'; Greek ἀγρός 'field'; Armenian *art* 'field'; Latin *ager* 'field'; Umbrian *agre* 'field, country'; Gothic *akrs* 'field'; Old Icelandic *akr* 'field, corn-field'; Faroese *akur* 'field'; Norwegian *aaker* 'field'; Swedish *åker* 'field'; Danish *ager* 'field'; Old English *æcer* '(cultivated) field, acre'; Old Frisian *ekker* 'field'; Old Saxon *akkar* 'field'; Dutch *akker* 'field'; Old High German *ackar*, *achar* 'field' (New High German *Acker*). Pokorny 1959:6 **aĝ-ro-s* 'field'; Walde 1927—1932.I:37 **aĝ-ro-s*; Mann 1984—1987:4 **aĝros* 'plain, field', 4 **aĝrĭ̯os* 'wild, field-', 4 **aĝrĭ̆nos* 'field-, fruit, crop'; Watkins 1985:1 **agro-* and 2000:1 **agro-* 'field' (oldest form **ḛ₁aĝro-*); Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.II:694 **Haǩ'ro-* and 1995.I:600 **Haǩ'ro-* 'unworked field for grazing'; Mallory—Adams 1997:200 **hₐeĝros* 'field, pasture'; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.I:23; Boisacq 1950:10 **aĝro-s*; Frisk 1970—1973.I:16 **aĝros*; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:15; Hofmann 1966:3 **aĝ-ros*; Beekes 2010.I:16 **h₂eǵ-ro-*; De Vaan 2008:29 **h₂eǵ-ro-* 'uncultivated field, pasture'; Ernout—Meillet 1979:14—15 **agro-*; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:22 **aĝ-ro-s*; Orël 2003:12 Proto-Germanic **akraz*; Kroonen 2013:18 Proto-Germanic **akra-* 'field'; Feist 1939:33 **aĝros*; Lehmann 1986:24 **aĝros* 'pasture'; Falk—Torp 1903—1906.I:11—12; De Vries 1977:4; Boutkan—Siebinga 2005:85; Vercoullie 1898:8; Onions 1966:9—10 **agros*; Klein 1971:8 **aĝ-ro-s*; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:6—7 **aĝro-*; Kluge—Seebold 1989:9 **aǵros* 'field'; Wodtko—Irslinger—Schneider 2008:267—277 **h₂eĝ-*: **h₂aĝ-ro-*.

Buck 1949:1.23 plain, field; 8.12 field (for cultivation). Bomhard—Kerns 1994:539—540, no. 396.

707. Proto-Nostratic root **ħak'-* (~ **ħək'-*):
(vb.) **ħak'-* 'to direct, to guide, to command';
(n.) **ħak'-a* 'direction, guidance, command, decree; leader, chief, chieftain, ruler, headman'

A. Proto-Afrasian **ħak'-* 'to direct, to guide, to command': Proto-Semitic **ħak'-ak'-* 'to direct, to guide, to command, to decree; to establish what is correct, proper, true, legitimate' > Arabic *ḥaḳḳa* 'to be true, to turn out to be true, to be confirmed; to be right, correct; to be necessary, obligatory, requisite, imperative; to be adequate, suitable, fitting, appropriate; to be due; to make something come true, to realize (something, e.g., hope), to

carry out, to carry into effect, to fulfill, to put into action, to consummate, to effect, to actualize, to implement; to produce, to bring on, to yield; to determine, to ascertain, to find out, to pinpoint, to identify; to prove something to be true, to verify, to establish, to substantiate; to confirm, to assert, to aver, to avouch, to affirm (something); to be exact, painstaking, meticulous, careful', *ḥaḳḳ* 'truth, correctness, rightness', *ḥaḳḳānī* 'correct, right, proper, sound, valid, legitimate, legal'; Hebrew *ḥāḳaḳ* [חָקַק] 'to decree, to ordain laws; to cut into, to engrave, to inscribe'; Aramaic *ḥəḳaḳ* 'to inscribe; to decree'; Syriac *ḥuḳḳā* 'rule'; Phoenician *ḥḳḳ* 'to engrave; to prescribe, to order'; Nabatean *ḥḳḳ* 'to engrave; to prescribe, to order'; Sabaean *ḥḳḳ* 'contract'; Ḥarsūsi *ḥeḳ* 'right, truth'; Śḥeri / Jibbāli *ḥaḳ* 'right'; Mehri *ḥaḳ* 'right', *ḥəḳ* 'to adjust, to level, to file smooth'; Soqoṭri *ḥaḳ* 'judgment'; Geez / Ethiopic *ḥaḳaḳa* [ሐቀቀ] 'to level off, to fasten, to fix, to make exact by increasing what is little or by diminishing what is much'; Tigre *ḥaḳḳ* 'right'; Tigrinya *ḥaḳḳi* 'truth'. Murtonen 1989:194; Klein 1987:230; Leslau 1987:240. Egyptian *ḥq*, *ḥqꜣ* 'to rule, to govern, to guide, to direct, to reign', *ḥqꜣ* 'ruler, chieftain' (f. *ḥqꜣt*), *ḥqꜣ-ḥwt* 'village headman'. Hannig 1995:563—564; Faulkner 1962:178; Erman—Grapow 1921:117 and 1926—1963.3:170—173; Gardiner 1957:583.

B. Proto-Indo-European **ḫ͡ḫek'-* [**ḫ͡ḫak'-*] 'to direct, to guide, to command' (> 'to drive'): Greek ἄγω 'to lead, to conduct, to guide, to direct, to command, to rule, to instruct', ἀγός 'leader, chief'; Sanskrit *ájati* 'to drive, to propel, to throw, to cast', *ajá-ḥ* 'driver, mover, instigator, leader'; Avestan *azaiti* 'to drive'; Latin *agō* 'to drive'; Old Irish *agid* 'to drive, to lead' (cf. Lewis—Pedersen 1937:334—337, §491; Thurneysen 1946:461); Old Welsh *agit* 'to go'; Old Icelandic *aka* 'to drive (a vehicle or an animal drawing a vehicle); to carry or convey (in a vehicle), to cart'; Armenian *acem* 'to bring, to lead'; Tocharian A *āk-* 'to lead, to drive, to guide'. Rix 1998a:227—228 **h₂eĝ-* 'to drive'; Pokorny 1959:4—6 **aĝ-* 'to drive'; Walde 1927—1932.I:35—37 **aĝ-*; Mann 1984—1987:4 **aĝō* 'to drive, to lead, to go, to do, to act', 4 **aĝos* 'drive, lead; driver, leader'; Watkins 1985:1 **ag-* and 2000:1 **ag-* 'to drive, to draw, to move' (oldest form **ḛ₁aĝ-*); Mallory—Adams 1997:170 **hₐeĝ-* 'to drive'; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.I:23; Boisacq 1950:11 **áĝō*; Frisk 1970—1973.I:18; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:17—18 **ḛ₂eg-*; Hofmann 1966:3 **aĝō*; Beekes 2010.I:18—19 **h₂eǵ-*; Ernout—Meillet 1979:15—18 **ag'-*; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:23—24 **aĝ-*; De Vaan 2008:30—31; Orël 2003:11 Proto-Germanic **akanan*, 11 **akaz*; Kroonen 2013:18 Proto-Germanic **akan-* 'to drive'; De Vries 1977:3 **aĝ-*; Van Windekens 1976—1982.I:158; Adams 1999: 36—37 **hₐeĝ-*; Wodtko—Irslinger—Schneider 2008:267—277 **h₂eĝ-*.

Buck 1949:10.64 lead (vb.). Bomhard—Kerns 1994:540, no. 397.

708. Proto-Nostratic root **ħal-* (~ **ħəl-*):

(vb.) **ħal-* ‘to lay waste, to destroy, to kill, to slaughter’;
(n.) **ħal-a* ‘destruction, violence, killing, slaughter’
Note also:
(vb.) **xal-* ‘to wear down, to wear out, to weaken; to be worn out, worn down, weakened’;
(n.) **xal-a* ‘weakness, exhaustion, fatigue, weariness’; (adj.) ‘weak, worn out, tired, exhausted, weary’

A. Afrasian: Proto-Southern Cushitic **ḥal-* ‘to cut off’ > Dahalo *ḥaliiṯe* ‘knife’. Ehret 1980:334. East Cushitic: Somali *ħalaalee-* ‘to circumcise’.
B. Elamo-Dravidian: Middle Elamite *hal-pu* ‘to kill, to strike down’; Royal Achaemenid Elamite *hal-pi* ‘to die, to slay’, *hal-be-ra* ‘butcher (of cattle)’, *hal-ba* ‘dead’. Dravidian: Naikṛi *aḷaŋ-* ‘to kill’; Kolami *alŋg-* (*alaŋkt-*) ‘to kill’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:1291, no. 309.
C. Indo-European: Hittite (3rd sg. pres. mid.) *ḫal-la-an-ni-ya-at-ta-ri* ‘to lay waste, to ruin, to savage, to ravage’, (nom. sg.) *ḫal-lu-wa-iš* ‘violence, brawl, altercation, quarrel’, (3rd pl. pres. act.) *ḫal-lu-u-wa-an-zi* ‘to resort to violence, to brawl, to quarrel; (tr.) to savage, to fight’; Luwian (dat.-loc. sg.) *ḫal-wa-ti-ya* ‘quarrel’ (?). Puhvel 1984— .3:13—14 **A_2^{w}el-A_1^{w}-* and 3:49—51 3rd sg. pres. act. **A_2^{w}l̥-n-é-A_1^{w}-ti*; Kloekhorst 2008b:271—272.
D. Proto-Altaic **ālV-* ‘to destroy, to kill’: Proto-Tungus **āli-* ‘to crumble (of earth, snow); to kill an animal (after a long hunt)’ > Negidal *āliˌ-w-* ‘to crumble (of earth, snow)’; Udihe *ali-* ‘to kill an animal (after a long hunt)’, *alip-* ‘to become spoiled (of meat)’. Proto-Mongolian **ala-* ‘to kill’ > Written Mongolian *ala-* ‘to kill, to murder, to butcher’, *alaγači* ‘killer, executioner. butcher’, *alaldu-* ‘to kill each other, to fight each other’, *alalduγan* ‘slaughter, bloody battle’, *alasi* ‘slaughter (of animals)’, *alaχuvar* (adv.) ‘fatally, mortally’; Khalkha *ala-* ‘to kill’; Buriat *ala-* ‘to kill’; Kalmyk *al-* ‘to kill’; Ordos *ala-* ‘to kill’; Moghol *olā-*, *āla-* ‘to kill’; Dagur *ala-* ‘to kill’; Dongxiang *ala-* ‘to kill’; Shira-Yughur *ala-* ‘to kill’; Monguor *ala-* ‘to kill’. Proto-Turkic **Alk-* ‘to finish; to destroy; (refl.) to perish, to come to an end, to be exhausted’ > Old Turkic (Orkhon, Old Uighur) *alq-* ‘to finish, to destroy’, (refl.) *alq-ïn-* ‘to perish, to be exhausted, to come to an end’; Karakhanide Turkic *alq-* ‘to finish, to destroy’, (refl.) *alq-ïn-* ‘to perish, to be exhausted, to come to an end’, *alq-ïš-* ‘to destroy each other’; Turkish (dial.) *alk-* ‘to finish; to destroy; (refl.) to perish, to come to an end, to be exhausted’, (Old Osmanli) *alk-ïš-* ‘to destroy (many)’; Kirghiz *alq-ïn-* ‘to weaken; to rage’; Kazakh *alq-ïn-* ‘to get short of breath, to chafe’. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:290—291 **ālV* ‘to destroy, to kill’.
E. Proto-Chukchi-Kamchatkan **ælvə-* ‘to flense’: Alyutor *alv(ə)-* ‘to flense’; Chukchi *elwə-* ‘to flense (carcass)’; Kamchadal / Itelmen *əlfɬe-s* ‘to flense’ (with *-æt-* ?). Fortescue 2005:33.

Sumerian *ha-lam* ‘ruin, destruction’, *ha-lam* ‘to destroy, to ruin, to devastate’.

Buck 1949:4.76 kill; 11.27 destroy.

709. Proto-Nostratic root **ħal-* (~ **ħəl-*):
(vb.) **ħal-* ‘to wash, to rinse, to clean’;
(n.) **ħal-a* ‘the act of washing, cleaning’; (adj.) ‘washed, clean(ed)’

A. Proto-Afrasian **ħal-* ‘to wash, to rinse, to clean’: Proto-Semitic **ħal-al-* ‘to wash, to rinse, to clean’ > Akkadian *ellu* ‘clean, pure; holy, sacred’; Imperial Aramaic *ḥll* ‘to wash, to rinse’; Syriac *ḥəlal* ‘to wash away, to cleanse, to purify’. East Cushitic: Somali *ħal-* ‘to wash’. Orël—Stolbova 1995:272, no. 1226, **ḥal-* ‘to wash’. (?) Proto-Southern Cushitic **ħel-* ‘to clean’ > Asa *hilus-* ‘to strain, to filter’. Ehret 1980:335. Semitic loans in: Hittite (abl. sg.) *ḫa-la-la-za* ‘clean’; Luwian (nom. sg.) *ḫa-la-li-iš* ‘clean’ (cf. Puhvel 1984— .3:13; Laroche 1959:38).
B. Dravidian: Tamil *alampu* (*alampi-*) ‘to wash, to rinse’, *alacu* (*alaci-*) ‘to rinse’, *alaicu* (*alaici-*) ‘to wash, to rinse’, *alaittal* ‘to wash clothes by moving them about in water’; Malayalam *alakkuka* ‘to wash clothes by beating’, *alakku* ‘washing’, *alampuka* ‘to shake clothes in water’; Kannaḍa *alambu*, *alumbu*, *alabu*, *alubu* ‘to rinse, to wash’, *ale* ‘to wash’, *alasu* ‘to shake or agitate in water (as a cloth, vegetables, etc., for cleansing’; Tuḷu *alambuni* ‘to wash’, *alumbuni*, *lumbuni* ‘to plunge, to wash, to rinse’; Telugu *alamu* ‘to smear, to wash’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:24, no. 246.

Sumerian $^{\text{HA-AL}}$*hal* ‘purity, pureness; cleanness, cleanliness’.

Buck 1949:9.36 wash. Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 2578, **χalV* ‘(to be/become) clean’.

710. Proto-Nostratic root **ħal-* (~ **ħəl-*):
(vb.) **ħal-* ‘to lower’;
(n.) **ħal-a* ‘that which is beneath or under; lower part, underpart’; (adj.) ‘lower’

A. Afrasian: Highland East Cushitic: Burji *hal-* ‘to fall (down), to set (of sun)’; Sidamo *halalla*, *halaalla* ‘lowland’, *halaalla* ‘lowland, desert’, *halalla* ‘plain’, *halliyyá* ‘deep’, *halaʔl-* ‘to be wide’, *halaʔl-iš-* ‘to widen’, *halaʔlado* ‘wide’. Hudson 1989:196 and 369; Sasse 1982:90.
B. Proto-Uralic **ẹ́la* ‘lower, under; below, underneath; that which is beneath or under, lower space, underpart’: Finnish *ala* ‘area, territory, space’, *alla* (< **alna*) ‘being under’, *ala-*, *ali-* ‘sub-, lower’, *alta* ‘from beneath (an object)’, *alas*, *ales* ‘down’; Lapp / Saami *-vuolle* ‘that which lies beneath’, *vuollĕ-* ‘lower, under-, sub-’, *vuollen* ‘underneath’, *vuol'dĕ* ‘under; from

beneath'; Mordvin *alo* 'under, underneath', *aldo* 'up from underneath, under'; Cheremis / Mari *ül-*, *ülə* 'that which is beneath, sub-', *ülnə* 'underneath, (being) under'; Votyak / Udmurt *ul* 'underpart, lower space, that which is beneath', *ulyn* 'under, underneath', *ullań* '(going) underneath'; Zyrian / Komi *-ul* 'space under something', *ulyn* '(being) under', *ul-* 'sub-, lower', *ulyś* 'from a low place', *ullań* 'down, downwards', *ulõ* '(going) under'; Vogul / Mansi *jol-* 'sub-; lower part', *jolən* '(being) under', *joləl* 'from the underside'; Ostyak / Xanty *yl*, (Southern) *it* 'lower, sub-; lower part'; Hungarian *al*, *alj* 'that which is beneath, underpart', *al-* 'sub-', *alatt* '(being) under', *alól*, *alúl*, *alul* 'from beneath, beneath'; Yurak Samoyed / Nenets *ŋyl* 'floor, ground, base', *ŋylna* 'below, underneath', *ŋyld* 'from below'; Tavgi Samoyed / Nganasan *ŋilea-* 'that which is below', *ŋileanu* '(being) under', *ŋileada* 'from below', *ŋilinu* 'below, underneath', *ŋilida* 'from below'; Yenisei Samoyed / Enets (Hantai) *iðo*, (Baiha) *iro* 'ground', *iðone* '(being) under', *iðoro* 'from below'; Selkup Samoyed *yl* 'ground, base', *ylgan*, *ylogan* 'from below', *yllä* 'downwards'; Kamassian *ilgän* 'below', *ilde* 'downwards'. Collinder 1955:2—3, 1960:405 **ala*, 1965:136, and 1977:24—25; Rédei 1986—1988:6 **ala*; Décsy 1990:97 **ala* 'below, beneath'; Sammallahti 1988:536 **ɨlå* 'under'; Aikio 2020:52—53 **ęla-* 'place under or below'; Janhunen 1977b:24 **ɨlə̂*. Yukaghir (Southern / Kolyma) *a:l-*, *a:n-*, *a:-* 'below, under', *alγudo:-* 'lowest, youngest', *alγu-* 'below, down', *albo:ži:-* 'steep', *albə-* 'foot of a mountain'; (Northern / Tundra) *al-* 'below, under', *-albe*, *-alba* 'bottom', *alunban-* 'low', *alγuučii-* 'to go down, to abate'. Nikolaeva 2006:99—100.

C. Proto-Altaic **ale* 'below, lower': Proto-Turkic **ăl-* 'lower side, below; being below, lower' > Old Turkic (Old Uighur) *altïn* 'being below, lower'; Karakhanide Turkic *altïn* 'being below, lower', *alt* 'lower side, below'; Turkish *alt* 'lower or underpart (of a thing); underside, bottom'; Gagauz *alt* 'lower side, below'; Azerbaijani *alt* 'lower side, below'; Karaim *alt* 'lower side, below'; Tatar (dial.) *alt* 'lower side, below'; Kirghiz *ald(ï)* 'lower side, below'; Sary-Uighur *altï* 'lower side, below'; Khakas *altï* 'lower side, below'; Oyrot (Mountain Altai) *ald*, *altï* 'lower side, below', *altïγï* 'being below, lower'; Tuva *a'ldï* 'lower side, below'; Chuvash *old(ъ)* 'gusset'; Yakut *alïn* 'lower side, below'. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:285—286 **ale* 'below, lower'.

(?) Sumerian *halib* 'underworld'.

Buck 1949:10.23 fall (vb.); 12.32 low. Greenberg 2002:175—176, no. 406, **ala* 'under'; Hakola 2000:19, no. 21.

711. Proto-Nostratic root **ħalʸ-* (~ **ħəlʸ-*):
(vb.) **ħalʸ-* 'to grow, to be strong';

(n.) *ħal^{y}-a* ‘health, strength, power’; (adj.) ‘healthy, strong, powerful; grown, great, large’

A. Proto-Afrasian *ħal- ‘to grow, to be strong’: Proto-Semitic *ħal-am- ‘to grow, to be strong’ > Arabic *ḥalama* ‘to attain puberty’; Hebrew *ḥālam* [חָלַם] ‘to be healthy, strong’; Syriac *ḥəlīm* ‘healthy, firm’. Klein 1987:219; Murtonen 1989:183. Proto-Semitic *ħal-ak’- ‘to grow (up)’ > Geez / Ethiopic *ḥalḳa* [ሐልቀ] ‘to grow, to grow up, to increase’. Leslau 1987:230.

B. Dravidian: Tamil *aḷ* ‘strength, firmness’; Kannaḍa *aḷa*, *aḷavi*, *aḷavu*, *alavu* ‘power, strength, force, ability, possibility, practicability’; Telugu *alavi* ‘power, ability, possibility, practicability’, *alavu* ‘power, ability, strength, exertion’, *lāvu* ‘(n.) strength, power, ability, bigness, fatness, corpulence, robustness; (adj.) big, large, stout, corpulent, robust’; Kolami *la·v* ‘fat’; Parji *lāv* ‘strength’; Gondi *lāv* ‘strength, force’; Koṇḍa *alvi* ‘energy, stamina’, *āl* ‘energy, stamina, endurance’, *lāvu* ‘much’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:27—28, no. 291.

C. Proto-Indo-European *ḫ̯ḥel- [*ḫ̯ḥal-] ‘to grow, to be strong’: Latin *alō* ‘to nourish, to support’, *altus* ‘grown, great, high’, *alēscō* ‘to grow up’; Old Irish *alim* ‘to rear’; Gothic *alan* ‘to grow’, *alds* ‘age, life’, *alþeis* ‘old’, *aldōmō* ‘old age’; Old Icelandic *ala* ‘to bear, to give birth to, to beget, to bring up, to rear’, *aldr* ‘age, lifetime’, *öld* ‘time, age’; Old English *alan* ‘to nourish, to produce’, *eald* ‘old’, *ealdor* ‘life, vitals; eternity’, *eal(d)dōm* ‘old age’, *ield(o)* ‘period, age (of the world); time of life, age; old age’; Old Frisian *ald* ‘old’; Old Saxon *ald* ‘old’, *eldī* ‘age’; Dutch *oud* ‘old’; Old High German *alt* ‘old’ (New High German *alt*), *altī*, *eltī* ‘age’ (New High German *das Alte* ‘the old [state of affairs]’); Greek ἄλθομαι ‘to become whole and sound’, ἄν-αλ-τος ‘insatiable’, ἀλθαίνω ‘to heal’, ἀλδαίνω ‘to make to grow’. Rix 1998a:233—234 *$h_2$el- ‘to nourish, to rear’; Pokorny 1959:26—27 *al- ‘to grow’; Walde 1927—1932.I:86—87 *al-; Mann 1984—1987:14 *aldh- (?), 16 *alō, *aḷi̯ō ‘to rear, to breed, to grow’, 17 *altos, -i̯os ‘high; height, fortress, sacred grove’; Watkins 1985:2 *al- and 2000:3 *al- ‘to grow, to nourish’ (suffixed [participial] form *al-to- ‘grown’); Mallory—Adams 1997:258 *$h_a$el- ‘to grow’; Boisacq 1950:41 and 60; Frisk 1970—1973.I:65, I:72, and I:102; Hofmann 1966:11 *al-d-, *al-dh-; *al- and 18; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:55, I:60, and I:84 *al-; Beekes 2010.I:66—67 *$h_2$el-; Ernout—Meillet 1979:23—24; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:31—32; De Vaan 2008:35; Orël 2003:12 Proto-Germanic *alanan, 13 *alđaz, 13—14 *alđiz, 14 *alđīn, 14 *alđjanan; Kroonen 2013:19 Proto-Germanic *alan- ‘to grow up, to rear’, 20 *alda- ‘(grown) old’, 20 *aldi- ‘age’, and 21 *aldra- ‘age, life(span)’; Lehmann 1986:25 *al- ‘to grow, to nourish’, 26 *al-+-ti-, and 29—30 *al-+-to-; Feist 1939:34, 35, and 40 *altós, *áltḭos; De Vries 1977:4—5, 5, and 686 *altḭo-, *alti-, *alto-; Onions 1966:625—626; Klein 1971:511 *al- ‘to

grow, to nourish'; Boutkan—Siebinga 2005:14; Hoad 1986:322; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:16—17; Kluge—Seebold 1989:22 **al-*.

Buck 1949:4.81 strong, mighty, powerful; 4.83 well; health; 12.53 grow (= increase in size); 14.15 old. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:529—530, no. 380.

712. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **ħal^{y}-a* 'hole, hollow, cavity':

A. Dravidian: Tamil *aḷai* 'anthill, hole in the ground, hollow in a tree, cave'; Malayalam *aḷa* 'hole (in trees, in the ground)', *aḷḷāppu* 'hole, hollow'; Beṭṭa Kuruba *aḷe* 'hole'; Kota *aḷ* 'cave'; Toda *oḷb* 'animal's den, cave'; Telugu *lãga* 'hole, burrow'; Kuṛux *alap* 'hollow place underground, cavern', *lātā* 'hole, cavity, den'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:29, no. 308.

B. Proto-Indo-European **ḫ̪ḫ̪el-wo-* [**ḫ̪ḫ̪al-wo-*] 'hollow, cavity': Latin *alvus* 'belly, womb', *alveus* 'a hollow, cavity'; Hittite (gen. sg.) *ḫal-lu-wa-aš* 'hollow, pit', (gen. sg.) *ḫal-lu-u-wa-aš* 'hollow, deep', (denominative verb, 3rd sg. pret. act.) *ḫal-lu-wa-nu-ut* 'to put down (deep), to lower, to let deteriorate'. Pokorny 1959:88—89 **u-lo-s* (**ēu-l-*) 'pipe, tube; a hollow, elongated cavity'; Walde 1927—1932.I:25—26 **aulo-s* (: **ēul-*); Mann 1984—1987:18 **alu̯os*, *-i̯os*, *-i̯ə* 'hollow, channel, cavity'; Watkins 1985:4 **aulo-* and 2000:6 **aulo-* 'hole, cavity' (variant [metathesized] form **alwo-*); Mallory—Adams 1997:96 **h$_2$elu̯os* ~ **h$_2$eulos* 'elongated cavity, hollow'; Puhvel 1984— .3:47—49; Ernout—Meillet 1979:36; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:34—35 **aul-*, **au̯el-*; De Vaan 2008:25 **h$_2$eulo-* 'tube, belly'. Not related to: Greek αὐλός 'any tube or pipe; flute', αὐλών 'a hollow way, defile, glen; a canal, aqueduct, trench; a channel, strait'; Lithuanian *aũlas* 'top (of a boot)', *aulỹs* 'beehive'; Bulgarian *úlej* 'beehive'; Norwegian (dial.) *aul*, *aule* 'pipe'. In view of Hittite (nom. sg.) *a-ú-li-iš* 'tube-shaped organ in the neck, throat (?), windpipe (?)', without initial *a*-coloring laryngeal, the Greek, Slavic, Baltic, and Germanic forms, together with the Hittite, must be derived from Proto-Indo-European **hewlo-s* [**hawlos*] (traditional **ḛ$_4$eu̯lo-s*) 'pipe, tube' and, by extension, 'any tube-shaped object'. Mann 1984—1987:42 **aulos*, *-i̯os* 'hollow, channel'; Frisk 1970—1973.I:186—187; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:140—141; Boisacq 1950:101; Hofmann 1966:28; Kloekhorst 2008b:229—230; Orël 2003:29 Proto-Germanic **aulaz*; Kroonen 2013:42 Proto-Germanic **aula-* ~ **eula(n)-* 'stalk (of angelica)'; Shevelov 1964:241; Fraenkel 1962—1965.I:25—26; Smoczyński 2007.1:34 **h$_2$eu̯-l-*; Derksen 2015:20 **h$_2$eul-*.

Buck 1949:12.75 hollow (= cavity); 12.85 hole.

713. Proto-Nostratic root **ħam-* (~ **ħəm-*):
(vb.) **ħam-* 'to be sharp, sour, bitter, acrid';

(n.) **ħam-a* ‘any sharp-tasting, sour, bitter, or acrid foodstuff’; (adj.) ‘sharp, sour, bitter, acrid’

A. Proto-Afrasian **ħam-* ‘to be sharp, sour, acid’: Proto-Semitic **ħam-aṯ’-* ‘to be sharp, sour, acid’ > Biblical Hebrew *ḥāmēṣ* [חָמֵץ] ‘that which is sour, leavened’, *ḥāmaṣ* [חָמַץ] ‘to be sour, leavened’; Aramaic *ḥəmaṣ* ‘to be sour, salty’; Ugaritic *ḥmṣ* ‘vinegar’; Akkadian *emṣu* ‘sour’; Arabic *ḥamuḍa* ‘to be or become sour’; Ḥarsūsi *ḥāmeḍ* ‘sour’; Śḥeri / Jibbāli *ḥamź* ‘yogurt (sour milk) borrowed to start the butter-making process’; Mehri *ḥəmūź* ‘to make butter, to shake milk for butter’, *ḥamź* ‘yogurt’; Amharic *homṭaṭṭa* ‘sour’. Murtonen 1989:186—187; Klein 1987:222. Egyptian *ḥmʒ-t* ‘salt’; Coptic *hmu* [ϩⲙⲟⲩ] ‘salt’. Hannig 1995:532 (*ḥmʒyt*); Faulkner 1962:170; Gardiner 1957:581; Erman—Grapow 1921:110 and 1923—1926.3:93—94; Vycichl 1983:299; Černý 1976:283. Cushitic: Beja / Beḍawye *hami-* ‘to be sharp, acid’. Reinisch 1895:118. West Chadic **ħam-* ‘salt’ > Fyer *ʔama* ‘salt’. Central Chadic **χwam-* > **χam-* ‘salt’ > Musgu *ḥɔm-* ‘salt’. Orël—Stolbova 1995:273, no. 1231, **ḥam-* ‘salt’; Ehret 1995:370, no. 748, **ḥam-* ‘to spoil’ (Semitic, Egyptian innovation: ‘to spoil’ > ‘to sour’).

B. Proto-Indo-European **ḫ̱ḥem-* [**ḫ̱ḥam-*]/**ḫ̱ḥom-* ‘sharp, sour, bitter, acrid’: Sanskrit *amlá-ḥ*, *ambla-ḥ* ‘sour, acid’; Pāḷi *ambila-* ‘sour’; Maithili *āmil* ‘acidity, conserve of dried mango chips’; Marathi *ãb*, *ãb* ‘an acid obtained by spreading in the evening a cloth over flowering plants of Cicer arietinum’, *ãbṇẽ* ‘to become sour’; Hindi *ambat* ‘sour’; Bengali *āmbal* ‘sour, acid, acidity’; Old Icelandic *apr* (< **appr* < **ampaʀ*) ‘hard, sharp; sad, despirited’; Swedish *amper* ‘bitter, sharp, astringent, pungent, acrid, acrimonious’; Middle Dutch *amper* ‘sour, bitter, harsh’. Perhaps also: Sanskrit *āmá-ḥ* ‘raw, uncooked’; Greek ὠμός ‘raw’; Armenian *hum* ‘raw’; Latin *amārus* ‘bitter’. Pokorny 1959:777—778 **om-* ‘raw, coarse, bitter’; Walde 1927—1932.I:179 **omo-*, **ōmo-* ‘raw (bitter, sharp)’; Mann 1984—1987:18 **am-* ‘bitter’, 257 **əmos* ‘raw’, 257 **əmros* (**əməros*, **əmbros*, **m̥ros*) ‘sour, bitter’, 875 **ŏmos* (**əmos*, **ōʔmos*) ‘raw, crude, unripe, uncooked’; Watkins 1985:46 **om-* and 2000:60 **om-* ‘raw; sharp-tasting’ (suffixed form **om-ro-*); Mallory—Adams 1997:478 **h₂omós* ~ **h₂ōmós* ‘raw, uncooked’; Boisacq 1950:1082; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:1301—1302 **ōmó-*; Frisk 1970—1973.II:1149 **ōmós*; Beekes 2010.II:1680 **HeHmo-*; Hofmann 1966:430 **ŏmo-*; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.I:45, I:46, and I:77; Winter 1965a:102; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:35 **am-ro-*; De Vaan 2008:37 **h₂h₃m-ro-* (?), Sanskrit *āmá-ḥ* ‘raw, uncooked’, Greek ὠμός ‘raw’ < **h₂eh₃mo-*; Ernout—Meillet 1979:25; Orël 2003:17 Proto-Germanic **ampraz*; Kroonen 2008:25 Proto-Germanic **ampra-* (< **Hom-ro-*); De Vries 1977:11; Vercoulie 1898:11; Wodtko—Irslinger—Schneider 2008:202—204 **Hem-* (?).

C. (?) Proto-Chukchi-Kamchatkan **(c)əmjə-* ‘bitter’: Chukchi *nə-cəmjə-qen*, *cəmjə-lʔən* ‘bitter, unpleasant to taste’; Kerek *n-əmijə-Xi* ‘bitter’; Koryak

n-əmjə-qen ‘bitter, salty’; Alyutor *n-əmjə-qin* ‘bitter, salty’; Kamchadal / Itelmen *əmc’-laX* ‘bitter’. Fortescue 2005:341; Mudrak 1989b:92 **ʔəmjə-* ‘bitter’.

Buck 1949:15.36 salt; 15.37 bitter; 15.38 acid, sour. Möller 1911:8—9; Bomhard—Kerns 1994:532—533, no. 385. Slightly different etymology in Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 2587, **XomV* ‘raw, sour, inedible’.

714. Proto-Nostratic root **ħam-* (~ **ħəm-*):
(vb.) **ħam-* ‘to become still, quiet, tranquil; to rest, to settle down, to remain, to abide’;
(n.) **ħam-a* ‘abode, resting place; stillness, tranquility’; (adj.) ‘seated, settled’

A. Afrasian: Egyptian *ḥmzi̯* ‘to sit, to sit down; to dwell’, *ḥmzt* ‘seat’ (in the sense of ‘rank’ or ‘position’), *ḥmz m* ‘to dwell in, to occupy a place’, *ḥmzw* ‘sloth’. Hannig 1995:533—534; Erman—Grapow 1921:110 and 1926—1963.3:96—98; Faulkner 1962:170; Gardiner 1957:581.
B. Dravidian: Tamil *amar* ‘to abide, to remain, to become tranquil, to rest, to be deposited (as a sediment), to become close and hard (as sand by rain), to be engaged (as a house), to become established (as in a work)’, *amarttu* (*amartti-*) ‘to make quiet, to restrain, to engage (as a house, servant), to establish (as one in life)’, *amarvu* ‘abode’, *amarikkai* ‘quietness, tranquility’, *amai* (*-v-*, *-nt-*) ‘to become still, quiet; to subside, to be satisfied, to acquiesce; to be settled; to be fixed up; to abide, to remain’, *amai* (*-pp-*, *-tt-*) ‘to cause to be still, to be patient, to control’, *amaiti* ‘calmness, humility’, *amaivaṉ* ‘a sage’, *amaivu* ‘rest’; Malayalam *amaruka* ‘to subside, to settle, to be seated, to rest on; to be allayed, calmed, quiet’, *amaral* ‘abating of wind or fire, peace’, *amarcca* ‘calmness, self-government’, *ameyuka* ‘to be subject, to agree’, *amekka* ‘to subject, to join, to rule’; Tuḷu *amaruni* ‘to become quiet, calm; to settle’, *amapuni* ‘to quiet’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:16, no. 161.
C. Proto-Uralic **amɜ-* ‘to sit’: Ostyak / Xanty (Vah) *aməs* ‘to sit’, (Demyanka) *oməs-* ‘to sit; to be, to stand’, (Obdorsk) *aməs-* ‘to sit, to be seated, to place’; (?) Vogul / Mansi (Tavda) *oon-* ‘to sit’, *ont-* ‘to be seated’; Yurak Samoyed / Nenets *ŋaamćo-* ‘to sit’, *ŋaamtaa-* ‘to be seated’; Yenisei Samoyed / Enets (Hantai) *addu-* ‘to sit’, (Baiha) *aði-*, *addo-* ‘to sit’, *adde-* ‘to be seated’; Tavgi Samoyed / Nganasan *ŋomtu̯tu̯-* ‘to sit’, *ŋomtu̯ʔa-* ‘to be seated’; Selkup Samoyed (Taz) *aamta-* ‘to sit’, (Ket) *aamda-* ‘to sit’, *omte-* ‘to be seated’, (Tym) *amte-* ‘to sit’; Kamassian *amna-* ‘to sit’, *amnoo-* ‘to be seated; to live, to dwell’. Rédei 1986—1988:8—9 **amɜ-*; Décsy 1990:97 **ama-* ‘to sit’; Janhunen 1977b:17—18 **åmtə̂-*; Aikio 2020:15 **amV-* ‘to sit’. Yukaghir (Southern / Kolyma) *amdet-* ‘to lay down’, *amdə-* ‘to die’, *amdijə* ‘bedding’, *amdiː-* ‘to spread under, to lay under; to prepare’. Nikolaeva 2006:102.

D. Proto-Altaic **āmV-* ‘to be quiet, to sleep’: Proto-Tungus **ām-* ‘to sleep; to be sleepy’ > Evenki *āme-* ‘to be sleepy’; Lamut / Even *āmol-* ‘to be sleepy’; Negidal *āma-* ‘to be sleepy’; Manchu *amga-*/*amχa-* ‘to sleep’, *amgana-* ‘to go to sleep’; Spoken Manchu (Sibo) *aməhə-* ‘to sleep’; Ulch *amasi̯-* ‘to be sleepy’; Orok *āma-* ‘to be sleepy’; Nanay / Gold *āmalo-*, *āmasi̯-* ‘to be sleepy’; Oroch *āma-si-* ‘to be sleepy’; Udihe *amahi-* ‘to be sleepy’. Proto-Mongolian **amu-*, **ami-* ‘(vb.) to rest; to be or become quiet; (n.) peace, rest’ > Written Mongolian *amu-* ‘to rest, to relax’, *amura-*, *amara-* ‘to rest, to relax; to feel contentment or joy, to be relieved’, *amur* ‘peace, quiet, calm, rest; leisure, pleasure; good health, well-being; easy, not difficult; peacefully, quietly’, *amuγulaŋ* ‘peace, quietude, well-being, happiness; quiet, calm, peaceful, peaceable’, *amuraγul-* ‘to let rest, to calm, to give comfort, to console’, *amuralta* ‘rest, repose, relaxation; vacation’, *amurli-* ‘to be or become quiet, calm, gentle, or blissful; to rest’, *amurχan* ‘calm(ly), peaceful(ly), easy (easily), simple (simply)’, *amurǯi-* ‘to calm, to quiet down; to rest, to relax; to stop worrying’, *amuski-* ‘to take a rest’; Khalkha *amar-*, *amgal* (< **amu-gal*) ‘peace, rest; easy’, *amra-* ‘to rest’; Buriat *amar* ‘peace, rest’, *amar-* ‘to rest’, *amgalan(g)* ‘peaceful’; Kalmyk *amṛ*, *amγūləŋ* ‘peace, rest’, *amṛ-* ‘to rest’, Ordos *am*, *amur*, *amūlaŋ*, *amuγūlaŋ* ‘peace, rest’, *amara-* ‘to rest’; Dagur *amar(a)-* ‘to rest; to be or become quiet’, *amal*, *amūl* ‘peace, rest’; Shira-Yughur *amura-* ‘to rest’, *amar* ‘peace, rest’; Monguor *χamurā-*, *χamburā-* ‘to rest, to relax’. Poppe 1955:54, 198, and 279. Proto-Turkic **ăm-* (vb.) to love, to desire, to rejoice; to be quiet; (adj.) beloved; gentle, quiet’ > Old Turkic (Old Uighur) *amul*, *amïl* ‘gentle, quiet’, *amraq* ‘beloved’, *amïr-*, *amran-* ‘to love, to desire, to rejoice’, *amrïl-* ‘to be quiet’; Karakhanide Turkic *amul* ‘gentle, quiet’, *amraq* ‘beloved’, *amïrt-* ‘to calm’, *amrïl-* ‘to be quiet’; Turkish (dial.) *ïmïl*, *umul* ‘gentle, quiet’; Uighur *amraq* ‘beloved’; Kirghiz *amïz* ‘honor’; Sary-Uighur *amïr* ‘gentle, quiet’, *amïra-* ‘to be quiet’; Khakas *amïr* ‘gentle, quiet’, *amïra-* ‘to be quiet’; Oyrot (Mountain Altai) *amïr* ‘gentle, quiet’, *amïra-* ‘to be quiet’; Tuva *amïr* ‘gentle, quiet’, *amïra-* ‘to be quiet’, *amïraq* ‘politeness’; Chuvash *ъʷmъʷr* ‘quiet and gray (weather)’; Yakut *amaraχ*, *amïraχ* ‘compassionate’; Dolgan *amarak* ‘compassionate’. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:298—299 **āmV* ‘to be quiet, to sleep’.

E. (?) Chukchi-Kamchatkan: Proto-Chukotian **æmtənæv-* ‘to sleep well’ > Chukchi *emtənew-* ‘to have a good sleep’; Koryak *emtənev-* ‘to have a good sleep’. Fortescue 2005:34.

Buck 1949:4.61 sleep (vb.; sb.); 12.13 sit; 12.19 quiet (adj.).

715. Proto-Nostratic root **ħan-* (~ **ħən-*):
(vb.) **ħan-* ‘to show favor; to be gracious, affectionate, tender’;
(n.) **ħan-a* ‘affection, tenderness, favor, graciousness’

A. Proto-Afrasian *ħan- ‘to show favor; to be gracious, affectionate, tender’: Proto-Semitic *ħan-an- ‘to show favor; to be gracious, affectionate, tender’ > Hebrew ḥānan [חָנַן] ‘to show favor, to be gracious’, ḥēn [חֵן] ‘favor, grace, charm’; Aramaic ḥənan ‘to be gracious’; Phoenician ḥnn ‘to show favor’; Ugaritic ḥnn ‘to be gracious, to show favor’; Akkadian enēnu ‘to seek grace’; Eblaite en-na ‘to be gracious’, en-ut ‘grace’; Arabic ḥanna ‘to feel tenderness, affection, sympathy; to pity; to feel compassion (for)’, ḥanna ‘sympathy, pity, compassion, commiseration’, ḥanān ‘sympathy, love, affection, tenderness; commiseration, compassion, pity’. Klein 1987:223 and 224—225; Murtonen 1989:199; Zammit 2002:150.

B. Elamo-Dravidian: Middle Elamite ha-ne/i- ‘to love’. Dravidian: Tamil a̲npu ‘love, attachment, friendship, benevolence, devotion, piety’, a̲npa̲n ‘friend, husband, lover, devotee’, (?) aṇi ‘love’, āṇam ‘friendship, love, affection’, āṇu ‘attachment, affection’; Malayalam anpu, ampu ‘love, affection, trust, devotion’, anpan ‘lover, friend, husband’, anpuka ‘to be fond of, connected with’; Kannaḍa aṇpu, aṇpita ‘relationship, friendship’, ammu ‘(vb.) to be willing, to wish, to desire; (n.) desire’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:31, no. 330.

C. Proto-Indo-European *ħ̯en-s- [*ħ̯an-s-]/*ħ̯ḫ̥-s- ‘to be gracious, to show favor’: (?) Greek ἀπ-ηνής ‘harsh, rough, hard, unfriendly (of persons)’, προσ-ηνής ‘gentle, kind, soft’; Gothic ansts ‘joy, thanks, favor, grace’, ansteigs ‘gracious’; Old Icelandic ást ‘affection, love’, unna (< *unn- < *unz- < *ħ̯ḫ̥s-) ‘to love; not to (be)grudge, to grant, to allow, to bestow’; Old English ēst (< *ans-ti-) ‘favor, grace, bravery’, unnan ‘to grant; not to (be)grudge, to wish (a person to have something)’, unna, unne ‘favor, approval, permission, consent’; Old Frisian enst ‘favor’; Old Saxon anst ‘favor’; Old High German anst ‘joy, gratitude, favor’, unnan, g(i)unnan ‘not to (be)grudge, to allow, to grant, to permit’ (New High German gönnen), gunt ‘favor’, abunst ‘envy’; Middle High German ensten ‘to be kind’. Pokorny 1959:47 *ans- ‘well-inclined’; Walde 1927—1932.I:68 *ans-; Mallory—Adams 1997:198 (?) *h₄ens- ‘to be gracious to, to show favor’; Boisacq 1950:69; Frisk 1970—1973.I:121; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:97; Hofmann 1966:20; Beekes 2010.I:116 and II:1239; Orël 2003: 21 Proto-Germanic *anstiz, 21 *anstjanan, 435 *unnanan; *unnum (< *unz-nu-m); Kroonen 2013:30 Proto-Germanic *ansti- ‘love, favor’; Feist 1939:53; Lehmann 1986:39; De Vries 1977:16 and 635; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:265 and 277; Kluge—Seebold 1989:272 and 282.

D. Yukaghir (Southern / Kolyma) anurə- ‘to love, to like’. Nikolaeva 2006: 111.

Buck 1949:16.27 love (sb.; vb.); 16.35 pity (sb.). Bomhard—Kerns 1994:533, no. 386. Different (false) etymology in Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 2594, *χinV ‘to be happy/glad, to love’.

716. Proto-Nostratic root *ħan- (~ *ħən-):
(vb.) *ħan- ‘to bend, to curve, to twist’;
(n.) *ħan-a ‘bend, curve, twist’

A. Proto-Afrasian *ħan- ‘to bend, to curve, to twist’: Proto-Semitic *ħan-aw/y- ‘to bend, to curve, to twist; to bend down’ > Hebrew *ḥānāh* [חָנָה] ‘to decline, to bend down’; Aramaic *ḥənā* ‘to bend, to incline toward, to aim at, to reach’; Arabic *ḥanā* ‘to bend, to curve, to twist, to turn; to lean, to incline’; Ḥarsūsi *ḥenō* ‘to bend’; Śḥeri / Jibbāli *ḥání* ‘to bend, to twist’; Mehri *ḥənū* ‘to bend’. Klein 1987:223—224. Proto-Semitic *ħan-ak’- ‘to bend, to curve, to twist; to lean, to incline’ > Akkadian *unḳu* (Old Akkadian *anḳum* ?) ‘ring’; Geez / Ethiopic *ḥanḳaḳa* [**ሐንቀቀ**] ‘to be inclined, to slip, to slide, to be prone (to any feelings), to be in anxiety, to be fearful, to fear, to be pampered, to be capricious, to desire something that is beyond one’s capacity’, *ḥənḳāḳe* [**ሕንቃቄ**] ‘inclination, being prone to, being pampered, being capricious; anxiety, fear’; Tigrinya *ḥanḳäḳä* ‘to be spoiled, pampered’; Tigre *ḥanḳäḳa* ‘to live in luxury’. Leslau 1987:237. Proto-Semitic *ħan-aš- ‘to bend, to twist’ > Akkadian *enēšu* ‘to become weak, impoverished, shaky, dilapidated’; Śḥeri / Jibbāli *ḥónús* ‘to bend, to twist’, *ḥénəs* ‘to be bent, twisted’. Egyptian *ḥnk* ‘to tie up’ (formerly read *ḥnzk*), *ḥnkt* ‘braided lock of hair’ (formerly read *ḥnzkt*), *ḥnkyt* ‘she who has braided hair’ (formerly read *ḥnzkyt*). Hannig 1995:542; Faulkner 1962:173; Erman—Grapow 1921:111 and 1926—1963.3:116; Gardiner 1957:581. Berber: Tuareg *ahənnaka* ‘a type of cage made of flexible rods covered with veils and placed on a woman’s saddle in order to protect her from the sun’; Wargla *ahənka* ‘frame of a tent or pavilion’.

B. Proto-Indo-European *ĥ̯en-k^{h}- [*ĥ̯an-k^{h}-]/*ĥ̯on-k^{h}- ‘to bend, to curve’: Sanskrit *áñcati* ‘to bend, to curve’, *áṅka-ḥ* ‘curve, bend’; Pāḷi *aṅka-* ‘hook, mark, brand, hip’; Greek ἀγκών ‘the bend of the arm, elbow’, ἄγκος ‘a bend’, hence ‘a mountain glen, a dell, valley’, ἀγκύλη ‘a loop or noose in a cord; the thong of a javelin (by which it was hurled); a bow-string’, ἀγκύλος ‘crooked, curved’, ὄγκος ‘a barb’; Latin *ancus* ‘a person with a crook elbow’, *uncus* ‘a hook’. Rix 1998a:239 *$h_2$enk- ‘to bend’; Pokorny 1959:45—47 *ank- ‘to bend’; Walde 1927—1932.I:60—62 *ank-; Mann 1984—1987:25 *ankətos; *anktos, -ā ‘bend, bent’, 25 *ankō, -i̯ō ‘to bend, to cramp’, 25—26 *ankos, -ā, -ōn ‘bend, cramp; strait; constraint, end, death’, 26 *ankulos (*ankəlos, *anklos) ‘bent, bend, hook’; Watkins 1985:3 *ank- (also *ang-) and 2000:4 *ank- (also *ang-) ‘to bend’ (oldest forms *$h_2$enk-, *$h_2$eng-, colored to *$h_2$ank-, *$h_2$ang-); Mallory—Adams 1997:61—62 *$h_2$enk- ~ *$h_2$eng- ‘to bend an object so that it stays bent’; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.I:19 and I:24; Boisacq 1950:7 *aŋq-, *oŋq-; Frisk 1970—1973.I:10—12 *ánq-eti; Hofmann 1966:2 *ank-, *onk-; *ang-; Beekes 2010.I:12—13 *$h_2$enk- and II:1045 *$h_2$onk-o-; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:10—11 *ank-; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:46 and II:816;

Ernout—Meillet 1979:32 and 746; De Vaan 2008:41 *h_2*(e)nḱ-o-* and 640 *h_2*onḱ-o-*. Proto-Indo-European *$\widetilde{ħh}$*en-k'-* [*$\widetilde{ħh}$*an-k'-*] ‘to bend, to curve’: Sanskrit *áṅga-m* ‘limb’, (f.) *aṅgúri-ḥ*, *aṅgúli-ḥ*, *aṅgulī* ‘finger, toe’; Pāḷi *aṅga-* ‘limb’, (f.) *aṅgulĭ-* ‘finger’; Latin *angulus* ‘corner, angle’; Old English *anclēow* ‘ankle’; Old High German *anchal*, *enchil* ‘ankle’ (New High German *Enkel*). Pokorny 1959:45—47 **ang-* ‘to bend’; Walde 1927—1932.I:60—62 **ang-*; Mann 1984—1987:22—23 **ang-* ‘tapering; wedge, angle, cleft’; Watkins 1985:3 **ank-* (also **ang-*) and 2000:4 **ank-* (also **ang-*) ‘to bend’ (oldest forms *$ə_2$*enk-*, *$ə_2$*eng-*, colored to *$ə_2$*ank-*, *$ə_2$*ang-*); Mayrhofer 1956—1980.I:21 and I:22; Mallory—Adams 1997:61—62 *h_2*enk-* ~ *h_2*eng-* ‘to bend an object so that it stays bent’; Walde —Hofmann 1965—1972.I:48—49 **ang-*; **anq-*; Ernout—Meillet 1979:33; De Vaan 2008:42—43; Kroonen 2013:29 Proto-Germanic **ankula-* ‘ankle’; Orël 2003:20 Proto-Germanic **ankalaz* ~ **ank(u)lōn*; Onions 1966:38 **aŋk-*, **aŋg-*; Skeat 1898:24; Klein 1971:37; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:166; Kluge—Seebold 1989:179.

Buck 1949:4.34 finger; 9.14 bend (vb. tr.); 16.33 anxiety. Möller 1911:12; Bomhard—Kerns 1994:538—539, no. 395; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 2599, **χ|q[a]n̄[V]ḴV* (or **χ|q[a]ŋḴV* ?) ‘to bend’.

717. Proto-Nostratic root **ħan-* (~ **ħən-*):
Extended form:
(vb.) **ħan-V-g-* ‘to tie tightly, to constrict, to make narrow; to choke, to strangle’;
(n.) **ħan-g-a* ‘throat’; (adj.) ‘narrow, constricted’

A. Proto-Afrasian (vb.) **ħanVg-* ‘to tie tightly, to constrict, to make narrow’, (n.) **ħang-* ‘throat, larynx’: Proto-Semitic **ħang-ar-* ‘throat, larynx’ > Arabic *ḥanğara* ‘larynx, throat’, *ḥanğara* ‘to slaughter (by cutting the throat)’, *ḥunğūr* ‘throat, gullet’; Śḥeri / Jibbāli *ḥangɔ́rɔ́t* ‘hollow under the Adam’s apple’; Tigrinya *täḥangätä* ‘to tie round the neck and shoulders’; Harari *ḥangūr* ‘throat, food’ (this may be a loan from Arabic), *ḥangūrām* ‘voracious, big eater’; Gurage (Selṭi) *angōro*, (Wolane) *angoro*, (Zway) *angäro* ‘throat’, *angorram* ‘big eater, voracious’; Amharic *angät* ‘neck’. Appleyard 1977:11; Leslau 1963:84 and 1979:62; Zammit 2002:149—150; Militarëv 2012:77 Proto-Semitic **ḥVng(-ar)-*. Egyptian *ḥngg* ‘throat, gullet’. Hannig 1995:543; Erman—Grapow 1926—1963.3:121. Berber: Tuareg *aṉγ* ‘palate’; Ghadames *inəγ* ‘palate’; Tamazight *anəγ* ‘palate’; Riff *anəγ* ‘palate’; Kabyle *anəγ*, *inəγ* ‘palate’ [Orël—Stolbova 1995:273, no. 1234, **ḥankar-* ‘throat’; M. Cohen 1947:102, nos. 120 and 121.]

B. Dravidian: Tamil *aṇaṅku* (*aṇaṅki-*) ‘(vb.) to suffer, to be distressed, to be slain; to afflict; (n.) pain, affliction, killing’, *aṉuṅku* (*aṉuṅki-*) ‘to suffer pain, to be in distress, to fade, to droop’, *aṉukku* (*aṉukki-*) ‘to distress, to

cause to suffer pain', *aṉukkam* 'suffering, distress, pain, weakness'; Kannaḍa *aṇaku* 'to press into a narrower compass, to subdue, to control', *aṇacu* 'to depress, to humble', *aṇaka* 'closeness, compactness, firmness, state of being in good repair', *aṇagu* 'to hide, to disappear, to be humbled, to couch', *aṇakuve* 'humbleness, modesty', *aṇuṅku* 'to depress, to humble, to abate, to ruin, to destroy', *aṇuṅgu* 'to be depressed'; Tuḷu *aṇaka* 'narrowness, closeness; narrow, small'; Telugu *aṇāgu* 'to yield, to submit, to be humbled', *aṇācu* 'to suppress, to humble, to subject', *aṇākuva* 'humility, modesty, submissiveness'; Gondi *ancānā* 'to press'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:12, no. 112. Kannaḍa *aṅgaḷa*, *aṅgaḷu*, *aṅguḷa*, *aṅguḷi*, *aṅguḷe* 'palate'; Telugu *aṅgili* 'palate'; Naiki (of Chanda) *aŋgul*, *aŋguṛ(u)* 'tongue'; Malto *naqlu* 'uvula'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:5, no. 33.

C. Proto-Indo-European **ĥ̪eng^{h}-* [**ĥ̪ang^{h}-*] '(vb.) to tie tightly, to constrict; to choke, to strangle; (adj.) narrow, constricted': Sanskrit *aṁhú-ḥ* 'narrow'; Greek ἄγχω 'to compress, to press tight; to strangle'; Latin *angō* 'to press tightly; to strangle, to throttle; to hurt, to distress', *angor* 'mental distress, anguish, trouble'; Gothic *aggwus* 'narrow'; Old Icelandic *öngr* 'narrow'; Old English *enge* 'narrow; causing anxiety, painful, severe'; Old Saxon *engi* 'narrow'; Dutch *eng* 'narrow'; Old High German *angi*, *engi* 'narrow' (New High German *eng* 'narrow, cramped, tight, confined'); Old Church Slavic *ǫzъ-kъ* 'narrow'; Lithuanian *añkštas* 'narrow, cramped, tight'. Reduplication in Hittite *ḫam(m)a(n)k-*, *ḫam(m)enk-*, *ḫami(n)k-* 'to tie' (as in Tamil *aṇaṅku* cited above) (< **ĥ̪ham-ang^{h}-* < **ĥ̪han-ang^{h}-* through dissimilation). Perhaps also Greek ἄμφην 'neck, throat' (if from **ἀγχϜ-ήν). Rix 1998a:236 **h$_{2}$emĝ^{h}-* 'to tie up' → 'to constrict'; Pokorny 1959:42—43 **anĝh-* '(adj.) narrow; (vb.) to tie up, to constrict'; Walde 1927—1932.I:62—63 **anĝh-*; Watkins 1985:2 **angh-* and 2000:4 **angh-* 'tight, painfully restricted, painful'; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.II:781 **Hanĝ[^{h}]-u-* and 1995.I:683 **Hanĝ^{h}-u-* 'narrow'; Mann 1984—1987:23 **anghō*, *-i̯ō* 'to press, to squeeze, to strain, to confine', 24 **anĝh-*, 24 **anĝhit-* 'constraint', 24 **anĝhō*, *-i̯ō* 'to cramp, to straighten, to force', 24 **anĝu̯həstos*, *-is* 'narrow, constrained; anxious; strain, anguish', 24—25 **anĝu̯hĭ̆nā* 'strait, stricture', 25 **anĝu̯his*, **anĝhus* 'narrow, thin, close, tight', 25 **anĝu̯hō* 'to narrow, to squeeze'; Mallory—Adams 1997:391 **h$_{a}$enĝhus* 'narrow'; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.I:14; Boisacq 1950:10—11 **anĝh-*; Hofmann 1966:3 **anĝh-* and 17; Frisk 1970—1973.I:17—18 and I:98 (according to Schulze, Greek ἄμφην < **ἀγχϜ-ήν); Chantraine 1968—1980.I:16—17 and I:80; Beekes 2010.I:18 **h$_{2}$emǵ^{h}-*; Puhvel 1984— .3:64—68 **A$_{1}$em-ĝh-*; Kloekhorst 2008b:278—279 **h$_{2}$emǵ^{h}-*; Tischler 1977— .1:142—143; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:47 **anĝh-*; De Vaan 2008:42 **h$_{2}$emǵ^{h}-e/o-* 'to tie, to tighten'; Ernout—Meillet 1979:33; Orël 2003:19 Proto-Germanic **anɣuz* ~ **anɣwjaz*, 20 **anɣwjanan*; Kroonen 2013:28 Proto-Germanic **angwu-* 'narrow' (< **h$_{2}$emǵ^{h}-u-*); Feist 1939:13—14 **aʁĝh-*; Lehmann 1986:9—10 **anĝh-*; De Vries 1977:687;

Kluge—Mitzka 1967:165—166; Kluge—Seebold 1989:178 **anǵh-*; Smoczyński 2007.1:16 **$h_2$emǵ^h-ú-*; Derksen 2008:338 **$h_2$emǵ^h-u-* and 2015:56 **$h_2$emǵ^h-u-*; Fraenkel 1962—1965.I:11; Wodtko—Irslinger—Schneider 2008:301—303 **$h_2$emĝ^h-*.

D. Uralic: Proto-Finno-Ugrian **aŋke* ‘painfully constricted’ > (?) Estonian *angu-* ‘to curdle, to coagulate, to become stiff’; (?) Finnish *ankea* ‘dismal, dreary, cheerless’; Hungarian *aggódás* ‘anxiety, agonizing fear’, *aggód-* ‘to be anxious, to worry, to feel uneasy’, *aggodalom* ‘anxiety, concern, anguish, fear, uneasiness, misgiving, worry’. Rédei 1986—1988:12 **aŋke* (according to Rédei, the Balto-Finnic forms may be loans from Germanic).

Buck 1949:4.29 throat; 12.62 narrow. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:528—529, no. 379; Hakola 2000:21, no. 31; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 2591, **χam[V]gê* ‘tight, narrow; to constrain’ and, no. 2601, **XuŋgV* ‘throat’.

718. Proto-Nostratic root **ħaŋ-* (~ **ħəŋ-*):
(vb.) **ħaŋ-* ‘to dive into water (bird)’;
(n.) **ħaŋ-a* ‘an aquatic bird’

A. Afrasian: Egyptian *ḥn* ‘bird’, *ḥnt* ‘pelican’, *ḥntỉ* ‘kingfisher’. Hannig 1995:536 and 537; Erman—Grapow 1926—1963.3:104 and 105.

B. Proto-Indo-European **ħ̆henH-t^{h}i-s* [**ħ̆hanH-t^{h}i-s*]/**ħ̆hn̥H-t^{h}i-s* ‘duck’: Sanskrit *ātí-ḥ* (f. *ātī*) ‘an aquatic bird’; Pāḷi *āṭa-* ‘a particular kind of bird’; Oriya *āṛi* ‘a web-footed bird’; Gawar-Bati *ā́ŕī* ‘Turdus ginginianus’, *ā̆relī* ‘duck’; Waigali *āṛī́* ‘duck’; Greek (Ionic) νῆσσα, (Attic) νῆττα (< **νᾱτι̯α) ‘a duck’; Latin *anas* ‘a duck’; Old Icelandic *önd* ‘duck’; Swedish *and* ‘duck’; Old English *æned*, *ened* ‘drake, duck’; Old Saxon *anad* ‘duck’; Dutch *eend* ‘duck’; Old High German *enit*, *anut* ‘duck’ (New High German *Ente*); Lithuanian *ántis* ‘duck’; Old Prussian *antis* ‘duck’; Old Russian *uty* (< **ǫty*) (gen. *utъve*) ‘duck’ (Modern Russian *útka* [утка]). Pokorny 1959:41—42 **anət-* ‘duck’; Walde 1927—1932.I:60 **anəti-*, **$_e$nəti-*; Mann 1984—1987:22 **anətis* ‘duck’; Watkins 2000:4 **anət-* ‘duck’ (oldest form **$ə_2$en$ə_2$t-* colored to **$ə_2$an$ə_2$t-*); Mallory—Adams 1997:171 **h_an̥h$_a$ti-*, **$h_a$enh$_a$ti-* ‘duck’; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.I:72—73 **n̥̄ti̯-a*; Boisacq 1950:670; Frisk 1970—1973.II:317—318; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:752—753 **n̥ə$_2$t-*; Hofmann 1966:218 **nātia*; Beekes 1969:197 **n̥ħ$_2$ti-* and 2010.I:1018—1019 **$h_2$enh$_2$t-*; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:44; Ernout—Meillet 1979:31 **anət-*; Lindsay 1894:274 Greek νῆσσα (< **νᾱτ-γα); De Vaan 2008:41; Kroonen 2013:26 Proto-Germanic **anad-* ‘duck’; Orël 2003:21 Proto-Germanic **anuđiz* ~ **aniđiz*; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:167; Kluge—Seebold 1989:179—180 **ənət-*; De Vries 1977:687 Proto-Norse **anuði-*; Fraenkel 1962—1965.I:11—12; Smoczyński 2007.1:17—18; Derksen 2008:387 **$h_2$enh$_2$-t-* and 2015:57 **$h_2$enh$_2$-t-*.

C. Proto-Altaic **ăŋatV* ‘a kind of duck’: Proto-Tungus **andi* ‘scoter, a kind of duck’ > Evenki *anni*, *andi*, *ende* ‘scoter, a kind of duck’; Negidal *anị* ‘scoter, a kind of duck’; Nanay / Gold *āni*, *āŋgi* ‘diver’. Proto-Mongolian **aŋgir* ‘scoter’ > Written Mongolian *aŋγir* ‘a kind of yellow duck’; Khalkha *angir* ‘scoter’; Buriat *angir* ‘scoter’; Kalmyk *äŋgr* ‘scoter’; (?) Ordos *aŋgir* ‘yellow’. Proto-Turkic **Ăŋ(k)ït* ‘wild duck’ > Old Turkic (Old Uighur) *aŋït* ‘wild duck’; Karakhanide Turkic *aŋït* ‘wild duck’; Turkish *angıt*, *angut* ‘the Ruddy Shelldduck’; Azerbaijani *anɢut-boɢaz* ‘long-necked duck’; Turkmenian *aŋk* ‘red duck’; Uzbek *anγirt* ‘red duck’; Karaim *anqït*, *ankit* ‘ostrich, vulture, dragon’; Sary-Uighur *aŋït* ‘wild duck’; Khakas *āt* ‘wild duck’. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:304—305 **ăŋatV* ‘a kind of duck’.

D. Proto-Eskimo **aŋɬuʀ-* (or **aŋluʀ-*) ‘to dive into water’: Alutiiq Alaskan Yupik *aŋɬuʀ-* ‘to dive into water (especially bird)’; Central Alaskan Yupik *aŋɬuʀ-* ‘to dive, to be submerged, to be baptized’; Central Siberian Yupik *aɬŋuʀ-* ‘to dive, to submerge’; Sirenik *aŋɬəʀ-* ‘to dive’; Seward Peninsula Inuit *ayluq-* ‘to dive into water (bird)’; North Alaskan Inuit *ayluq-* ‘to dive into water’; Western Canadian Inuit *ayluq-* ‘to dive into water’; Eastern Canadian Inuit *allu(q)-* ‘to dive into water (bird)’; Greenlandic Inuit *aɬɬuʀ-* ‘to dive into water (bird)’. Fortescue—Jacobson—Kaplan 1994:33.

Buck 1949:3.57 duck. Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 809, **Haṅ̄[g]V(ṭV)* (or **Haŋ[g]V(ṭV)* ?) ‘duck’; Greenberg 2002:83, no. 182.

719. Proto-Nostratic root **ħap^{h}-* (~ **ħəp^{h}-*):
(vb.) **ħap^{h}-* ‘to take, gather, or collect (with the hands or arms)’;
(n.) **ħap^{h}-a* ‘that which has been gathered or collected: plenty, fullness, abundance, wealth, possessions, property; embrace, armful, handful’

A. Proto-Afrasian **ħap-* ‘to take, gather, or collect (with the hands or arms)’: Proto-Semitic **ħap-aṯ-* ‘to take, gather, or collect (with the hands or arms)’ > Hebrew *ḥāφaś* [חָפַשׂ] ‘to search, to search out, to search for’; Aramaic *ḥəφas* ‘to dig; to seek’; Ugaritic *ḥpšt* ‘straw picker’; Arabic *ḥafaša* ‘to gather, to grasp, to assemble’; Ḥarsūsi *ḥeféś* ‘to collect’; Śḥeri / Jibbāli *ḥfɔ́ś* ‘to collect (a lot of things)’; Mehri *ḥəfūś* ‘to collect (a lot of things)’; Geez / Ethiopic *ḥafaša* [ሐፈሠ] ‘to rake up, to sweep up, to scatter as chaff, to carry away (especially an amount held in two hands), to take a handful’; Tigrinya *ḥafäsä*, *ḥafäšä* ‘to scoop up’; Tigre *ḥafsa* ‘to scrape corn together’; Harari *ḥafäsa* ‘to take something with one or two hands or with an instrument, to draw water from a container with a small cup’; Argobba *haffäsa* ‘to take a large quantity of grain with one or two hands’; Amharic *affäsä* ‘to take a fistful of grain with two hands, to scoop up dry grainy material with the hand’; Gurage *afäsä* ‘to scoop up a large quantity of grain or flour or earth with both hands’. Klein 1987:228; Leslau

1963:80, 1979:22, and 1987:227; Murtonen 1989:192. Proto-Semitic *ħap-an- ‘to take a handful’ > Hebrew *ḥōφen* [חֹפֶן] ‘hollow of the hand, handful’; Aramaic *ḥūφnā* ‘hollow of the hand, handful’; Akkadian *upnu* ‘handful’; Arabic *ḥafana* ‘to scoop up with both hands; to give little’, *ḥafna* ‘handful’; Śḥeri / Jibbāli *ḥfun* ‘to scoop (rice, etc.) in the cupped hands’; Mehri *ḥəfūn* ‘to scoop up (rice, etc.) in the cupped hands’; Geez / Ethiopic *ḥafana* [**ሐፈነ**] ‘to take earth or grain with two hands cupped together’; Tigre *ḥəfən* ‘both hands full’, *ḥaffäna* ‘to take with both hands’; Tigrinya *ḥəfni* ‘handful’; Amharic *əffəññ* ‘handful’. Murtonen 1989:191; Klein 1987:227; Leslau 1987:227. Arabic *ḥafaṣa* ‘to collect, to gather’. Arabic *ḥafala* ‘to gather, to assemble, to congregate; to flow copiously; to be replete, to teem’, *ḥāfil* ‘full, filled, replete, abundant, copious’, *ḥufūl* ‘plenty, fullness, abundance, wealth’. Note: Two separate stems have fallen together in Arabic: (A) Proto-Semitic *ħap-al- ‘to run, to flow’ and (B) Proto-Semitic *ħap-al- ‘to take, gather, or collect (with the hands or arms)’. Egyptian *ḥpt* ‘to embrace’, *ḥpt* ‘armful’; Coptic *hpot* [ϩποτ] ‘fathom’. Hannig 1995:525; Faulkner 1962:168; Gardiner 1957:581; Erman—Grapow 1921:107 and 1926—1963.3:71—72; Černý 1976:290; Vycichl 1983:307. Proto-Southern Cushitic *ħap- ‘to clasp, to hold with the arms’ > Iraqw (*ħapa ‘arm’ >) *ḥampa* ‘wing’; Dahalo *ḥap-* ‘to snatch’. Ehret 1980:299. [Orël—Stolbova 1995:274, no. 1238, *ḥapat- ‘arm, wing’.] Ehret 1995:374, no. 754, *ḥap- ‘to take hold of’.

B. Dravidian: Kannaḍa *appu*, *arpu* ‘to embrace’, *appu*, *aḷpu*, *aḷke*, *appuge* ‘an embrace’, *appay(i)su* ‘to embrace, to seize eagerly’; Tuḷu *appiyuni* ‘to embrace, to clasp’, *appukai*, *appai* ‘folding the arms on the breast’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:16, no. 158.

C. Proto-Indo-European *$\underset{\smile}{ħ}ep^h$- [*$\underset{\smile}{ħ}ap^h$-]/*$\underset{\smile}{ħ}op^h$- ‘to gather, to collect; to gather wealth’: Avestan *afnah-vant-* ‘rich in possessions’; Sanskrit *ápnas-* ‘possession, property’; Latin *Ops* ‘the goddess of abundance’, *opulens* (< *open-ont-) ‘rich, wealthy’, *opēs* ‘resources, means, wealth’; Hittite *ḫappin-*, *ḫappinant-* ‘rich’; Luwian *ḫappinatt-* ‘wealth’. Pokorny 1959:780 *op- ‘to work’; Walde 1927—1932.I:175—176 *op-; Watkins 1985:46 *op- and 2000:60 *op- ‘to work, to produce in abundance’ (oldest form *$ə_3ep$-, colored to *$ə_3op$-); Mallory—Adams 1997:637 *$h_2ó/ép(e)n$- ‘goods, wealth’; Mann 1984—1987:880—881 *op- ‘yield, produce’, 882 *oplos (*opulos) ‘power, force, abundance’, 882 *opnos; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.II:746 *Hop[ʰ]-r/n- and 1995.I:649—650 *Hopʰ-r/n- ‘goods, wealth, possessions; trade’; Puhvel 1984— .3:124—125 *H_1op-en-o-(nt-) and 3:125—127; Kloekhorst 2008b:296—297 *h_3ep-en-o-; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.I:40; Ernout—Meillet 1979:463—464; De Vaan 2008:431 *h_3e/op-(i-) ‘ability, force’; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.II:215—216. Note: Greek ἄφενος ‘wealth’ is most likely a borrowing, though the source is uncertain (cf. Frisk 1970—1973.I:195; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:146).

D. Yukaghir (Northern / Tundra) *apte-* ‘to collect, to gather’, *aptiiče* ‘gatherer’. Nikolaeva 2006:111.

Buck 1949:4.31 arm; 12.21 collect, gather. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:535—536, no. 391.

720. Proto-Nostratic root **ħapʰ-* (~ **ħəpʰ-*):
(vb.) **ħapʰ-* ‘to move quickly, to run, to flow’;
(n.) **ħapʰ-a* ‘(flowing or running) water, river, stream, current’

A. Proto-Afrasian **ħap-* ‘to move quickly, to run, to flow’: Semitic: Arabic *ḥafada* ‘to be active and nimble in one’s work; to speed; to urge to haste, to hasten’, *ḥafad* ‘a pace of the horse’. Arabic *ḥafala* ‘to gather, to assemble, to congregate; to flow copiously; to be replete, to teem’, *ḥāfil* ‘full, filled, replete, abundant, copious’, *ḥufūl* ‘plenty, fullness, abundance, wealth’. Note: Two separate stems have fallen together in Arabic: (A) Proto-Semitic **ħap-al-* ‘to move quickly, to run, to flow’ and (B) Proto-Semitic **ħap-al-* ‘to take, gather, or collect (with the hands or arms)’. Egyptian *ḥp* ‘to hasten, to hurry, to run’, *ḥpt* ‘running’, *ḥpwty* ‘runner’; (?) (Old Kingdom) *ḥp* ‘Nile’ (Middle Kingdom *ḥʿpy*). Hannig 1995:524; Faulkner 1962:168; Erman—Grapow 1921:107 and 1926—1963.3:68.
B. Proto-Indo-European **ḫ̬hepʰ-* [**ḫ̬hapʰ-*] ‘water, stream’: Hittite (dat. sg.) *ḫa-pa-a* ‘stream’, (3rd sg. pres. act.) *ḫa-pa-a-iz-zi* ‘to make wet, to moisten’ (?); Palaic (nom. sg.) *ḫa-a-ap-na-aš* ‘river, stream’; Luwian (nom. sg.) *ḫa-a-pí-iš* ‘river’, **ḫapā(i)-* ‘to irrigate, to water’, (acc. sg.) *ḫa-pa-a-ti-in* ‘irrigated land’, (acc. pl.) *ḫa-a-pí-in-ni-in-za* ‘little river’; Sanskrit *ápas-* ‘water’; Avestan *āfš* ‘stream, current’; Old Irish *ab*, *abann* ‘river’; Latin *amnis* (< **ab-ni-s*) ‘river, stream’; Old Prussian *ape* ‘river, stream’; Tocharian B *āp* ‘water, river, stream’. Pokorny 1959:51—52 **ăp-* ‘water’; Walde 1927—1932.I:46—47 **ăp-*; Mann 1984—1987:1 **abhmn-*, **abhnis* ‘river, water’; Watkins 1985:3 **ap-* and 2000:4 **ap-* ‘water’ (oldest form **H̯₂ep-*, colored to **H̯₂ap-*); Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.I:158 **H₂ap[ʰ]-* and 1995.I:136 **H₂apʰ-* ‘water, river, (mountain) stream’, I:186, I:193, I:238, I:578, I:579, I:760, I:763, I:814; Mallory—Adams 1997:486 **h₂eb(h)-* ‘river’; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.I:74—75 **ăp-*; Puhvel 1984— .3:114—115 **A₁ebh-*; Kloekhorst 2008b:294—295; Ernout—Meillet 1979:28—29; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:40 **ăp-*; De Vaan 2008:39; Van Windekens 1976—1982.I:166 **ăp-*; Adams 1997:44 **H₂ēp-* ~ **H₂ep-*; Wodtko—Irslinger—Schneider 2008:306—307 **h₂ep-*. Note: There may have been two variants of this stem in Proto-Indo-European: (A) **ḫ̬hepʰ-* [**ḫ̬hapʰ-*] and (B) **ḫ̬hebʰ-* [**ḫ̬habʰ-*].
C. Yukaghir (Southern / Kolyma) *apaj-* ‘to float’. Nikolaeva 2006:111.

Buck 1949:1.36 river, stream, brook; 10.32 flow (vb.). Bomhard—Kerns 1995:536—537, no. 392; Greenberg 2002:179, no. 413, **ape* ‘water’; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 1876, **qapV* ‘to stream, to flow’.

721. Proto-Nostratic root **ħar-* (~ **ħər-*):
(vb.) **ħar-* ‘to prepare, to make ready, to put together’;
(n.) **ħar-a* ‘way, manner, method’

A. Afrasian: Egyptian *ḥr* ‘to prepare, to make ready’. Hannig 1995:555; Faulkner 1962:176; Erman—Grapow 1921:114 and 1926—1963.3:146—147; Gardiner 1957:582.

B. Dravidian: Tamil *ar̲am* ‘moral or religious duty, virtue, dharma’, *ar̲avan̲* ‘one who is virtuous, god, Buddha, ascetic, etc.’, *ar̲avi* ‘virtue, that which is holy, female ascetic’, *ar̲aviya* ‘virtuous’, *ar̲aviyān̲* ‘virtuous man’, *ar̲an̲* ‘sacrificer’; Malayalam *ar̲am* ‘law, dharma’; Kannaḍa *ar̲a*, *ar̲u* ‘virtue, charity, alms, law, dharma’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:29, no. 311. Tamil *ār̲u* ‘way, road, path, means, manner, method’; Malayalam *ār̲u* ‘way, manner’; Kota *-a·r* in: *o·yṇ-a·r* ‘path’, *a·ḷ-a·r* ‘way, distance’; Toda *o·r̲* ‘way, entrance into thicket’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:37—38, no. 405.

C. Proto-Indo-European **ḫ͡ḫer-* [**ḫ͡ḫar-*]/**ḫ͡ḫr̥-* ‘to prepare, to make ready, to put together’: Avestan *arānte* ‘to arrange, to settle, to establish, to fix’; Sanskrit *ṛtá-ḥ* ‘right, true’, *ṛtú-ḥ* ‘fixed time, order, rule’, *ṛtí-ḥ* ‘way, manner’, *arpáyati* ‘to put into, to fix’, *arámati-ḥ* ‘readiness, proper thinking’, *áram* ‘readily, enough’; Armenian *aṙnem* ‘to make’; Greek ἀραρίσκω ‘to join together, to fashion, to fix, to fit together, to construct, to prepare, to contrive, to fit, to equip, to make fitting or pleasing’; Latin *ars*, *-tis* ‘way, method, skill, profession, art, occupation’; Tocharian A *ārwar* ‘ready, prepared’. Rix 1998a:240—241 **h₂er-* ‘to be joined or fit together’; Pokorny 1959:55—61 **ar-* ‘to fix, to suit’; Walde 1927—1932.I:69—76 **ar-*; Mann 1984—1987:31 **ar-* ‘to join, to fit’, 32 **ār-* ‘to join, to tie’, 36 **artos*, *-i̯os*, *-us* ‘joined; adjoining; join’, 1106 **r̥tos*, *-os*, *-us* ‘right, proper; rightness, fitness’; Watkins 1985:3 **ar-* (also **arə-*) and 2000:5 **ar-* ‘to fit together’ (oldest form **h₂₂ar-*); Mallory—Adams 1997:362 **hₐer-* ‘to prepare, to make ready, to put together’; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.I:48 **ar-*, I:51 **ar-*, I:122 **ar-*, and I:123 **ar-*; Hofmann 1966:22 **ar-*; Beekes 2010.I:123 **h₂er-*; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:101—102; Boisacq 1950:73; Frisk 1970—1973.I:128—129; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:70 **ar-*; Ernout—Meillet 1979:48—49; De Vaan 2008:55 **h₂r-ti-*; Adams 1999:53 **hₐer-* ‘to fit together’; Van Windekens 1976—1982.I:169 **ar-* ‘to fit together’.

D. Yukaghir (Southern / Kolyma) *ara(ń)ńə-* ‘light; easy, handy; frisky, dashing, adroit’, *ara* ‘adroitness’, *arajrəŋoː-* ‘energetic, laborious’, (Northern / Tundra) *arińńe-* ‘light; easy, handy; frisky, dashing, adroit’. Nikolaeva 2006:112.

E. Proto-Altaic **ărV-* '(vb.) to do, to make; (n.) way, method': Proto-Tungus **ar-* '(vb.) to make, to work, to construct; to come to one's senses; to cause fear (of an evil ghost), to appear to one's imagination; (n.) shape, form; evil spirit' > Evenki *arit-* 'to cause fear (of an evil ghost), to appear to one's imagination', *arū-* 'to come to one's senses', *arinka* 'evil spirit'; Lamut / Even *arị-*, *ar-* 'to cause fear (of an evil ghost), to appear to one's imagination', *ar-* 'to come to one's senses', *arịŋqъ* 'evil spirit'; Negidal *ayị* 'evil spirit'; Manchu *ara-* 'to do, to make', *arbun* 'form, shape, image', *ari* 'evil spirit'; Spoken Manchu (Sibo) *arəvən*, *arəvun* 'appearance, form'; Nanay / Gold *arị* 'evil spirit'. Proto-Mongolian **arga* 'way, method' > Written Mongolian *arγa* 'means, method; way out, possibility'; Khalkha *arga* 'way, method'; Buriat *arga* 'way, method'; Kalmyk *argə* 'way, method'; Ordos *arɢa* 'way, method'; Dagur *arga* 'way, method'; Shira-Yughur *arag* 'way, method'; Monguor *arɢa* 'way, method'. Poppe 1955:58. Proto-Turkic **ar-* 'to make magic, to cast spells; to deceive' > Old Turkic (Old Uighur, Orkhon) *ar-* 'to deceive', *arvïš* 'magic'; Karakhanide Turkic *ar-*, *arva-* 'to make magic, to cast spells'; Turkish (dial.) *arpaγ* 'magic'; Turkmenian (dial.) *arvaχ* 'evil spirit'; Uzbek *avra-* 'to make magic, to cast spells; to deceive'; Uighur *a(r)ba-* 'to make magic, to cast spells'; Tatar *arbi-* 'to make magic, to cast spells'; Bashkir *arba-* 'to make magic, to cast spells'; Kirghiz *arba-* 'to make magic, to cast spells'; Kazakh *arba-* 'to make magic, to cast spells'; Oyrot (Mountain Altai) *arba-n-* 'to scold'; Yakut *arbā-* 'to make magic, to cast spells'. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:313—314 **ărV* 'witchcraft, craft'.

F. Proto-Eskimo **aʁənqiɣ-* 'to fix or arrange': Alutiiq Alaskan Yupik *aʁənqiɣ-* (Kodiak also *anqiɣ-*) 'to be opportune, handy'; Central Alaskan Yupik *aʁənqiɣ-* 'to be or make satisfactory'; Central Siberian Yupik *aʁənqiɣnəq* 'right hand'; Sirenik *aʁənəqat-* 'to force to do, to insist that someone do something'; Seward Peninsula Inuit *aaqik-* 'to store away'; North Alaskan Inuit *aatqik-* 'to straighten or make the bed'; Western Canadian Inuit (Caribou) *aatqik-* 'to repair'; Eastern Canadian Inuit *aaqqi(k)-* 'to cure, to manage, to repair', *aaqqisuʁ-* 'to arrange, to put in order'; Greenlandic Inuit *aaqqiɣ-* 'to fix, to make or get better', *aaqqiššuʁ-* 'to arrange, to set right'. Fortescue—Jacobson—Kaplan 1994:42.

Sumerian *har* 'to build, to construct, to create, to produce'.

Buck 1949:9.943 fitting, suitable; 12.22 join, unite; 14.29 ready; 16.73 right (adj., in a moral sense, vs. wrong). Bomhard—Kerns 1994:531—532, no. 383.

722. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **ħar-a* 'arm, hand':

A. Proto-Afrasian **ħar-* 'arm, hand': Central Chadic **xar-* 'hand, arm' > Tera *xar* 'hand, arm'; Ga'anda *heřa* 'arm'; Hona *hara* 'arm'; Mofu *hár* 'arm,

hand’. Jungraithmayr—Ibriszimow 1994.II:178—179. Saho—Afar **ħar-* ‘arm’ > Saho *ħar-* ‘arm’. Cushitic: Beja / Beḍawye *hár-ka*, *hér-ka* ‘arm’. Reinisch 1895:126. Lowland East Cushitic **ħark-* ‘arm’ > Galla / Oromo *harka* ‘arm, hand’; Konso *harga* ‘arm’. Werizoid: Warazi *ḥarko* ‘arm’; Gawwada *ḥarko* ‘arm’. Orël—Stolbova 1995:275, no. 1242, **ḥar-* ‘arm’.

B. Dravidian: Tamil *aṟaṅ-kai* ‘palm of the hand’; Telugu *aṟa-cēyi* ‘palm of the hand’, *aṟa-kālu* ‘sole of the foot’; Kolami *ārankei*, *árungkei* ‘palm of the hand’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:29, no. 310.

C. Proto-Indo-European **ħ͡herH-mo-* [**ħ͡harH-mo-*]/**ħ͡hr̥H-mo-* ‘shoulder, arm’: Sanskrit *īrmá-ḥ* ‘arm’; Avestan *arəmō* ‘arm’; Ossetic *ärm* ‘hollow of the hand’; Latin *armus* ‘the shoulder where it is fitted to the shoulder-blade’; Gothic *arms* ‘arm’; Old Icelandic *armr* ‘arm’; Old English *earm* ‘arm’; Old Frisian *erm* ‘arm’; Old Saxon *arm* ‘arm’; Old High German *aram*, *arm* ‘arm’ (New High German *Arm*); Old Prussian *irmo* ‘arm’; Old Church Slavic *ramo*, *ramę* ‘shoulder’; Polish *ramię* ‘shoulder, arm’. Pokorny 1959:58 **arə-mo-*, **r̥̄-mo-* ‘arm’; Walde 1927—1932.I:73 **ar(ə)men-*; Mann 1984—1987:260 **ərmos* (**r̥̄mos*, *-us*) ‘arm, shoulder, extension, branch’; Watkins 1985:3 **ar(ə)-mo-* under **ar-* ‘to fit together’ and 2000:5 **ar-mo-* under **ar-* ‘to fit together’ (oldest form **ḫ₁ar-*); Mallory—Adams 1997:26 **h$_a$érh$_x$mos* or **h$_a$r̥h$_x$mós* ‘arm, forequarter’, probably from **h$_a$er(h$_x$)-* ‘to fit, to attach’; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.II: 785, fn. 1, **arH-mo-*/**r̥H-mo-* and 1995.I:687, fn. 9, **arH-mo-*/**r̥H-mo-* ‘arm, shoulder (blade)’; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.I:96; Ernout—Meillet 1979:47—48; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:69; De Vaan 2008:55; Orël 2003:24 Proto-Germanic **armaz* I; Kroonen 2013:35 Proto-Germanic **arma-* ‘arm’; Feist 1938:58; Lehmann 1986:43; De Vries 1977:14; Onions 1966:50; Klein 1971:50; Boutkan—Siebinga 2005:92; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:30; Kluge—Seebold 1989:40 **arə-mo-*, **r̥ə-mo-*; Derksen 2008:375 **h$_2$erH-mo-*, **h$_2$erH-men-*.

D. (?) Yukaghir (Southern / Kolyma) *arimə* ‘sole’, *arimәl* ‘bottom’, *arul* ‘bottom’, (Northern / Tundra) *arime* ‘sole, paw, foot’. Nikolaeva 2006: 112.

Buck 1949:4.30 shoulder; 4.31 arm.

723. Proto-Nostratic root **ħar-* (~ **ħər-*):
(vb.) **ħar-* ‘to be superior, to be higher in status or rank, to be above or over’;
(n.) **ħar-a* ‘nobleman, master, chief, superior’; (adj.) ‘free-born, noble’

A. Proto-Afrasian **ħar-* ‘(vb.) to be superior, to be higher in status or rank, to be above or over; (adj.) free-born, noble; (n.) nobleman, master, chief, superior’: Proto-Semitic **ħar-ar-* ‘to be free-born, to be or become free, to set free’, **ħar(r)-*/**ħur(r)-* ‘noble, free-born’ > Hebrew *ḥōr* [חוֹר] ‘noble’; Arabic *ḥurr* ‘noble, free-born; free, independent’, *ḥarra* ‘to liberate, to

free, to set free, to release, to emancipate', *ḥurrīya* 'freedom, liberty, independence, unrestraint, license'; Aramaic *ḥərar* 'to be or become free'; Ugaritic *ḥrr* 'free'; Sabaean *ḥrr* 'freemen, free-born men'; Geez / Ethiopic *ḥarāwi* [ሐራዊ] 'free-born, nobleman', *ḥarāwənnā* [ሐራውና] 'freedom', *ḥarənnat* [ሐርነት] 'freedom'; Tigrinya *ḥara* 'free', *ḥarənnät* 'freedom'; Tigre *ḥara* 'free; freedom'; Amharic *hurr* 'free'; Gurage *hurru bālä* 'to become free, to set free'. Klein 1987:211; Zammit 2002:137; Leslau 1979: 328 and 1987:240—241. Egyptian *ḥry* 'chief, master, overseer, superior', *ḥr* 'on, upon, over', *ḥrw* 'upper part, top'; Coptic *hi-* [ϩι-] (< **haʒyaw* < **ḥaryaw*) 'on, in, at', *hray* [ϩραι] 'upper part'. Erman—Grapow 1921:113 and 1926—1963.3:131—132, 3:133—136, 3:142—143; Hannig 1995:546, 547, and 548; Faulkner 1962:174; Gardiner 1957:582; Černý 1976:271—272 and 291—292; Vycichl 1983:285—286 and 308.

B. Proto-Indo-European **ḫ̱ḫ̱er-yo-* [**ḫ̱ḫ̱ar-yo-*] 'a superior, a person higher in status or rank': Sanskrit *árya-ḥ* 'a respectable or honorable person, a highly-esteemed person; master, owner', *árya-ḥ* 'master, lord'; Pāḷi *ariya-* 'noble, distinguished, of high birth'; Old Persian *ariya-* (perhaps *āriya-*) 'Aryan' (Farsi *ērān* 'Iran'); Avestan *airya-* 'noble'; Old Irish *aire* 'nobleman, man of rank'; Runic (m. nom. pl. superl.) *-arjostez* 'noblest' (Tune Stone, Østfold, Norway; 400 CE). Pokorny 1959:67 **arḭo-* 'lord, host'; Walde 1927—1932.I:80 **arḭo-*; Mann 1984—1987:34 **arḭos* 'man, hero; manly'; Watkins 1985:3 **aryo-* 'lord, ruler' and 2000:5 **aryo-* self-designation of the Indo-Iranians; Mallory—Adams 1997:213 **h₄erós* ~ **h₄erḭos* 'member of one's own (ethnic) group, peer, freeman; (Indo-Iranian) Aryan'; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.I:52 and I:79; Orël 2003:23 Proto-Germanic **arjaz*; Krause 1971:53 *arjōstēʀ*; Antonsen 1975:44—45 Proto-Germanic */ar-jōst-a-ez/ (m. nom. pl. superl. of */ar-ja-z/).

C. Proto-Chukchi-Kamchatkan **ærəm(æ)* 'leader': Chukchi *erəm(e)* 'leader'; Kerek *ajm* 'leader'; Koryak *ajəm(a)* 'leader'; Alyutor *arm(a)* 'leader'; Kamchadal / Itelmen (Eastern) *armagnan*, *erm* 'officer', *erm klec* 'king, emperor', *ermein* 'Russian', (Southern) *arm* 'master'. Fortescue 2005:38.

Buck 1949:19.36 noble, nobleman; 19.41 master. Möller 1911:16; Bomhard—Kerns 1994:533—534, no. 387.

724. Proto-Nostratic root **ħar-* (~ **ħər-*):
(vb.) **ħar-* 'to scratch, to scrape' (> 'to plow' in the daughter languages);
(n.) **ħar-a* 'scraping, scratching'

A. Proto-Afrasian **ħar-* 'to scratch, to scrape' (> 'to plow'): Proto-Semitic **ħar-atʸ-* 'to plow' > Hebrew *ḥāraš* [חָרַשׁ] 'to cut in, to engrave, to plow'; Aramaic *ḥəraθ* 'to plow'; Phoenician *ḥrš* 'to plow'; Ugaritic *ḥrṯ* 'to plow'; Akkadian *erēšu* 'to plow, to till'; Arabic *ḥaraṯa* 'to plow, to till'; Sabaean *ḥrṯ* 'plowed lands'; Śḥeri / Jibbāli *ḥárɔ́ṯ* 'to grow plants with fertilizer';

Geez / Ethiopic *ḥarasa* [**ሐረሰ**] ‘to plow, to cultivate land’, *māḥras* [**ማሕረሰ**] ‘a plow, a plowshare’; Tigrinya *ḥaräsä* ‘to plow’, *maḥräša* ‘a plow’; Tigre *ḥarsa* ‘to plow’, *maḥräša* ‘a plow’; Harari *ḥaräsa* ‘to plow’; Amharic *arräsä* ‘to plow, to till, to cultivate’, *maräša* ‘a plow’; Gafat *arräsä* ‘to plow’; Gurage *aräsä* ‘to plow, to cultivate’, *maräša* ‘a plow’; Argobba *ḥarräsa* ‘to plow’. Murtonen 1989:198—199; Klein 1987:234; Leslau 1963:87, 1979:91, and 1987:243; Zammit 2002:136—137. Proto-East Cushitic **ħa(a)r-* ‘to scratch, to scrape’ > Afar *ħaar-is-* ‘to clean out the contents of viscera’; Hadiyya *haar-* ‘to scratch’; Burji *harʔ-* ‘to plow, to cultivate’; Konso *har-* ‘to scoop soil from a hole’; Gidole *haar-awwa* ‘razor, blade for shaving’. Sasse 1982:92; Hudson 1989:196 and 280. Proto-Southern Cushitic **ħer-* ‘to shave’ > Asa *hera* ‘razor’; Ma’a *-ha* ‘to shave’, *-haré* ‘to sharpen’, *iharíme* ‘whetstone’. Ehret 1980:301. [Ehret 1995:375, no. 757, **ḥer-* ‘to scrape off’.] Takács 2011a:173 **ḥ-r* (perhaps **ḥar-*) ‘to scratch, to scrape’.

B. Dravidian: Tamil *araka* ‘a plow with bullocks’; Malto *are* ‘a plow’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:19, no. 198.

C. Proto-Indo-European **ḫ͡ḫer(H)-* [**ḫ͡ḫar(H)-*] ‘to plow’: Hittite (3rd sg. pres.) *ḫar-aš-zi* ‘to plow’; Greek ἀρόω ‘to plow’; Latin *arō* ‘to plow’; Old Irish *airim* ‘to plow’; Gothic *arjan* ‘to plow’; Old Icelandic *erja* ‘to plow’; Old English *erian* ‘to plow’, *ierþ* ‘plowing’; Old High German *erran* ‘to plow’; Lithuanian *ariù*, *árti* ‘to plow, to till’; Old Church Slavic *ralu* ‘a plow’, *orjǫ*, *orati* ‘to plow’; Tocharian A *āre* ‘a plow’. Rix 1998a:243 **h₂erh₂-* ‘to plow or break up (land)’; Pokorny 1959:62—63 **ar(ə)-* ‘to plow’; Walde 1927—1932.I:78—79 **arā-*; Mann 1984—1987:35 **arō*, *-i̯ō* (**arā-*) ‘to plow’; Watkins 1985:3 **arə-* and 2000:5 **arə-* ‘to plow’ (oldest form **h̥₂erh̥₃-*, colored to **h̥₂arh̥₃-*); Mallory—Adams 1997:434 **hₐérh₃i̯e/o-* ‘to plow’; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.II:687—688 **Har-* and 1995.I:593—594 **Har-* ‘to work land, to plow’; Sturtevant 1942:40—41, §37f; Puhvel 1984— .3:184—185 (Puhvel considers Hittite *ḫar(a)š-* to be a loan from Akkadian or West Semitic); Tischler 1977— .1:182—183; Kloekhorst 2008b:312—314; Frisk 1970—1973.I:147—148; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:112—113; Hofmann 1966:24; Beekes 2010.I:136—137 **h₂erh₃-*; Boisacq 1950:80; De Vaan 2008:55 **h₂erh₃-i̯e/o-* ‘to plough’; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:69; Ernout—Meillet 1979:48 **arə-*; Orël 2003:23 Proto-Germanic **arjanan*; Kroonen 2013:28 Proto-Germanic **arjan-* ‘to plow’; Feist 1939:56—57 **arə-*; Lehmann 1986:42 **ar(ə)-*; De Vries 1977:104; Van Windekens 1976—1982.I:167; Adams 1999:49 **h₂erh₃-*; Smoczyński 2007.1:23—24 **h₂erh₃-*; Fraenkel 1962—1965.I:17; Derksen 2008:372—373 **h₂erh₃-*, 373—374, and 2015:60, 61 **h₂erh₃-i̯e-*; Wodtko—Irslinger—Schneider 2008:322—328 **h₂erh₃-*.

Sumerian *har(-har)* ‘to scratch, to scrape’.

Buck 1949:8.21 plow (vb., sb.). Möller 1911:15—16; Bomhard—Kerns 1994:543, no. 400; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 2605, **XaRčV* (= **χaRčV* ?) ‘to rub/scratch’ (**XaRčV* = **χ|ħaRčV*).

725. Proto-Nostratic **ħarʸ-*: (1) particle introducing an alternative: ‘or’, (2) conjoining particle: ‘with, and’, (3) inferential particle: ‘then, therefore’:

Note: The *CVC*- patterning shows that this stem could not originally have been a particle, though this is how it is preserved in the daughter languages. The original meaning is unknown.

A. Afrasian: Egyptian *ḥr* ‘upon, in, at, from, on account of, concerning, through, and, having on it; because’. Hannig 1995:546; Erman—Grapow 1921:113 and 1926—1963.3:131—132; Faulkner 1962:174; Gardiner 1957:582. Berber: Tuareg *ar* ‘so far, until now, if not’; Wargla *ar* ‘until, until then’; Tamazight *ar*, *al*, *all* ‘until, until then, when’; Tashelhiyt / Shilha *ar* ‘until, until then’; Riff *ar*, *al* ‘until then’; Kabyle *ar* ‘until, save, except’; Chaouia *ar* ‘until’.

B. Proto-Indo-European **ħ͡her-* [**ħ͡har-*]/**ħ͡hr̥-* ‘then, therefore; and’: Greek ἄρα (Epic Greek ῥα [enclitic] and, before a consonant, ἄρ) inferential particle: (Epic usage) ‘then, straightway, at once’, (Attic usage) ‘then, therefore’ (much like οὖν, only less strongly); Lithuanian *ar̃* ‘whether, if’, *ir̃* ‘and, and then, and so’; Latvian *ìr* ‘and, and also’. Pokorny 1959:62 **ar*, **r̥* ‘now, therefore’; Walde 1927—1932.I:77 **ar*, **r̥*; Mann 1984—1987:31 **ar* (**are*, **arə*) ‘indeed, so, surely’, 1105 **r̥̄* ‘and, also, indeed; Mallory—Adams 1997:583 **ar-* ‘and, thus’; Boisacq 1950:72 **r̥* (> Greek ῥα; Lithuanian *ir̃*), **or* (> Lithuanian *ar̃*); Frisk 1970—1973.I:127 **r̥*; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:100; Hofmann 1966:21; Beekes 2010.I:121 **h₂(e)r*; Fraenkel 1962—1965.I:15; Derksen 2015:59 **h₂er-* and 202—203; Smoczyński 2007.1:21.

C. Proto-Altaic **arʸV* ‘or’: Proto-Turkic **arʸu* ‘or’ > Old Turkic (Old Uighur) *azu* ‘or’; Karakhanide Turkic *azu* ‘or’; Tuva *azï* ‘or’. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:316 **aŕV* ‘or’.

Bomhard—Kerns 1994:535, no. 389.

726. Proto-Nostratic root **ħas-* (~ **ħəs-*):
(vb.) **ħas-* ‘to burn, to be hot’;
(n.) **ħas-a* ‘cinder, ember, ashes; heat’

A. Afrasian: Semitic: Arabic *ḥasḥasa* ‘to place meat on the coals’. [Orël—Stolbova 1995:275, no. 1244, **ḥas-* ‘to roast’.]

B. Proto-Indo-European **ħ͡hes-* [**ħ͡has-*] ‘to burn, to be hot’: Sanskrit *ā́sa-ḥ* (< **ħ͡hēs-* [**ħ͡hās-*]) ‘ashes, dust’; (?) Greek ἄζω ‘to be dry’; Latin *āra*

‘altar’; Umbrian (dat. sg.) *ase* ‘altar’; Gothic *azgō* ‘cinder, ashes’; Old Icelandic *aska* ‘ashes’; Swedish *aska* ‘ashes’; Danish *aske* ‘ashes’; Old English *asce*, *æsce* ‘ashes’; Dutch *asch* ‘ashes’; Old High German *asca* ‘ashes’ (New High German *Asche*); Czech *ozd* ‘parched malt’, *ozdíti* ‘to dry malt’; Hittite (acc. sg.) *ḫa-aš-ša-an* (< **ḫ͡ḫes-* [**ḫ͡ḫas-*]) ‘hearth’, (nom. sg.) *ḫa-a-aš* ‘ashes (in pl.); soda ash, potash, soap’; Tocharian B *ās-* ‘to become dry, to dry out, to dry up, to parch’, *asāre* ‘dry’. Pokorny 1959:68—69 **ăs-* ‘to burn, to glow’; Watkins 1985:3—4 **as-* and 2000:5 **as-* ‘to burn, to glow’ (oldest form **ə̯₂es-* colored to **ə̯₂as-*); Mann 1984—1987:37 **as-* ‘burnt, brown’, 37—38 **asdō*, *-i̯ō* ‘to parch, to burn, to inflame’, 38 **asĝō(n)*, *-i̯ō(n)*, *-i̯ə* ‘ash, dust’, 38 **āsos*, *-ā* ‘hearth, sacrificial altar’; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.I:158 **H₂as-* and 1995.I:136 **H₂as-* ‘(ritual) hearth, altar’; Mallory—Adams 1997:32 **h₂éhₓōs* ‘ash’ (< ‘±burnings’) (also **h₂ḫₓs-ko-* and **h₂ḫₓs-g(h)-*) from **h₂éhₓ-* ‘to burn’; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.I:83 **ăs-*; Boisacq 1950:16 (Greek ἄζω < **azd-*, extended form of **ăs-*); Frisk 1970—1973.I:25—26 (Greek ἄζω ‘to be dry’ < **ăs-*); Chantraine 1968—1980.I:25 (Greek ἄζω < **ə̯₂ed-*); Beekes 2010.I:26—27 **h₂ed-*; Hofmann 1966:4 **azd-*; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:61 **ăs-*; Ernout—Meillet 1979:42; De Vaan 2008:49 **h₂eh₁s-h₂-*; Orël 2003:26 Proto-Germanic **askōn*; Kroonen 2013:38 Proto-Germanic **askōn-* ‘ashes’; Feist 1939:72; Lehmann 1986:54 **ăs-*; De Vries 1977:15 **as-*; Falk—Torp 1903—1906.I:26; Onions 1966:54; Klein 1971:53 **ăs-* ‘to burn, to glow’; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:33; Kluge—Seebold 1989:43; Adams 1999:33 and 57—58; Van Windekens 1976—1982.I:169 **ăs-*; Puhvel 1984— .3:210—212 and 3:221—224; Kloekhorst 2008b:322—323 **h₂eh₁s-eh₂-*; Lindeman 1997:57 **H₂eHs-* (lengthened-grade **H₂ēs-* [phonetically **H₂ās-*] is also possible). Note: Puhvel, among others, compares Greek ἄζω ‘to be dry’ (< **ἀδ-i̯ω*) with Hittite *ḫat-* ‘to dry up, to become parched’ instead.

C. Uralic: Proto-Finno-Ugrian **äsʒ-* ‘to heat, to ignite’ > Votyak / Udmurt *esty-* ‘to heat’; Zyrian / Komi *õzjy-* ‘to catch fire’, *õzty-* ‘to ignite, to fire, to light’; Ostyak / Xanty *ŏ̈l-*, (Southern) *ət-* ‘to heat, to ignite’. Collinder 1955:83 and 1977:100; Rédei 1986—1988:27 **äsʒ-*.

D. Proto-Altaic **ase-* (~ **pʰ-*) ‘(vb.) to catch fire; (adj.) hot’: Proto-Mongolian **(h)asa-* ‘to catch fire’ > Written Mongolian *asa-* ‘to burn, to catch fire, to ignite’; Khalkha *asa-* ‘to catch fire’; Buriat *aha-* ‘to catch fire’; Kalmyk *as-* ‘to catch fire’. Proto-Turkic **ïsïg*/**isig* ‘hot, warm’ > Old Turkic (Old Uighur) *isig* ‘hot’; Karakhanide Turkic *isig* ‘hot’; Turkish *sıcak* ‘hot; heat’; Azerbaijani *isti* ‘warm’; Turkmenian *ïssï* ‘hot’; Uighur *issiq* ‘hot’; Karaim *issi* ‘hot, warm’, *ïsï-t-* ‘to warm’; Tatar *esse* ‘hot’; Kirghiz *ïsïq-* ‘hot’, *ïsï* ‘heat, hot wind’; Kazakh *ïssï* ‘hot’; Noghay *issi* ‘hot’; Oyrot (Mountain Altai) *izü* ‘hot’; Tuva *iziγ* ‘hot’; Chuvash *ъʷžъʷ* ‘warm’; Yakut *itī*, *ičiges* (< **isi-geč*) ‘warm’. Derived from **ïsï-*/**isi-* ‘to

be hot'. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:316—317 **ase-* (~ **p'-*) 'to catch fire; hot'.

Buck 1949:1.84 ashes; 7.31 fireplace (hearth). Bomhard—Kerns 1994:530, no. 381; Greenberg 2002:32, no. 53, **as* 'burn'.

727. Proto-Nostratic root **ħasʸ-* (~ **ħəsʸ-*) (used as the base to designate various tree names):
(n.) **ħasʸ-a* 'a tree and its fruit'

A. (?) Dravidian: Tamil *āccā* 'the sal tree' (*Shorea robusta*); Kannaḍa *āsu*, *āca*, *ārse* 'the sal tree'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:32, no. 343.

B. Proto-Indo-European **ḫ͡ḫes-* [**ḫ͡ḫas-*]/**ḫ͡ḫŏs-* originally 'a tree and its fruit' (as in Hittite), but later specialized in the post-Anatolian Indo-European daughter languages: Hittite *ḫaššik(ka)-* 'a tree and its fruit' (?); Greek ὀξύη (< *ὀσκ[ε]σ- ?) 'a kind of beech-tree'; Armenian *haçi* 'ash-tree'; Albanian *ah* (< **oskā*) 'beech-tree', *ashe* 'holly'; Ligurian 'Οσκίλα 'ash forest'; Latin *ornus* (< **os-en-os*) 'mountain-ash'; Old Irish *(h)uinn-ius* 'ash-tree'; Welsh *onn-en* 'ash-tree'; Breton *ounn-enn* 'ash-tree'; Old Icelandic *askr* 'ash-tree', *eski* 'ashen box'; Swedish *ask* 'ash-tree'; Old English *æsc* 'ash-tree'; North Frisian *esk* 'ash-tree'; Dutch *esch* 'ash-tree'; Old High German *ask* 'ash-tree' (New High German *Esche*); Old Prussian *woasis* 'ash-tree'; Lithuanian *úosis* (< **ōs-*) 'ash-tree'; Russian *jásen'* [ясень] 'ash-tree'. Pokorny 1959:782 **ōs-*, **ōs-i-s*, **ŏ̄s-en-*, **os-k-* 'ash-tree'; Walde 1927—1932.I:184—185 **ōsi-s*, **ŏ̄sen-*, **os-k-*; Mann 1984—1987:893—894 **ōsis* (**ōsnos*, **ŏ̄sen-*) 'ash-tree; rowan', 894 **oskos*, *-us* 'a tree, ash or beech'; Watkins 1985:46 **os-* and 2000:61 **os-* 'ash-tree'; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.II:625 **Hos-*, II:942 and 1995.I:537, I:539, I:764 **Hos-* 'ash(tree)'; Mallory—Adams 1997:32 **h₃es(k)-* (**h₂os(k)-*) 'ash'; P. Friedrich 1970:92—98 **os-* 'ash-tree'; Boisacq 1950:706 **ŏ̄s-i-s*; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:806 **ōs-*, **ōsi-*, **ŏ̄sen-*; Hofmann 1966:234—235; Frisk 1970—1973.II:400; Beekes 2010.II:1088; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.II:223 **ŏ̄sen-os*, **ŏ̄sin-os*; Ernout—Meillet 1979:469 **ŏ̄s-*; De Vaan 2008:435; Orël 1998:2—3 and 2003:26 Proto-Germanic **askaz*, 26 **askjan*; Kroonen 2013:38 Proto-Germanic **aska-* 'ash'; De Vries 1977:15; Onions 1966:54 **ŏ̄s-*, Common Germanic **askiz*; Klein 1971:53 **ōsis*; Kluge—Seebold 1989:188 **osk-*; **ōs-*; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:174—175 **osk-*; **ōsis*; Smoczyński 2007.1:705; Derksen 2015:481 **Heh₃-s-*; Fraenkel 1962—1965.II:1167. Note: Neither Puhvel (1984— .3:232) nor Kloekhorst (2008b:325) give an etymology for Hittite *ḫaššik(ka)-*, but cf. Tischler (1977— :200—201).

C. Uralic: Mordvin (Erza) *ukso*, (Moksha) *uks* 'ash, elm'; Cheremis / Mari *oško* 'poplar'. Collinder 1955:138—139 and 1977:149; Joki 1973:333. These may be loans from Indo-European.

Sumerian *hašhur* ‘apple, apple-tree’, *hašhur-ar-man-nu*, *hašhur-kur-ra* ‘apricot, apricot-tree’, *hašhur-a-ab-ba* ‘a kind of apple-tree’, *hašhur-babbar* ‘a tree and its fruit’, *hašhur-niš-DA* ‘pear’, *hašhur-kur-ra* ‘quince’, *hašhur-kur-ra* ‘pear-tree’.

Illič-Svityč 1971—1984.I:255, no. 117, **Hosʌ* ‘poplar’; Bomhard—Kerns 1994:555, no. 415.

728. Proto-Nostratic root **ħat'-* (~ **ħət'-*):
(vb.) **ħat'-* ‘to shake, to tremble; to be shaken, startled, frightened, terrified, afraid’;
(n.) **ħat'-a* ‘trembling, shaking’
Note also:
(vb.) **ħut'-* ‘to shake, to shiver, to tremble’;
(n.) **ħut'-a* ‘trembling, shaking’; (adj.) ‘shaking, shivering, trembling’

A. Afrasian: Semitic: Arabic *ḥaṭā* (inf. *ḥaṭw*) ‘to shake’.
B. Dravidian: Tamil *atir* (*-v-*, *-nt-*) ‘to shake, to quake, to tremble (as by an earthquake, the fall of a tree, the rolling of chariots), to be startled, to be alarmed, to resound (as thunder), to reverberate, to sound (as a drum), to roar (as beasts)’, *atir* (*-pp-*, *-tt-*) ‘to alarm by shouting, to intimidate, to rebuke, to thunder, to roar (as the sea)’, *atircci* ‘quaking, shaking, trembling, loud noise or report, roaring’, *atirppu* ‘trembling, echo’, *atirvu* ‘shaking, trembling, tremolo’; Malayalam *atiruka* ‘to fear, to tremble’; Kannaḍa *adir*, *adaru*, *aduru*, *adru* ‘(vb.) to tremble, to shake, to shiver, to fear; (n.) trembling, tremor’, *adirpu* ‘trembling, fear’, *adalu* ‘to tremble, to shake, to shiver, to fear’, *adarisu*, *adalisu* ‘to make tremble, to shake’; Tuḷu *aḍuruni*, *adaruni*, *aduruni* ‘to tremble, to quake’, *aḍurāvuni* ‘to shake, to agitate’, *aḍurāṭa* ‘shaking, trembling’, *aḍuṟupaḍuṟu* ‘shaking and trembling’, *adarpuni* ‘to cause to tremble, to admonish, to rebuke’, *addalipuni* ‘to rebuke, to frighten’; Telugu *adaru* ‘(vb.) to tremble, to shake, to quake, to shiver; (n.) trembling, shaking, tremor’, *adalu* ‘to start, to be alarmed or afraid’, *adalincu*, *adalucu*, *adalupu*, *adalpu* ‘to frighten, to rebuke, to reproach’, *adalupu*, *adalpu* ‘frightening, rebuke’, *adiri-paḍu* ‘to start, to be alarmed’, *adiri-pāṭu* ‘(n.) a start, alarm; (adv.) suddenly, unexpectedly’; Gadba (Salur) *adrap-* ‘to shake (tr.)’; Malto *adyare* ‘to be agitated’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:14, no. 137.
C. Proto-Indo-European **ḫ͡ḫet'-* [**ḫ͡ḫat'-*] ‘(vb.) to terrify, to frighten; (adj.) terrible, horrible, hateful’: Hittite (nom. sg.) *ḫa-tu-ga-aš* ‘terrible, baleful, fearsome, awesome’, (nom.-acc. sg.) *ḫa-tu-ga-tar* ‘terror, awesomeness’, (3rd sg. pres. act.) *ḫa-tu-ki-iš-zi* ‘to become terrible’, (3rd pl. pres. act.) (?) *ḫa-tu-ga-nu-wa-an-[zi]* ‘to terrify’; Greek ὀδύσσομαι ‘to be wroth against, to be angry with, to hate’, ’Οδυσσεύς ‘Ulysses, Odysseus’ (< ‘Fearsome’); Latin *ōdī* ‘to hate’, *ŏdium* ‘hatred, grudge, ill will, animosity, enmity,

aversion', *odiōsus* 'hateful, odious, vexatious, offensive, unpleasant, disagreeable, annoying, troublesome'; Armenian *ateam* 'to hate', *ateli* 'hated, hostile'; Crimean Gothic *atochta* 'bad'; Old Icelandic *atall* 'fierce'; Old English *atol* 'terrible, dire, loathsome, horrid'; Breton *œz* 'horror', *œzi* 'to be terrified'. Rix 1998a:263 **h₃ed-* 'to hate'; Pokorny 1959:773 **od-* 'to hate'; Walde 1927—1932.I:174—175 **od-*; Mann 1984—1987:861—862 **ŏd-* 'hate, fear, arousal', 862 **odi̯om* 'hatred, boredom'; Watkins 1985:45 **od-* and 2000:59 **od-* 'to hate'; Mallory—Adams 1997:259 **h₃ed-* 'to hate'; Puhvel 1984— .3:274—277 **Hodug-*; Kloekhorst 2008b:336—337; Boisacq 1950:685—686; Hofmann 1966:225 **od-*; Frisk 1970—1973.II:351; Beekes 2010.II:1048—1049 (pre-Greek); Chantraine 1968—1980.II:775 **od-*; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.II:202—203 **od-*; Ernout—Meillet 1979:458—459; De Vaan 2008:425; Orël 2003:27 Proto-Germanic **atuɣaz*, 27 **atulaz*; Feist 1939:61; Lehmann 1986:46; De Vries 1977:17.

Buck 1949:16.41 hate (sb.); 16.53 fear, fright.

729. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **ħaw-a* 'a relative on the mother's side':

A. Dravidian: Tamil *avvai* 'mother, old woman, woman ascetic'; Kota *av* 'mother, mother's sister or female parallel cousin'; Kannaḍa *avve*, *avva* 'mother (used as a title of respect and love), grandmother, any elderly woman', *abbe* 'mother'; Koḍagu *avvë* 'mother, mother's sister or female parallel cousin'; Tuḷu *abbè* 'an elderly woman, matron'; Telugu *avva* 'mother, grandmother, an old woman'; Gondi *avva*, *avā* 'mother'; Konḍa *ave* 'mother'; Manḍa *ava* 'elder brother's wife'; Kui *ava* 'elder brother's wife'; Kuwi *ava* 'elder brother's wife', *awa* 'sister-in-law'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:25—26, no. 273; Krishnamurti 2003:10 **aww-a* 'mother, grandmother'.
B. Proto-Indo-European **ḫ̯ewḫ̯o-s* [**ḫ̯awḫ̯o-s*] 'maternal grandfather; maternal uncle': Hittite (nom. sg.) *ḫu-uḫ-ḫa-aš* 'grandfather', *ḫuḫḫant-* '(great-)grand-father'; Luwian (instr. sg.) *ḫu-u-ḫa-ti* 'grandfather'; Hieroglyphic Luwian *huha-* 'grandfather', *huhati-* '(great-)grandfather'; Lycian *χuga-* 'grandfather' in *χugaha se-χñnaha* 'grandfather's and grandmother's'; Armenian *hav* 'grandfather'; Latin *avus* 'grandfather', *avia* (Late Latin *ava*) 'grandmother', *avunculus* 'maternal uncle'; Old Irish *áue* 'grandson'; Welsh *ewythr* 'uncle'; Gothic **awō* (only in dat. sg. *awōn*) 'grandmother'; Old Icelandic *ái* 'great-grandfather', *afi* 'grandfather'; Old English *ēam* 'maternal uncle'; Old Frisian *ēm* 'maternal uncle'; Dutch *oom* 'uncle'; Old High German *ōheim* (< Proto-Germanic **awun-χaimaz*) 'uncle (mother's brother)' (New High German *Oheim*, *Ohm*); Old Prussian *awis* 'maternal uncle'; Lithuanian *avýnas* 'maternal uncle'; Old Church Slavic *ujь* 'mother's brother', *ujka* 'mother's sister'; Tocharian B *āwe*

‘grandfather’. Pokorny 1959:89 **au̯o-s* ‘maternal grandfather’; Walde 1927—1932.I:20—21 **au̯o-s*; Mann 1984—1987:48 **au̯os*, *-ā*, *-i̯os*, *-i̯ə* ‘kinsman’; Mallory—Adams 1997:237—238 **$h_2$euh$_2$os* ‘grandfather; mother’s father’; Watkins 1985:4 **awo-* and 2000:6 **awo-* ‘an adult male relative other than one’s father’; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.II:766 **HauHo-* and 1995.I:668 **HauHo-* ‘grandfather, father’s father’; Puhvel 1984— .3:355—358 **A_1ewA_1os*; Sturtevant 1951:6—7, §12, Indo-Hittite **xauxos*, 39, §62b, Indo-Hittite **xewxos* (note also fn. 29), 47, §74; Boutkan—Siebinga 2005:86—87; Kloekhorst 2008b:352—353 **$h_2$éuh$_2$-s*, **$h_2$euh$_2$-m*, **$h_2$uh$_2$-ós*; Tischler 1977— :260—262; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:88—89; Ernout—Meillet 1979:61—62; De Vaan 2008:66; Orël 2003:31 Proto-Germanic **awōn*; Kroonen 2013:44—45 Proto-Germanic **awa/ōn-* ‘grandparent’; Feist 1939:71 **au̯o-*; Lehmann 1986:53 **awen-*, **awyo-*, **awo-*; De Vries 1977:2 and 3; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:520—521; Kluge—Seebold 1989:514; Vercoullie 1898:210 **awos*; Adams 1999:56 **$h_2$euh$_2$o-* ‘grandfather’; Fraenkel 1962—1965.I:28; Smoczyński 2007.1:38; Derksen 2008:507—508 **$h_2$euh$_2$-i-o-* and 2015:74 **$h_2$euh$_2$-*.

C. Yukaghir (Southern / Kolyma) *abo:-* (< **awa*) ‘elder’, *abuča:* ‘address to a grandmother’, *abu:j* ‘elder’, (Northern / Tundra) *abučie* ‘grandmother, mother-in-law’. Nikolaeva 2006:115.

D. (?) Eskimo: Proto-Yupik **avaqutaq* ‘offspring’ > Alutiiq Alaskan Yupik *awaqutaq* ‘son’; Central Alaskan Yupik (Nunivak) *awaqutaX* ‘son’, (Hooper Bay-Chevak) *avankuq* ‘son’; Naukan Siberian Yupik *avaqutaq* ‘infant, child’; Central Siberian Yupik *avaqutaq* ‘child, offspring’; Sirenik *avaqutaX* ‘child, offspring’ (probably borrowed from Central Siberian Yupik). Fortescue—Jacobson—Kaplan 1994:55. Proto-Yupik **avaqutaq* < **ava-* plus the postbases **q(q)un* and **q(q)utaʁ* ‘something associated with something’ [cf. Fortescue—Jacobson—Kaplan 1994:422—423]). Proto-Inuit **avvasaaq* ‘relative’ > Seward Peninsula Inuit *avvazaaq* ‘someone with the same name’; North Alaskan Inuit (Point Hope) *avvasaaq* ‘close relative or friend’. Fortescue—Jacobson—Kaplan 1994:56.

Buck 1949:2.46 grandfather; 2.47 grandmother; 2.51 uncle. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:555—556, no. 416; Caldwell 1913:588.

730. Proto-Nostratic root **ħaw-* (~ **ħəw-*):
(vb.) **ħaw-* ‘to surge up, to overflow, to rain’;
(n.) **ħaw-a* ‘torrential rain, torrent, deluge’
Probably related to:
(vb.) **ħaw-* ‘to swell, to increase’;
(n.) **ħaw-a* ‘swelling, increase, growth; great number or amount’

A. Afrasian: Egyptian *ḥwỉ* ‘to surge up, to overflow, to rain’, *ḥwyt* ‘rain’, *ḥwḥw* ‘flood’; Coptic *hōw* [ϩⲱⲟⲩ], *hu-* [ϩⲟⲩ-] ‘(vb.) to rain; (n.) rain, moisture’, *humpe* [ϩⲟⲩⲙⲡⲉ] ‘rain’. Hannig 1995:515 and 520; Faulkner 1962:165; Erman—Grapow 1921:105—106 and 1926—1963.3:48, 3:49, and 3:56; Vycichl 1983:318; Černý 1976:304. Orël—Stolbova 1995:287, no. 1303, **ḥVw-* ‘to rain’.

B. Dravidian: Tuḷu *barakelu̯* ‘inundation’; Telugu *var̲ada* ‘flood, torrent, inundation, deluge’, *var̲ru* ‘flow, flood’; Parji *vered* ‘flood’; Koṇḍa *ur̲da* ‘flood’; Kuwi *varda pīyu* ‘torrential rain’, *vāru* ‘flood’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:481—482, no. 5323.

C. Proto-Indo-European **ḫ͡hew-r-* [**ḫ͡haw-r-*]/**ḫ͡how-r-*/**ḫ͡hu-r-*, **ḫ͡hw-er-*/**ḫ͡hw-or-* ‘(vb.) to sprinkle, to spray, to rain; (n.) rain, moisture’: Sanskrit *vā́ri* ‘water, rain, fluid’; Avestan *vairi-* ‘lake’, *vār-* ‘to rain’; Tocharian A *wär*, B *war* ‘water’; Latin *ūrīna* ‘urine’; Greek οὖρον ‘urine’, ῥαίνω (< **Hwrn̥-yō*) ‘to sprinkle, to besprinkle’; Old Irish *feraim* ‘to pour’; Old Icelandic *aurr* ‘moist earth, clay, mud’, *ver* ‘sea’, *úr* ‘light rain, drizzle’, *ýra* ‘to drizzle’; Swedish (dial.) *örja* ‘swamp’; Old English *ēar* ‘sea’, *wǣr* ‘spray’. Pokorny 1959:80—81 **au̯er-* ‘water, rain, river’; Rix 1998a:259 **h₂u̯erh₁-* ‘to sprinkle, to spray’; Walde 1927—1932.I:268—269 **u̯er-*; Mann 1984—1987:895—896 **ouros*, *-om* (**əur-*) ‘water, brine; moisture, mire’; Watkins 1985:44 **wēr-* and 2000:100 **wē-r-* ‘water, liquid, milk’ (contracted from earlier **we₂₁-r-*; zero-grade **u̯e₂₁-r-*, contracted to **ūr-*); Mallory—Adams 1997:636 **u̯é/óhₓr-* ‘water’; Boisacq 1950:729 **u̯er-s-*, enlargement of **u̯er-*, and 833 **u̯rn̥-i̯ō*; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:839 and II:965 **wren-*; Frisk 1970—1983.II:447 (Sanskrit *várṣati* < **u̯érseti*) and II:639—640 **u̯ren-*; Beekes 2010.II:1028—1029 **uers-* and II:1272 (pre-Greek); Hofmann 1966:244—245 **u̯er-s-*, **u̯er-* and 294 **u̯rn̥i̯ō* (root **u̯ren-*); Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.II:840 **u̯er-*, **u̯er-s-*; Ernout—Meillet 1979:755; De Vaan 2008:644; Adams 1999:577—578; Van Windekens 1976—1982.I:557—558 Pre-Tocharian **u̯ₑr-*; Orël 2003:29—30 Proto-Germanic **auraz*, 450 **warōn* ~ **waraz*; Kroonen 2013:42 Proto-Germanic **aura-* ‘mud, sand, sediment’; De Vries 1977:20, 635, and 654. Proto-Indo-European **ḫ͡hw-er-s-*/**ḫ͡hw-or-s-*/**ḫ͡hw-r̥-s-* ‘(vb.) to rain; (n.) rain’: Sanskrit *varṣá-m* ‘rain, raining, a shower’, *várṣati* ‘to rain’; Hittite *warša-* ‘fog, mist’ (the initial laryngeal is assumed to have been lost in Hittite [cf. Melchert 1994a:49]); Greek ἔρση ‘dew’ (Homeric ἐέρση, Doric ἔρσᾱ); Old Irish *frass* ‘rain’. Rix 1998a:259—260 **h₂u̯ers-* ‘to rain’; Pokorny 1959:81 **u̯er-s-* ‘to rain’; Walde 1927—1932.I:269 **u̯er-s-*; Mann 1984—1987:1521 **u̯ers-* ‘droplet, sprinkling, shower, dew, rain’, 1521 **u̯ersō* (*-i̯ō*, *-āi̯ō*) ‘to shed, to sprinkle, to pour, to gush, to rain’, 1604 **u̯r̥s-* ‘pour, downpour’; Watkins 1985:77—78 **wers-* and 2000:100 **wers-* ‘to rain, to drip’; Mallory—Adams 1997:477 **h₁u̯ers-* ‘rain’; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.II:680 **u̯ers-* and 1995.I:587 **wers-* ‘to pour, to spill’; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:375 (Sanskrit *várṣati* < **werseti*);

Boisacq 1950:284 **u̯ers-*; Frisk 1970—1973.I:566—567 (Sanskrit *várṣati* < **u̯érseti*), **u̯orseu̯ō*, **u̯er-os-*, **u̯er-s-*; Hofmann 1966:94 **u̯er-s-*; Beekes 2010.I:464—465 **h₁uers-*; Melchert 1994a:49 *warša-* (< **wórso-* < **h₂wórso-*, **h₂wers-* 'to rain') and 163; Kloekhorst 2008b:971—972; Wodtko—Irslinger—Schneider 2008:356—357 **h₂u̯ers-*. Proto-Indo-European **ħ͡ħew-on(tʰ)-* [**ħ͡ħaw-on(tʰ)-*], **ħ͡ħew-n̥(tʰ)-* [**ħ͡ħaw-n̥(tʰ)-*] 'spring, well' (also used as the base of river names): Sanskrit *avatá-ḥ* 'well, cistern', *aváṇi-ḥ* 'bed of river, stream'; Latvian *avuõts* 'spring'; Latin (river names) *Avēns*, *Aventia*. Mallory—Adams 1997:539 (?) **hₐeu̯(o)nt-* 'spring'; Pokorny 1959:78 **au̯ent-*; Mann 1984—1987:48 **au̯on-*, **au̯ont-*, **au̯n̥t-* theme of river-names; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.I:57 and I:58.

D. Yukaghir (Northern / Tundra) *awre-* 'to gather (of rainwater on a skin) (intr.)'. Nikolaeva 2006:114.

Buck 1949:1.31 water; 1.75 rain (sb.); 4.65 urinate; urine. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:530—531, no. 382.

731. Proto-Nostratic root **ħaw-* (~ **ħəw-*):
(vb.) **ħaw-* 'to swell, to increase';
(n.) **ħaw-a* 'swelling, increase, growth; great number or amount'
Probably related to:
(vb.) **ħaw-* 'to surge up, to overflow, to rain';
(n.) **ħaw-a* 'torrential rain, torrent, deluge'

A. Proto-Kartvelian **xwaw-* 'great number, many': Georgian *xvav-* 'heap, pile'; Mingrelian *xva-* 'flock' (this may be a loan from Georgian); Svan *xwāj*, *xwäj* 'much, many'. Klimov 1964:258 **xwaw-* and 1998:328 **xwa(w)-* 'great number, multitude'; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:549 **xwaw-*; Fähnrich 2007:682 **xwaw-*.

B. Proto-Indo-European **ħ͡ħew-k'-* [**ħ͡ħaw-k'-*]/**ħ͡ħu-k'-*, **ħ͡ħw-ek'(s)-*/**ħ͡ħw-ok'(s)-* 'to grow, to increase': Sanskrit *úkṣati* 'to grow', *ugrá-ḥ* 'powerful, mighty, strong', *ójas-* 'strength, vigor, energy', *vakṣáyati* 'to grow, to increase, to be strong, powerful'; Pāḷi *ugga-* 'mighty, huge, strong, fierce, grave'; Avestan *vaŋ̊hšaiti* 'to grow', *ugrah-* 'powerful, mighty', *aoǰah-*, *aogah-*, *aogar-* 'strength; strong'; Greek ἀέξω 'to increase, to enlarge', αὔξω 'to increase'; Latin *augeō* 'to increase, to enlarge, to strengthen', *augmentum* 'increase, growth', *augustus* 'majestic, august, venerable'; Gothic *aukan* 'to add, to increase', *wahsjan* 'to grow, to increase'; Old Icelandic *auka* 'to augment, to increase', *vaxa* 'to increase, to grow, to grow up'; Old English *ēacan*, *ēacian* 'to increase', *ēacen* 'increased, enlarged, endowed, strengthened, strong, mighty, vast, great', *weaxan* 'to grow, to flourish, to increase', *weaxung* 'increase, increase of prosperity'; Old Frisian *āken* 'large', *waxa* 'to grow'; Old Saxon *ōkian* 'to increase',

ōkan ‘grown, pregnant’; Old High German *ouhhōn* ‘to increase’, *wahsan* ‘to grow, to wax (as of the moon)’ (New High German *wachsen*); Lithuanian *áugu*, *áugti* ‘to grow, to increase’; Tocharian A *ok-*, B *auk-* ‘to grow, to increase’, B *auki* ‘an increase’, B *auks-* ‘to sprout, to grow up’. Rix 1998a:245 *$h_2eu̯g$- ‘to be strong’, *$h_2éu̯gos$- ‘strength’, *h_2ug-*ró*- ‘strong’ and 257—258 *$h_2u̯eks$- ‘to grow (up), to increase, to become enlarged’; Pokorny 1959:84—85 *$au̯eg$- ‘to increase’; Walde 1927—1932.I:22—24 *$au̯eg$-, *aug-, *ug-; Mann 1984—1987:41 *augəstos, *augstos ‘tall; growth, height’, 41 *augō (*-$ēi̯ō$; *əug-, *augs-, *$au̯eg$-, *$au̯egs$-) ‘to increase, to grow’, 41 *augos, -om, -$i̯os$, -$i̯ə$ ‘growth, increase, reinforcement’, 41 *augmn- ‘growth, height’, 41 *auk- (?) ‘full-grown, tall’, 42 *auks- (*auksəmo-) ‘high; height, growth’, 46 *$au̯eks$- (*$əu̯eks$-, *$auks$-, *$əuks$-) ‘’to grow; growth’, 1475 *$u̯ g$- ‘to grow’, 1507 *$u̯eks$- ‘to grow, to thrive’, 1507 *$u̯ekslis$, -os ‘thriving’; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.I:236 *Hau̯k’-, *Hu̯ek’- and 1995.I:206 *Hauk’-, *Hwek’- ‘to grow’; Watkins 1985:4 aug- (variant *(a)weg- [< *$ə̯$weg-]; variant extended forms *wogs-, *wegs-) and 2000:6 *aug- ‘to increase’ (oldest form *$ə̯_2$eug-, colored to *$ə̯_2$aug-, with variant [metathesized] form *$ə̯_2$weg-); Mallory—Adams 1997:248 *$h_a$eug- ‘to grow’; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.I:98, I:98—99 *au(e)g-, and I:131; Frisk 1970—1973.I:187—188 *aug-, *$au̯eg$-, *$au̯eg$-s-, *$u̯eg$-s-; Boisacq 1950:101 *auq-s-, *$au̯eq$-s-, *$au̯g$-; Beekes 2010.II:170—171 *$h_2$eug-, *$h_2$ueg-s-; Hofmann 1966:28 *$au̯(e)qs$-, *aug- (in Latin *augeō*); Chantraine 1968—1980.I:141 theme I *$ə̯_2$eu-g- (> αὔξω), theme II *$ə̯_2$w-eg- (> ἀ(Ϝ)έξω); Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:82—83 *aug-, *$au̯eg$-; *$u̯eg$-; *$au̯ek$-s-, *auk-s-, *$u̯eks$- (*uks-); Ernout—Meillet 1979:56—58 *aweg-, *āug-, *ug-; De Vaan 2008:61—62 *$h_2$eug-$ei̯e$-, *$h_2$eug-s- ‘to grow’; Orël 2003:29 Proto-Germanic *aukanan, 29 *aukōjanan, 29 *aukōn, 439 *waxsanan, 439 *waxsjanan I, 439 *waxstiz, 439 *waxstuz; Kroonen 2013:42 Proto-Germanic *aukan- ‘to grow’, 566 *wahs(j)an- ‘to grow’ and 566 *wahstu- ‘growth, stature’; Lehmann 1986:50 *aweg-, *awg- ‘to increase’ and 387 *aweg-, *awg-; *wōg-; *awk-s-, *wek-s-; Feist 1939:67 *$au̯eg$-, *$au̯g$- and 541 *(a)$u̯eg$-, *$au̯g$-; *(a)$u̯eks$-, *$au̯ks$-, *uks-; De Vries 1977:19 *$au̯eg$-, *aug- and 648; Onions 1966:304 *aug- and 995 *woks-, *aweks-, *auks-, *uks-; Klein 1971:240 *aweg-, *aug- and 822 *aw(e)ks-, *auks-, *weks-; Boutkan—Siebinga 2005:13 and 433; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:829; Kluge—Seebold 1989:771 *(ə)wek-s-; Van Windekens 1976—1982.I:329; Adams 1999:130—131 *$h_a$eug-; Fraenkel 1962—1965.I:24; Smoczyński 2007.1:32; Derksen 2015:68 *$h_2$eug-; Wodtko—Irslinger—Schneider 2008:328—332 *$h_2eu̯g$- and 354—356 *$h_2u̯eks$-.

Buck 1949:12.53 grow (= increase in size); 12.55 large, big (great); 13.15 much, many; 13.16 more. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:542—543, no. 399.

732. Proto-Nostratic root *ħaw- (~ *ħəw-):
(vb.) *ħaw- ‘to weave, to braid, to plait, to twist, to turn’;
(n.) *ħaw-a ‘the act of weaving, braiding, plaiting’

A. Afrasian: Proto-Semitic *ħaw-ak- ‘to weave, to braid, to plait’ > Arabic *ḥāka* (base *ḥwk* [حوك]) ‘to weave, to interweave, to knit; to braid, to plait’; Syriac *ḥa(w)wāχā* ‘a weaver’. Proto-Semitic *ħaw-ac’- ‘to sew, to stitch together’ > Arabic *ḥāṣa* (base *ḥwṣ* [حوص]) ‘to sew, to stitch together’.

B. Dravidian: Tamil *vēy* ‘to cover (as a building), to roof, to thatch, to put on (as a garland)’, *vēytal* ‘thatched house’, *vēyvu* ‘covering’; Kota *ve·j-* ‘to thatch’; Tuḷu *bēpini* ‘to thatch the roof of a house’; Kolami *ve·nz-* ‘to thatch’; Telugu *vēyu* ‘to thatch a house’; Naikṛi *vēnj-* ‘to thatch’; Parji *vēñ-* ‘to thatch’; Gadba (Salur) *vēng-* ‘to thatch’; Gondi *wēsānā*, *vēsānā* ‘to thatch’, *vēs-* ‘to cover (roof)’, *vēnc-* ‘to cover (house)’; Konḍa *vī-* ‘to thatch’; Pengo *vig-* (*vikt-*) ‘to thatch’, *vikha* ‘thatch’; Manḍa *vēk-* ‘to thatch’; Kui *vega* (*vegi-*) ‘to roof, to thatch’; Kuwi *vīgali* ‘to thatch’, *vīka* ‘thatch’; Malto *bese* ‘to thatch’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:505, no. 5532; Krishnamurti 2003:8 *wēy- ‘to thatch’.

C. Proto-Indo-European *ḫ̯hew- [*ḫ̯haw-] ‘to plait, to weave’: Lithuanian *áudžiau*, *áudžiu*, *áusti* ‘to weave’; Sanskrit (inf.) *ótum*, *ótave* ‘to weave’, *ótu-ḥ* ‘woof of a web’. Pokorny 1959:86—87 *au̯-, *au̯ē-; *au-dh-, *a(u̯)-ĕdh-, *u-dh- ‘to plait, to weave’; Walde 1927—1932.I:16—17 *au̯-, *(a)u̯ē-; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.I:230 *Hau̯-, *Hu̯-aH- ‘to weave’ and 1995.I:200 *Haw-, *Hw-aH- ‘to weave’; Mallory—Adams 1997:572 *$h_{2/3}$eu- ‘to weave’; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.I:132. Proto-Indo-European *ḫ̯hw-iḫ̯h- [*ḫ̯hw-eḫ̯h-] (> *Hwē-) ‘to weave, to braid, to plait’: Sanskrit (inf.) *vā́tave* ‘to weave, to braid, to plait’, *vāna-m* ‘the act of weaving or sewing’; Hittite (3rd sg. pres.) *ú-e-iḫ-zi* ‘to turn, to fall’ (an initial laryngeal is lost in Hittite before *w* when another laryngeal follows in the word except when the second laryngeal is part of an inflectional ending [cf. Bomhard 1976:227; Polomé 1965:261]). Rix 1998a:604 *u̯eh$_2$- ‘to turn (round)’; Pokorny 1959:86—87 *au̯-, *au̯ē-; *au-dh-, *a(u̯)-ĕdh-, *u-dh- ‘to plait, to weave’; Mann 1984—1987:1531 *u̯ētos ‘woven, enmeshed; weave, mesh’; Walde 1927—1932.I:16—17 *au̯-, *(a)u̯ē-; Kloekhorst 2008b:993—996; Fraenkel 1962—1965.I:126; Smoczyński 2007.1:35 *Heu̯-. Proto-Indo-European *ḫ̯hw-ey-/*ḫ̯hw-oy-/*ḫ̯hw-i- ‘to weave, to braid, to plait, to twist, to turn’: Sanskrit *váyati* ‘to weave, to braid, to plait’; Latin *vieō* ‘to weave together’; Lithuanian *vejù*, *výti* ‘to twist’. Rix 1998a:610—611 *u̯eih$_1$- ‘to wrap (up)’; Pokorny 1959:1120—1122 *u̯ei-, *u̯eiə-, *u̯ī̆- ‘to turn’; Walde 1927—1932.I:223—227 *u̯ei-; Mann 1984—1987:1505 *u̯eiō, *u̯iieiō ‘to twist, to weave, to plait, to braid’; Watkins 1985:74 *wei- and 2000:96 *wei- (also *weiə-) (oldest form *weiə$_1$-) ‘to turn, to twist’; De Vaan 2008:677; Ernout—Meillet 1970:735; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.II:786—787 *u̯ei(ā^x)-; Fraenkel

1962—1965.II:1267; Smoczyński 20071:764—765. Proto-Indo-European *$\underset{\smile}{\hbar h}$w-eb^h-/*$\underset{\smile}{\hbar h}$w-ob^h-/*$\underset{\smile}{\hbar h}$u-b^h- ‘to weave’: Old Old Icelandic *vefa* ‘to weave’; Swedish *väva* ‘to weave’; English *wefan* ‘to weave’; Old Frisian *weva* ‘to weave’; Middle Dutch *weven* ‘to weave’; Old High German *weban* ‘to weave’ (New High German *weben*); Tocharian A *wäp-*, B *wāp-* ‘to weave’; Greek ὑφή ‘a web’, ὑφαίνω ‘to weave’; Sanskrit *ubhnā́ti* ‘to cover over’. Rix 1998a:599 *$\underset{\smile}{\mu}$eb^h- ‘to wrap round, to weave’; Pokorny 1959:1114—1115 *$\underset{\smile}{\mu}$ebh- ‘to weave’; Walde 1927—1932.I:257 *$\underset{\smile}{\mu}$ebh-; Mann 1984—1987:1496 *$\underset{\smile}{\mu}$ebhō ‘to weave’; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.II:585, II:704 *H$\underset{\smile}{\mu}$-eb[^{h}]- and 1995.I:500, I:609 *Hw-eb^h- ‘to weave’; Watkins 1985:73 *webh- and 2000:95 *webh- ‘to weave’; Mallory—Adams 1997:572 *$h_{2/3}\underset{\smile}{\mu}$ebh- ‘to weave’; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.I:107 *webh-; Boisacq 1950:1008—1009 *$\underset{\smile}{\mu}$ebh-, *$\underset{\smile}{\mu}$obh-, *ubh-; Frisk 1970—1973.II:976—977 *$\underset{\smile}{\mu}$ebh-; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:1163—1164 *webh-, *ubh-; Beekes 2010.II:1540 *(h_1)ueb^h-; Hofmann 1966:388 *$\underset{\smile}{\mu}$ebh-; Orël 2003:451 Proto-Germanic *weƀanan; Kroonen 2013:576 Proto-Germanic *weban- ‘to weave’ (< *$h_1\underset{\smile}{\mu}$éb^h-e-); De Vries 1977:649—650 *$\underset{\smile}{\mu}$ebh-; Klein 1971:823 *webh-; Onions 1966:996—997 Common Germanic *weƀan; *webh-, *wobh-, *ubh-; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:841—842 *$\underset{\smile}{\mu}$eb^h-; Kluge—Seebold 1989:779 *webh-; Adams 1999:586 *web^h- ‘to weave’; Van Windekens 1976—1982.I:557 *$\underset{\smile}{\mu}$ebh-. Proto-Indo-European (*$\underset{\smile}{\hbar h}$w-ep^h-/*$\underset{\smile}{\hbar h}$w-op^h-/) *$\underset{\smile}{\hbar h}$u-p^h- ‘to weave, to braid, to plait, to twist, to turn’: Hittite (nom. sg.) *ḫu-u-pa-ra-aš*, *ḫu-(u-)up-pa-ra-aš* ‘a type of cloth’, (3rd sg. pres. act.) *ḫu-up-pa-(a-)iz-zi* ‘(tr.) to interlace, to entangle, to ensnare, to commingle, to (make a) blend (of); (intr.) to mingle, to mix’. Puhvel 1984— .3:384—386 the basic root is *A_1ew- (extended forms: *A_1w-éye-; *A_1éw-dh-, *A_1u-dh-, *A_1w-édh-; *A_1éw-bh-, *A_1ubh-; *A_1éw-p-, *A_1up-).

D. Yukaghir (Southern / Kolyma) *abut-* (< *aw-) ‘nest, hole, den, lair; case, container’, *abuš-* ‘to put inside’, *abudu-* ‘to pull’, (Northern / Tundra) *awur* ‘nest, hole, den, lair; case, container’, *awun-saal* ‘cradle without leather covering’. Nikolaeva 2006:114.

Buck 1949:6.33 weave; 9.75 plait (vb.); 10.12 turn (vb.); 10.13 turn around (vb.); 10.14 wind, wrap (vb.); 10.15 roll (vb.). Möller 1911:20—21; Bomhard—Kerns 1994:537—538, no. 394.

733. Proto-Nostratic root *ħay- (~ *ħəy-):
(vb.) *ħay- ‘to live, to be alive’;
(n.) *ħay-a ‘life, age’
Extended form:
(vb.) *ħay-V-w- ‘to live, to be alive’;
(n.) *ħay-w-a ‘life, age’

A. Proto-Afrasian *ħay- ‘to live’: Proto-Semitic *ħay-aw/y- ‘to live’ > Hebrew ḥāyāh [חָיָה] ‘to live’; Syriac ḥəyā ‘to live’; Phoenician ḥwy ‘to live’, ḥy ‘living’, ḥym ‘life’, ḥyt ‘animal’; Ugaritic ḥyy ‘to live’; Arabic ḥayya, ḥayiya ‘to live’, ḥayy ‘living, alive’, ḥayāh ‘life’, ḥayawān ‘animal, beast; (coll.) animals, living creatures’; Sabaean ḥyw, ḥyy ‘to live’; Ḥarsūsi ḥeyōt ‘life’; Śḥeri / Jibbāli ḥyɔt ‘life’; Mehri ḥəyōt ‘life’; Geez / Ethiopic ḥaywa [ሐይወ] ‘to live, to be alive, to come back to life, to revive (intr.), to be well, to be healed, to be cured, to recover, to be restored, to be saved’, ḥəywat [ሕይወት] ‘life, lifetime; healing, good health, salvation, restoration, state, situation’; Tigrinya ḥayäwä ‘to live, to be healthy’, ḥəywät ‘life’; Tigre ḥaya ‘to live’, ḥayot ‘life’; Harari ḥawa ‘to recover, to heal’, ḥuy ‘alive’ (probably borrowed from Arabic); Amharic həywät ‘life’, həyaw ‘living, alive’; Gurage (Endegeñ) xəywät ‘life’. Murtonen 1989:179; Klein 1987:214; Leslau 1963:89, 1979:371, and 1987:252; Zammit 2002:154. Berber: Tuareg iwi ‘to be born’, tīwit ‘birth’, aw, ag ‘son of’, ahaya ‘grandson, descendant’; Tawlemmet əhəw ‘to be born’, təhut ‘birth’, aw ‘son’, ahaya ‘grandson, descendant’; Siwa it ‘son of’; Nefusa aw ‘son of’; Ghadames u ‘son of, descendant of’; Mzab u, gg^{w} ‘son of, belonging to’, iwwa ‘my brother, brother’; Wargla u ‘son’ aytma ‘brother’; Tamazight u ‘son of’; Kabyle u ‘son of’, ayaw ‘son of a sister, descendant by a sister, paternal cousin’, tayyawt, taggawt ‘son of a sister, descendant by a sister, paternal cousin’; Tashelhiyt / Shilha yiwi ‘my son’, ayaw ‘nephew, son of a sister’, tayawt ‘son of a sister’; Chaouia u ‘son of’, awma ‘my brother’. Cushitic: Saho-Afar hay ‘to live’; Beja / Beḍawye hāy- ‘to live’, hāy ‘living, alive’. Reinisch 1895:132. Note: According to Leslau (1987:252), these forms are loans from Ethiopian Semitic. Proto-Highland East Cushitic *hee-ɗ- ‘to live’ > Gedeo / Darasa heʾr- ‘to live, to be present’; Hadiyya heeʾ- ‘to live’, heeca ‘life’; Kambata heʾ- ‘to live’, heeccata ‘life’; Sidamo heeʾr- ‘to live, to be present’. Hudson 1989:91—92 and 93. Diakonoff 1992:29 *ḫ̨w/y ‘living’; Orël—Stolbova 1995:278, no. 1257, *ḥayaw- ‘animal’; Militarëv 2012:83—84 Proto-Afrasian *ḥayVw-.

B. Proto-Indo-European *ħ͡heyw- [*ħ͡hayw-]/*ħ͡hoyw-, *ħ͡heyu- [*ħ͡hayu-]/*ħ͡hoyu- ‘(adj.) alive; (n.) life, lifetime’: Sanskrit āyú-ḥ ‘alive’; Pāḷi āyu- ‘life’; Greek αἰών (< *αἰϝών) ‘lifetime, age’; Latin *aevum* ‘lifetime’; Old Irish *aís*, *áes* ‘life, age’; Gothic *aiws* ‘time, lifetime, age’; Old Icelandic *ævi* ‘age, time’; Old English *ǣ*, *ǣw* ‘divine law’; Old High German *ēwa* ‘eternity, law’, *ēwīg* ‘eternal’ (New High German [poet.] *Ewe* ‘era, epoch’, *ewig* ‘everlasting, eternal, endless, unending, never-ending, perpetual’), *ēwida* ‘eternity’; Tocharian A *āym-* ‘spirit, life’. Pokorny 1959:17—18 *aiu̯-, *au̯-, *au̯- ‘life force’; Walde 1927—1932.I:6—7 *aiu̯-, *au̯-; Mann 1984—1987:7 *aiu̯it- ‘age’, 7 *aiu̯om ‘age, lifetime’; Watkins 1985:1 *aiw- and 2000:2 *aiw- (also *ayu-) ‘vital force, life, long life, eternity’ (oldest forms *h_{2}eiw-, *h_{2}eyu-, colored to *h_{2}aiw-, *h_{2}ayu-); Mallory—Adams 1997:352 *h_{a}óu̯us ‘vital force, life, age of vigor’; Gamkrelidze—

Ivanov 1984.II:802 **aiu̯-* and 1995.I:237 **ai-w-om* ‘lifespan’, I:702—703 **āyu-* ‘life force, eternity’; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.I:77; Boisacq 1950:31; Frisk 1970—1973.I:49; Hofmann 1966:9; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:42—43 **ai-w-* (**ə̯₂ei-w-*); Beekes 2010.I:46—47 **h₂ei-u-*; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:21 **āiu̯-*: **āiu̯o-*, **āiu̯i-*, **āiu̯os-*, **āiu̯es-*, **āi̯us-*; Ernout—Meillet 1979:13—14 **ăyu-*; De Vaan 2008:29; Orël 2003:10—11 Proto-Germanic **aiwaz* ~ **aiwiz*, 11 **aiwiþō*, 11 **ajukaz*; Kroonen 2013:16 Proto-Germanic **aiwa/ō-* ‘eternity, age’; Feist 1939:30—31 **ai-u̯o-*; Lehmann 1986:22 **ai-* (< **xéy-*)+*-w-*; **ay-wo-*, **ay-wen-*, **ăy-wes-*; De Vries 1977:682; Kluge—Seebold 1989:193 **əiw-*; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:177 **aiu̯-*, **āiu̯-*; Van Windekens 1976—1982.I:173; Wodtko—Irslinger—Schneider 2008:277—287 **h₂ei̯-u-*.

C. Proto-Altaic **ŏye* ‘life, age’: Proto-Tungus **uyu-* ‘alive’ > Manchu *wei-χun* ‘alive’, *wei-χuŋge* ‘living thing’, *wei-χu-* ‘to be alive, to live’; Spoken Manchu (Sibo) *vei-χun* ‘alive’; Ulch *uyu(n)* ‘alive’; Orok *uyu(n)* ‘alive’; Nanay / Gold *uyũ* ‘alive’. Proto-Mongolian **üye* ‘generation, age’ > Written Mongolian *üye* ‘time, epoch, period, age; generation’; Khalkha *üye* ‘generation, age’; Buriat *üye* ‘generation, age’; Kalmyk *üy* ‘generation, age’; Ordos *üye* ‘generation, age’; Dagur *uye* ‘generation, age’; Monguor *uye* ‘generation, age’. Proto-Turkic **öy* (?) ‘time, age’ > Tuva *öy* ‘time, age’; Yakut (dial.) *öyn̄n* ‘time, age’. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:1043—1044 **ŏje* ‘life, age’; Illič-Svityč 1971—1984.I:242—243, no. 101, reconstructs Proto-Altaic **öjü*.

D. Proto-Chukchi-Kamchatkan (?) **æju-* ‘to come back to life, to revive’: Chukchi *eju-* ‘to come to, to revive (tr. or intr.)’, *eju-lʾet-* ‘to be alive’, *eju-lʾə-lʾən* ‘alive’; Koryak *eju-* ‘to revive (intr.)’, *j-eju-v-* ‘to revive (tr.)’; Alyutor *aju-* ‘to revive (intr.)’; Kamchadal / Itelmen [*ezle-kas-* ‘to revive’]. Fortescue 2005:29.

Buck 1949:74 live (= be alive); living, alive; life; 14.12 age. Möller 1911:4; Illič-Svityč 1971—1984.I:242—243, no. 101, **ḥaju* ‘to live; life force’; Bomhard—Kerns 1994:593—594, no. 466; Greenberg 2002:109, no. 247, **ayu* ‘to live’; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 2613, **Xay[ü]* ‘to live’.

734. Proto-Nostratic root **ħay-* (~ **ħəy-*):
Extended form:
(vb.) **ħay-V-t’-* ‘to swell, to be fat’;
(n.) **ħay-t’-a* ‘a swelling, fat’; (adj.) ‘fat, swollen’

A. Proto-Afrasian **ħay-t’-* ‘swollen, fat’: Proto-East Cushitic **ħayɗ-* ‘fat’ > Somali *ħayḍ* ‘fat’; Konso *hayɗ-a* ‘fat’; Gidole *hayɗ-a* ‘fat’; Dullay *ħayɗ-o* ‘fat’. Sasse 1979:46. Proto-Southern Cushitic **ħiḍ-* ‘thick’ > K’wadza *hilama* ‘mature girl not yet married’; Dahalo *ḥíḍaaðe* ‘heavy’, *ḥíḍaaðo* ‘weight’; Ma’a *-híri* ‘hard’. Ehret 1980:301.

B. Proto-Indo-European *ħ͡ħoyt'- ‘to swell’: Greek οἰδάω, οἰδέω ‘to swell, to become swollen’, οἴδημα, οἶδος ‘a swelling, tumor’; Armenian *aitnum* ‘to swell’; Old High German *eiz* ‘abscess, ulcer’ (New High German *Eiß*; note also *Eiter* ‘pus’); Old Icelandic *eitr* ‘poison’, *eista* ‘testicle’; Old English *āt(t)or* ‘poison, venom’; Old Church Slavic *jadъ* ‘poison’; Upper Sorbian *jěd* ‘poison’; Czech *jed* ‘poison’; Russian *jad* [яд] ‘poison’. Rix 1998a:230 *$h_2$eid-* ‘to swell’; Pokorny 1959:774 **oid-* ‘to swell’; Walde 1927—1932.I:166—167 **oid-*; Mann 1984—1987:864—865 **oidlos* (**oidəlos*) ‘swelling, abscess’, 865 **oidnu-mi* (**oidən-*) ‘to swell’, 865 **oidos*, *-es-* ‘swelling, abscess’; Watkins 1985:45 **oid-* and 2000:59 **oid-* ‘to swell’ (oldest form **ḏ$_3$eid-* colored to **ḏ$_3$oid-*); Mallory—Adams 1997:561 **$h_a$eid-* ‘to swell’; Hofmann 1966:226 **oid-*; Boisacq 1950:688—689 **oid-*; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:780 **oid-* or **aid-*, **oido-s* or **aido-s*; Beekes 2010.II:1053—1054 **$h_2$oid-eie-*; Frisk 1970—1973.II:357—358 **oidi-*, **oidos* (or **aidos* ?); Hübschmann 1897.I:418; Orël 2003:10 Proto-Germanic **aitaz*, 10 **aitilaz*, 10 **aitran*; Kroonen 2013:14 Proto-Germanic **aita-* ‘ulcer’; De Vries 1977:98 (Old Church Slavic *jadъ* < **oidos*); Kluge—Mitzka 1967:161; Kluge—Seebold 1989:172; Derksen 2008:150 Old Church Slavic *jadъ* < **$h_1$ed-*; Shevelov 1964:177 Old Church Slavic *jadъ* < **oid-*.

C. Proto-Eskimo **ayut-* ‘to extend or enlarge’: Central Alaskan Yupik *ayutə-* ‘to enlarge’; Eastern Canadian Inuit (Labrador) *ayu(t)-* ‘to enlarge’; Greenlandic Inuit *ayut-* ‘to extend, to stretch (shoes)’. Fortescue—Jacobson—Kaplan 1994:60.

Buck 1949:12.63 thick (in dimension). Bomhard—Kerns 1994:535, no. 390.

735. Proto-Nostratic root **ħaʒ-* (~ **ħəʒ-*):
(vb.) **ħaʒ-* ‘to cut into, to carve, to notch’;
(n.) **ħaʒ-a* ‘that which is cut: incision, notch, nick; that which cuts: saw, chisel, axe, hatchet’

A. Afrasian: Proto-Semitic **ħaʒ-aʒ-* ‘to cut into, to carve, to notch’ > Arabic *ḥazza* ‘to cut, to make incisions, to carve, to notch’, *ḥazz* ‘incision, notch; the right time, the nick of time’, *ḥazza* ‘incision, notch, nick; time; the right time, the nick of time; predicament, plight’, *maḥazz* ‘notch, nick’. Murtonen (1989:177) compares Arabic *ḥazza* ‘to cut, to make incisions, to carve, to notch’ with Hebrew *ḥəzīz* [חֲזִיז] ‘thunderbolt, lightning flash’. [Ehret 1995:376, no. 762, **ḥaaz-* ‘to cut into’ — Ehret compares Arabic *ḥazza* ‘to cut, to make incisions, to carve, to notch’ with Egyptian *ḥsq* ‘to cut off (head); to cut out (heart)’ and *ḥsqt* ‘chopper’. However, the Egyptian forms are better compared with Arabic *ḥasama* ‘to cut, to sever, to cut off’, Sabaean *ḥsm* ‘to cut, to hack to pieces (in battle)’, etc.]

B. Dravidian: Gondi *accānā* ‘to be cut (of one’s foot on a stump, or one’s hand with a penknife), to cut off (hand, foot, etc.)’, *acc-* ‘to split, to saw’, *askānā* ‘to cut up, to divide meat’, *ask-* ‘to cut meat, to carve’; Malto *asye* ‘to chisel’. (?) Kannaḍa *haccu*, *heccu* ‘to cut in pieces’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:6, no. 46.

Sumerian *ha-zi*, *ha-zi-in*, ^{URUD}*ha-zí-in* ‘axe, hatchet’.

Buck 1949:9.22 cut (vb.); 9.25 ax; 9.27 split (vb. tr.).

736. Proto-Nostratic root **ħin-* (~ **ħen-*):
Extended form:
(vb.) **ħin-V-k^{h}-* ‘to reach, to come to, to arrive at, to gain; to offer, to present’;
(n.) **ħin-k^{h}-a* ‘gain, mastery, experience; offering, present’

A. Proto-Afrasian **ħinVk-* ‘to reach, to come to, to arrive at, to gain; to offer, to present’: Proto-Semitic **ħanak-* ‘to come to, to arrive at, to become experienced’ > Hebrew *ḥānaχ* [חָנַךְ] ‘to train, to teach, to educate’; Arabic *ḥanaka* ‘to make experienced, worldly-wise, sophisticated’, *ḥunk*, *ḥink*, *ḥunka* ‘worldly experience, sophistication’; Geez / Ethiopic *ḥanaka* [ሐነከ] ‘to understand, to comprehend, to perceive’. Murtonen 1989:189; Klein 1987:224; Leslau 1987:237; Zammit 2002:150. Egyptian *ḥnk* ‘to make an offering, to offer, to present, to be burdened’, *ḥnk*, *ḥnkt* ‘offerings’; Coptic *hōnk* [ϩⲱⲛϧ] ‘to consecrate, to appoint’. Hannig 1995:541—542; Faulkner 1962:173; Gardiner 1957:582; Erman—Grapow 1921:112 and 1926—1963.3:117—118; Vycichl 1983:305; Černý 1976:288. (?) Proto-Southern Cushitic **ħink-* ‘to push away’ > Ma’a *-hínka* ‘to push’; Dahalo *ḥinkið-* ‘to wipe oneself’. Ehret 1980:302. Ehret 1995:372, no. 751, **ḥink-*/**ḥank-* ‘to carry (to or from)’ (Cushitic **ḥink-* ‘to remove, to take away’).
B. Proto-Elamo-Dravidian **Hinc-* (< **Hink-*) ‘to receive’: Royal Achaemenid Elamite *un-sa-* ‘to receive, to exchange’; Neo-Elamite *hu-un-sa-* ‘to allocate, to distribute’. McAlpin 1981:95 (McAlpin reconstructs Proto-Elamo-Dravidian **inc-* and Proto-Kuṛux-Malto **iñj-r-*). Dravidian: Kuṛux *iṅjrnā* ‘to receive, to accept, to get’; Malto *injre* ‘to receive, to take in hand’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:41, no 431.
C. Proto-Indo-European **ḫ̯ink^{h}-* [**ḫ̯enk^{h}-]/**ḫ̯ṇk^{h}-* ‘to reach, to come to, to arrive at; to offer, to present’: Hittite (3rd sg. pres.) *ḫi-in-ik-zi* ‘to present, to deliver, to offer, to allot’; Sanskrit *aśnóti* ‘to reach, to come to, to arrive at, to get, to obtain; to master, to become master of; to offer’; Latin *nancior* ‘to get, to obtain’, *nanciscor* ‘to get, to gain, to receive, to meet’; Tocharian A *ents-*, B *enk-* ‘to seize, to take’, B *enkalñe* ‘grasping or clinging to existence; assumption, taking to oneself’, B *enkäl* ‘feeling, passion’. Rix 1998a:252—253 **h$_{2}$neḱ-* ‘to reach, to attain, to obtain, to

achieve, to gain, to succeed in getting'; Pokorny 1959:316—318 **enek̂-*, **nek̂-*, **enk̂-*, **n̥k̂-* 'to reach'; Walde 1927—1932.I:128—129 **enek̂-*, **nek̂-*, **enk̂-*, **n̥k̂-* 'to reach'; Mann 1984—1987:834 **nek̂s-* (**nek̂-*, **nek̂st-*) 'approaching, near'; Watkins 1985:44 **nek-* 'to reach, to gain' (variant **enk-*) and 2000:57 **nek-* 'to reach, to attain' (oldest form **h₂nek̂-*); Mallory—Adams 1997:35 **h₁enek̂-* 'to attain'; Puhvel 1984— .3:289—292 **E₂énk̂-*, **E₂n-ék̂-* 'to reach, to attain'; Kloekhorst 2008b:268—271; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.I:60 **eneḱ-*, **n̥ḱ-* (> Sanskrit *aś-*); De Vaan 2008:399—400; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.II:141—142 **en(e)k̂-*, **nek̂-*, **n̥k̂-*; Ernout—Meillet 1979:428—429 **nek'-*; Adams 1999:77—78 **h₁nek-* ~ **h₁enk-* (zero-grade **h₁n̥k-*) '±to reach, to achieve, to take' (> Proto-Tocharian **enk-*); Van Windekens 1976—1982.I:179—180 **enek̂-*.

Buck 1949:11.16 get, obtain; 17.24 learn; 17.25 teach. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:549—550, no. 407.

737. Proto-Nostratic root **ħiw-* (~ **ħew-*), **ħiy-* (~ **ħey-*):
(vb.) **ħiw-*, **ħiy-* 'to lack, to stand in need, to be in want';
(n.) **ħiw-a*, **ħiy-a* 'need, want, lack, deficiency'

A. Proto-Afrasian **ħiw-*, **ħiy-* 'to lack, to stand in need, to be in want': Proto-Semitic **ħaw-ag-* 'to lack, to stand in need, to be in want' > Arabic *ʾaḥwaǧa* 'to have need, to stand in need, to be in want', *ḥawǧ* 'need, want, lack, deficiency, destitution'; Ḥarsūsi *ḥātōg* (base *ḥwg*) 'to need'; Śḥeri / Jibbāli *ḥótég* (base *ḥwg*) 'to need'; Mehri *ḥātūg* (base *ḥwg*) 'to need'. Zammit 2002:151. Egyptian *ḥwr* 'to be poor, miserable, weak', *ḥwrw* 'beggar, poor man; destitute'. Hannig 1995:519; Faulkner 1962:166; Erman—Grapow 1921:106 and 1926—1963.3:55—56. East Cushitic: Konso *hiyy-essa* 'poor'; Galla / Oromo *hiyy-eesa* 'poor'; Gidole *hiyy-ayt* 'poor'; Dullay *ḥiyy-akko* 'poor'; Burji (m.) *hiyy-áyši*, (f.) *hiyy-áyttee* 'poor', *hiyyoom-ad-*, *hiyyuum-ad-* 'to be poor'; Gedeo / Darasa *hiyy-eessa* 'orphan; poor', *hiyyette* 'widow', *hiyyoom-* 'to starve', *hiyyoom-at-* 'to be poor', *hiyyo*, *hiyyumma* 'poverty'; Sidamo *hiyy-eessa* (pl. *hiyy-eeyye*) 'poor'; Kambata *hiyyessa*, *hiyyeesa* 'orphan'. Sasse 1982:98 (Sasse notes that most, if not all, of the East Cushitic forms he cites are probably loans from Galla / Oromo); Hudson 1989:108, 115, and 412 Proto-Highland East Cushitic **hiyy-eessa* 'orphan; poor (one)'. Proto-Southern Cushitic **ħeeʕ-* or **ħeeʔ-* (or **heeʕ-* or **heeʔ-*) 'weak, feeble, poor, deficient' > Asa *-haʾeta* 'cheap, easy'; Ma'a *hína* 'left (hand)'. Ehret 1980:308.

B. Dravidian: Tamil *ey* 'to grow weary, to fail in strength, to flag (as from want of food); to exert oneself', *eyppu* 'weariness, languor, time of adversity'; Malayalam *eccu* 'exhausted, fatigued'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:79, no. 807.

C. Proto-Indo-European **ḫ͡ḫiw-* [**ḫ͡ḫew-*]/**ḫ͡ḫu-*, **ḫ͡ḫw-eA-* [**ḫ͡ḫw-aA-*] (> **Hw-ā-*), **ḫ͡ḫu-A-* (> **Hū-*) ‘to lack, to stand in need, to be in want’: Sanskrit *ūná-ḥ* ‘wanting, deficient, defective’; Pāḷi *ūna-* ‘wanting, deficient’; Avestan *ǔna-* ‘defective, wanting’, *ū-* ‘to be wanting, deficient’; Armenian *unaim* ‘empty’; Greek εὖνις ‘reft of, bereaved of’; Latin *vacō* ‘to be empty, void, vacant’, *vānus* ‘empty, void, vacant’, *vāstus* ‘empty, unoccupied, desolate; waste, desert’; Old Irish *fás* ‘empty’; Gothic *wan* ‘want, lack’, *wans* ‘lacking, deficient’, *wanains* ‘lack’; Old Icelandic *vanr* ‘lacking, wanting’, *vana* ‘to diminish’, *vanta* ‘to want, to lack’; Old English *wan* ‘wanting, deficient’, *wana* ‘want, deficiency’, *wanian* ‘to diminish’, *wēste* ‘waste; uninhabited’; Old Frisian *wonia* ‘to diminish’, *wan* ‘lacking’, *wost(e)* ‘waste’; Old Saxon *wanon* ‘to diminish’, *wan* ‘lacking’, *wōsti* ‘waste’; Dutch *wan* ‘shrinkage’; Old High German *wuosti* ‘waste’ (New High German *wüst*; (n.) *Wüste* ‘desert, wilderness, waste’), *wanōn*, *wanēn* ‘to diminish, to wane’, *wan* ‘lacking’. Rix 1998a:604 **u̯eh₂-* ‘to dwindle away, to waste away’; Pokorny 1959:345—346 **eu-*, **eu̯ə-*: **u̯ā-*, **u̯ə-* ‘to lack; empty’; Walde 1927—1932.I:108—109 **eu-*, **eu̯ə-*; Mann 1984—1987:355 **eunos*, *-is* (**ūn-*) ‘lacking, barren, empty’, 1487 **u̯aǩ-*, **u̯aǩu̯os* (**u̯aǩikos*) ‘empty, void; space’, 1491 **u̯andh-* (also **u̯anmn-* ?) ‘weak, faint, faint-hearted, uneasy, cramped’, 1490—1491 **u̯ăn-* ‘to stay, to dally, to linger, to limp’, 1493 **u̯ăr-* ‘limp, weak, meek’, 1485 **u̯āstos*, *-is* ‘empty; space’; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.II:781 **u̯āst[ʰ]o-* and 1995.I:684 **wāstʰo-* ‘empty, devastated’; Watkins 1985:18 **eu-* ‘lacking, empty’ (extended forms **euə-*, **wā-*, **wə-*) and 2000:25 **euə-* ‘to leave, to abandon, to give out’, whence nominal derivatives meaning ‘abandoned, lacking, empty’ (oldest form **e̯₁eue̯₂-*, with zero-grade form **e̯₁we̯₂-*, becoming **ū-*; variant [metathesized] full-grade form **e̯₁wee̯₂-*, colored to **e̯₁wae̯₂-*, contracted to **e̯₁wā-*); Mallory—Adams 1997:179 **h₁eu(hₐ)-* ‘empty, wanting’, **u̯ak-* ‘to be empty’, **u̯(e)hₐstos* ‘empty’; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.I:115; Frisk 1970—1973.I:589; Boisacq 1950:296 **eu̯ā-*, **eu̯ə-*; Hofmann 1966:99 **eu̯(ā)-*; Beekes 2010.I:481—482; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:386; Ernout—Meillet 1979:710, 713, and 714—715 **wās-*; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.II:723, II:731—732 **(e)u̯ăn-*, and II:737; De Vaan 2008:649—650; Orël 2003:446 Proto-Germanic **wanan*, 446 **wanaz*, 470 **wōstaz*; Kroonen 2013:572—573 Proto-Germanic **wana-* ‘lacking, missing, void’ and 593 **wōstu-* ‘desert, waste’; Feist 1939:550 **(e)u̯ăn-*; Lehmann 1986:394 **ew-H-*, **wā-*, **wə-* ‘empty, lacking’; De Vries 1977:643 and 644; Onions 1966:991 **wă̄-* and 994; Klein 1971:820 and 822; Skeat 1898:695; Weekley 1921:1612; Hoad 1986:532—533 and 534; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:870 Pre-Germanic (adj.) **wāstu-*; Kluge—Seebold 1989:801; Walshe 1951:254; Vercoullie 1898: 218.

Buck 1949:5.14 hunger; 9.93 need, necessity; 13.22 empty. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:550—551, no. 409.

738. Proto-Nostratic (Eurasiatic only) (n.) *$ħok^h$-*a* ‘sharp point’:

A. Proto-Indo-European *$\underset{\smile}{ħ}ok^h$- (secondary *e*-grade form: *$\underset{\smile}{ħ}ek^h$- [*$\underset{\smile}{ħ}ak^h$-]) ‘sharp point’: Sanskrit *áśri-ḥ* ‘corner, angle, edge’, *aśrá-ḥ* ‘corner’; Pāḷi *assa-* ‘corner, point’; Punjabi (f.) *assī* ‘sharp edge of anything’; Oriya *ãsiā* ‘having angles’; Sindhi *āsi-pāsi* ‘on all sides’; Sinhalese *äs*, *ähä* ‘corner, angle’, *asa* ‘side’, *ahak* ‘aside’; Greek ἄκαινα ‘a thorn, goad’, ἄκρος ‘highest, topmost’, ἀκή ‘a point’, ἀκίς ‘point, barb’, ἀκμή ‘point, edge’, ἄκρις ‘a hill-top’, ἀκτή ‘a headland, foreland, promontory, shore’, ἄκρον ‘peak, highest point’, ὀξύς ‘sharp, keen, quick, clever’, ὄκρις ‘jagged point’; Latin *ācer* ‘sharp, cutting’, *acus* ‘needle’, *acuō* ‘to sharpen to a point’, *acūmen* ‘the sharp point of anything, sharpness of understanding’, *acutus* ‘sharpened, pointed’, *aciēs* ‘keenness, edge’; Oscan (abl. sg.) *akrid* ‘sharply, keenly’ (= Latin *acriter*); Old Icelandic *eggja* ‘to provoke, to incite, to egg on’, *egg* ‘edge’; Swedish *egg*, *ägg* ‘edge’; Old English *ecg* ‘edge; weapon, sword’; Old Frisian *egg* ‘edge’; Old Saxon *eggia* ‘edge’; Dutch *egge* ‘corner, edge, angle’; Middle High German *ekka* ‘corner, edge, angle’ (New High German *Ecke*); Old Church Slavic *ostrъ* ‘sharp’; Lithuanian *ãkstinas* ‘thorn, prick’, *akėčios* ‘harrow’; Armenian *aseł*n ‘needle’. Pokorny 1959:18—22 **aḱ*-, *o*ḱ*- ‘sharp’; Walde 1927—1932.I:28—33 *a*ḱ*-; Mann 1984—1987:8 *akəlos*, *akilos*, *aklos* ‘point, spike, sting’, 9 *akōtos* ‘barb, spike’, 9 *akris*, *-os* ‘sharp, point’, 10 *akus* ‘point’, 10 *a*ḱ*ā* ‘keenness, sharpness’, 10 *a*ḱ*ĕi̯ō* ‘to sharpen, to be sharp’, 10 *a*ḱ*əkā*; *a*ḱ*ōkā*, *-i̯ə* ‘thorn, spike’, 10 *a*ḱ*ənos*, *-ā*, *-is*, *-i̯ə* ‘spike, awn’, 10 *a*ḱ*i̯i̯-* ‘point, tip’, *a*ḱ*ilos*; *a*ḱ*əlos*, *-ā*, *-us* ‘point, barb; whetstone’, 10 *a*ḱ*is*, *a*ḱ*i-* ‘point, tip’, 10 *a*ḱ*mā*, *-is*, *-os* ‘point, pimple’, 10 *a*ḱ*nis*, *-os*, *-ā* ‘tip, point, awn’, 11 *a*ḱ*os*, *-es-* ‘barb, tip, point, spot’, 11 *a*ḱ*ris*, *-os* ‘keen, swift’, 11 *a*ḱ*ōtos* ‘barb, prickle’, 11 *a*ḱ*ris*, *-os* ‘point, tip, edge; pointed, sharp’, 12 *āḱsos* ‘keen, sharp, clear; keenness, etc.’, 12 *a*ḱ*stin-*, *akstin-* ‘point, prickle, dart, spike, pike, spit’, 12 *a*ḱ*tis* ‘point, prickle, shaft’, 12—13 *a*ḱ*tros*; *a*ḱ*stros*, *-ā* ‘sharp; sharpness, point’, 13 *a*ḱ*ulos*, *-i̯os*, *-ā* ‘barb, awl’, 13 *ăḱus* ‘sharp; point’, 13 *a*ḱ*utos* ‘barb, spike, bristle’, 870 *okris* (?) ‘a pointed implement’, 870 *oks-* ‘sharp, rough, bitter, harsh’, 870—871 *o*ḱ*ris* (*okris) ‘peak, spur, point’, 871 *ōḱus*, *-os* ‘sharp, keen, swift’; Watkins 1985:1 *ak-* and 2000:2 *ak-* ‘sharp’ (oldest form *h_2eḱ-, colored to *h_2aḱ-); Mallory—Adams 1997:509 *h_2eḱ- ‘sharp, pointed’; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.I:61; Boisacq 1950:32—33 *a*ḱ*-, *aq-*, *oq-* (*o*-grade of *a*ḱ*-), 39 *a*ḱ*-, *aq-*, and 695 *oq-*; Frisk 1970—1973.I:49, I:52, I:53—54, I:59, I:59—60 *a*ḱ*-, I:61, and II:374 *a*ḱ*-; Hofmann 1966:9 *a*ḱ*-, 9—10 *a*ḱ*-, 11 *a*ḱ*-, 229 *oq-* (*o*-grade of *a*ḱ*-), and 235; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:43—45 *ak-* (*h_2ek-), II:790, and

II:806—807; Beekes 1969:128 *$ħ_2e\hat{k}$-/*$ħ_2o\hat{k}$- and 2010.I:47, I:50—51, I:52 *$h_2e\acute{k}$-, II:1066 *$h_2o\acute{k}$-*ri*-, and II:1089 (Greek ὀξύς ‘sharp, keen, quick, clever’ without correspondences outside Greek); De Vaan 2008:22 and 23; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:7 *$a\hat{k}$-, *oq- and I:8; Ernout—Meillet 1979:5—6 *ak-; Kroonen 2013:4 Proto-Germanic *$agjō$- ‘edge, blade’; Orël 2003:3—4 Proto-Germanic *$aǥjō$; De Vries 1977:94 *$a\hat{k}$-, *$o\hat{k}$-; Onions 1966:301 *ak-; Klein 1971:238 *$a\hat{k}$-; Boutkan—Siebinga 2005:84; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:151 *$a\hat{k}$-; Kluge—Seebold 1989:164 *$a\acute{k}$-/*$o\acute{k}$-; Derksen 2008:379 *$h_2e\acute{k}$-*ro*-, 380 *$h_2e\acute{k}$-, and 2015:48; Smoczyński 2007.1:8 *$h_2\acute{e}\acute{k}$-*ti*-; Fraenkel 1962—1965.I:5—6; Wodtko—Irslinger—Schneider 2008:287—300 *$h_2e\hat{k}$-. Note: Some of the Indo-European forms cited here may belong under Proto-Nostratic *$ħak^h$- (~ *$ħək^h$-) ‘to be mentally sharp, keen’ instead.

B. Uralic: Fennic / Balto-Finnic: Finnish *oka* ‘thorn, prickle, spine’; Estonian *okas* ‘thorn, prickle; needle; awn, beard; spine’. Proto-Finno-Permian **oksa* ‘branch, twig’ > Finnish *oksa* ‘branch, twig’; Estonian *oks* ‘branch, twig’; Lapp / Saami *oak'se* ‘branch, twig’; Cheremis / Mari (Birsk) *ukš*, (Malmyž) *uks* ‘branch, twig’; (?) Votyak / Udmurt (Sarapul) *usi̯*, (Kazan) *usə̑* ‘harrow’. Rédei 1986—1988:716 **oksa*; Sammallahti 1988:552 **oksa* ‘twig’; Aikio 2020:70 **oksa* ‘branch’.

C. Proto-Altaic *$ŏk^ha$ ‘sharp point, notch’: Proto-Tungus **ok*- ‘arrow with a wooden head; fish fin; fishing hook’ > Evenki *oki-kta* ‘fish fin’; Manchu *oki yōro* ‘a large wooden arrowhead’; Orok *ōqo* ‘fishing hook’; Udihe *oᶜ* ‘fish gear’. Proto-Mongolian **oki* ‘top, tip, edge’ > Written Mongolian *oki* ‘top, ornament on top of an object; symbol; superior, first’; Khalkha *oǵ* ‘top, tip, edge’. Proto-Turkic **ok* ‘arrow’ > Old Turkic (Orkhon, Old Uighur) *oq* ‘arrow’; Karakhanide Turkic *oq* ‘arrow’; Turkish *ok* ‘arrow’; Gagauz *oq* ‘arrow’; Azerbaijani *oχ* ‘arrow’; Turkmenian *oq* ‘arrow’; Uzbek *o̧q* ‘arrow’; Uighur *oq* ‘arrow’; Karaim *oq* ‘arrow’; Tatar *uq* ‘arrow’; Bashkir *uq* ‘arrow’; Kirghiz *oq* ‘arrow’; Kazakh *oq* ‘arrow’; Noghay *oq* ‘arrow’; Sary-Uighur *oq* ‘arrow’; Oyrot (Mountain Altai) *oq* ‘arrow’; Tuva *o'q* ‘arrow’; Chuvash *oγъ* ‘arrow’; Yakut *oχ* ‘arrow’. Poppe 1960:55, 98, and 134; Street 1974:21 **okï* ‘tip, top, highest; arrow’; Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:1046 **ŏk‘a* ‘sharp point, notch’.

Buck 1949:8.55 branch; 12.352 point; 12.353 edge; 15.78 sharp. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:540—542, no. 398; Illič-Svityč 1971—1984.I:251—252, no. 113, **Hoḳi* ‘point, spike’; Greenberg 2002:18, no 18, **ok* ‘arrow, point’; Hakola 2000:122, no. 527.

739. Proto-Nostratic root *$ħok'$-:
(vb.) *$ħok'$- ‘to scrape, to scratch’;
(n.) *$ħok'$-*a* ‘scraping, scratching’

A. Proto-Afrasian *ħok'- ‘to scratch’: Proto-East Cushitic *ħok'-/*ħek'- ‘to scratch’ > Burji (reduplicated) *hok'ook'-* ‘to scratch oneself’, (causative) *hok'oo-s-k'-* ‘to scratch’, *hok'ór-o* ‘rash’; Saho *ħokuk-* ‘to scratch’; Somali *ħoq-*, *ħaqħaq-* ‘to scratch’; Rendille *ox-* ‘to scratch’; Boni *hoʔ-* ‘to scratch’; Galla / Oromo *hook'-* ‘to scratch’; Gidole *hek'-* ‘to scratch’; Arbore *hek-* ‘to scratch’; Gedeo / Darasa *hok'ook'-* ‘to scratch’. Sasse 1979:48, 50 and 1982:99—100; Hudson 1989:129. [Orël—Stolbova 1995: 282, no. 1278, *ḥok-* ‘to scratch’.]
B. Dravidian: Malayalam *okkuka* ‘to indent’; Kannaḍa *okkï* ‘to scratch (as fowls)’, *okku* ‘to dig’; Koraga *ogi* ‘to cut’; Gondi *uhcānā* ‘to scratch’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:90, no. 926.
C. Proto-Kartvelian **xok'-* ‘to scrape, to scratch’: Georgian *xok'-* ‘to scrape, to scratch’; Mingrelian *xok'-* ‘to shave, to scrape’, *ma-xok'-al-* ‘razor’. Klimov 1998:330 **xoḳ-* ‘to scrape’; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:553—554 **xoḳ-*; Fähnrich 2007:688 **xoḳ-*.

Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 2573, **χeḳV* ‘to scratch, to scrape’.

740. Proto-Nostratic root **ħon-*:
(vb.) **ħon-* ‘to swell, to grow, to rise’;
(n.) **ħon-a* ‘height, elevation, swelling’

A. Proto-Afrasian **ħon-* ‘to swell, to grow, to rise’: Egyptian (f.) (often dual) *ḥnwt* ‘horn(s)’, *ḥnn* ‘phallus’, *ḥnn*, *ḥnḥn* ‘to swell’, *ḥnḥnt* ‘swelling, ulcer, sore’ (medical term). Hannig 1995:538, 540, and 541; Faulkner 1962:172; Gardiner 1957:581; Erman—Grapow 1921:111 and 1926—1963.3:109—110, 3:115, 3:116. Southern Cushitic: Dahalo *ḥòn̲tò* ‘crown of the head’. Ehret 1995:302. Ehret 1995:372, no. 752, **ḥon-* ‘to stick up, to project, to protrude’. [Orël—Stolbova 1995:273, no. 1233, **ḥan-* ‘tumor’, 279, no. 1262, **ḥenin-* ‘penis, testicles’, 281, no. 1271, **ḥin-* ‘to grow’.]
B. Dravidian: Tamil *ōṅku* (*ōṅki-*) ‘to grow, to rise high (as a tree), to ascend (as a flame), to be lofty, to spread, to be exalted, to be dignified, to increase in wealth or renown; to lift up, to raise (as arm, weapon, pestle)’, *ōṅkal* ‘height, rising, mountain, mound’, *ōkku* (*ōkki-*) ‘to raise, to lift up, to cause to rise’, *ōkkam* ‘height, increase, bigness’, *ōccam* ‘eminence’, *ōccal* ‘height, elevation’, *ōccu* (*ōcci-*) ‘to raise in order to strike’, *ōppu* (*ōppi-*) ‘to raise’; Malayalam *ōṅṅuka* ‘to lift up (as hand), to prepare to strike, to aim at’, *ōṅṅal* ‘threat’, *ōccuka* ‘to raise’, *ōppuka* ‘to raise, to lift’; Kota *o·k-* (*o·yk-*) ‘to raise (hand to strike, corpse on to the fire)’; Kannaḍa *ōga* ‘pride’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:99, no. 1033.
C. Proto-Altaic **ōni-* ‘(vb.) to grow, to rise; (adj.) high’: Proto-Mongolian **öndü-* ‘(vb.) to rise; (adj.) high’ > Written Mongolian *öndüyi-* ‘to raise one’s head, to raise oneself, to rise slightly’, *öndür* ‘(adj.) high, tall; (n.) height’, *öndürlig* ‘(adj.) high, tall; (n.) elevation’, *öndürǯi-* ‘to go up, to

rise', (causative) *öndüržigül-* 'to raise, to lift up, to enhance', *öndürid-* 'to be or become too high', *öndüridke-* 'to make high, to elevate', *öndürle-* 'to put high, to raise, to elevate'; Khalkha *öndör* 'high', *öndiy-* 'to rise'; Buriat *ünder* 'high', *ündï-* 'to rise'; Kalmyk *öndṛ* 'high', *öndē-* 'to rise'; Ordos *ündür* 'high', *öndī-* 'to rise'; Dagur *χundur*, *hundere* 'high', *undī-* 'to rise'; Shira-Yughur *uŋdur*, *oŋdur* 'high', *oŋdö-* 'to rise'; Monguor *ndur*, *undur* 'high'. Poppe 1955:50 and 56. Proto-Turkic **ōn-* 'to grow, to rise' > Old Turkic (Old Uighur) *ön-* (*ün-*) 'to grow, to rise'; Karakhanide Turkic *ön-* (*ün-*) 'to grow, to rise'; Turkmenian *ōn-* 'to grow, to rise'; Khalay *hin-* 'to grow, to rise'; Uzbek *un-* 'to grow, to rise'; Uighur *ün-* 'to grow, to rise'; Kirghiz *ön-* 'to grow, to rise'; Kazakh *ön-* 'to grow, to rise'; Sary-Uighur *ün-* 'to grow, to rise'; Tuva *ün-* 'to grow, to rise'; Chuvash *ъ^{w}n-* 'to grow, to rise'; Yakut *ūn-* 'to grow, to rise'. Poppe 1960:69 and 126; Street 1976:22 **ön-* 'to rise, to increase'; Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:1053 **ōni* 'high'.

Buck 1949:10.21 rise (vb.); 10.22 raise, lift; 12.31 high.

741. Proto-Nostratic root **ħul-* (~ **ħol-*):
(vb.) **ħul-* 'to destroy, to lay waste, to cause to perish';
(n.) **ħul-a* 'ruin, destruction; end, death'

A. Dravidian: Tamil *ula* 'to become diminished, to be wasted, to be devoid of, to die, to terminate', *ulakkai* 'end, ruin, death', *ulappu* 'wasting, perishing, defect, death, limit', *ulai* 'to perish, to be ruined, to ruin', *ulaivu* 'ruin, destruction, defeat, trouble, poverty'; Malayalam *ulakkuka* 'to shrink up', *ulayuka* 'to be impoverished, ruined', *ulaccal*, *ulavu* 'ruin'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:66, no. 671.

B. Proto-Indo-European **ħ̯ħ̯ul-* (> **ħ̯ħ̯ol-*) 'to smite, to destroy': Hittite (3rd sg. pres.) *ḫu-ul-la-a-i* 'to smite, to destroy', (ptc.) *ḫu-ul-ḫu-li-ya-an-te-eš* 'smitten', *ḫu-ul-la-an-za-iš* 'battle'; Greek ὄλλῡμι 'to destroy, to make an end of', ὄλεθρος 'ruin, destruction, death'; Latin *ab-oleō* 'to destroy'. Rix 1998a:264 **h_3elh_1-* 'to perish, to be ruined or destroyed'; Pokorny 1959:777 **ol-(e)-* 'to destroy'; Mann 1984—1987:871—872 **ol-*, **olu-* 'to destroy'; Watkins 1985:46 **ol-* and 2000:60 **olə-* 'to destroy' (oldest form **$ḷ_3el ḷ_1$-*, colored to **$ḷ_3ol ḷ_1$-*; with variant [metathesized] form **$ḷ_3le ḷ_1$-*, contracted to **$ḷ_3lē$-*); Mallory—Adams 1997:158 **h_3elh_1-* 'to rend, to destroy'; Couvreur 1937:143—144; Tischler 1977— :273—276; Cowgill 1965:146—147 **Oḷ-ne-O-mi*; Boisacq 1950:696; Hofmann 1966:230; Beekes 1969:131 **$ħ_3elħ_1$-*, 236, and 2010.II:1069—1070 **h_3elh_1-*; Frisk 1970—1973.II:378—379; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:792—793; Ernout—Meillet 1979:3—4; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:4—5; De Vaan 2008: 21. Puhvel (1984— .3:363—368), however, rejects this etymology. See also Kloekhorst 2008b:358—360.

Sumerian *hul* ‘to destroy’.

Buck 1949:9.21 strike (hit, beat); 11.27 destroy. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:552—553, no. 412.

742. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **ħur-a* (and/or **ħer-a* ?) ‘hawk-like bird: falcon, hawk, eagle, kite’:

A. Afrasian: Egyptian *Ḥr*, *Ḥrw* ‘the god Horus (one of the two brother hawk-gods)’; Coptic *hōr* [**ϩωρ**] ‘the god Horus’. Hannig 1995:543—544; Erman—Grapow 1921:112 and 1926—1963.3:122—124; Faulkner 1962: 173; Gardiner 1957:582; Vycichl 1983:307—308; Černý 1976:291.

B. Dravidian: Tamil *eruvai* ‘a kind of kite whose head is white and whose body is brown, eagle’; Malayalam *eruva* ‘eagle, kite’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:80, no. 818.

C. Proto-Indo-European **ḫ͡hor-*/**ḫ͡hr̥-* ‘eagle’: Hittite *ḫara(n)-* (< **ḫ͡hr̥-n-*) (nom. sg. *ḫa-a-ra-aš*, gen. sg. *ḫa-ra-na-aš*) ‘eagle’, (?) *ḫarrani-* or *ḫurrani-* name of an ornithomatic bird; Palaic *ḫa-ra-a-aš* ‘eagle’; Greek ὄρνις ‘bird’; Armenian *oror* ‘kite, gull’; Welsh *eryr* ‘eagle’; Gothic *ara* ‘eagle’; Old Icelandic (poet.) *ari*, *örn* (< **arnu-*) (gen. sg. *arnar*, acc. *örnu*, pl. *ernir*) ‘eagle’; Old English *earn* ‘eagle’ (Middle English *ern(e)*, *earn*); Old High German *aro*, *arn* ‘eagle’ (New High German [poetic] *Aar*); Lithuanian *erẽlis* (dial. *arẽlis*) ‘eagle’; Latvian *èrglis* ‘eagle’; Old Prussian *arelie* ‘eagle’; Old Church Slavic *orьlъ* ‘eagle’; Russian *orël* [орёл] ‘eagle’; Czech *orel* ‘eagle’; Polish *orzeł* ‘eagle’; Upper Sorbian *worjoł* ‘eagle’; Lower Sorbian *jerjoł*, *jerjeł* ‘eagle’; Bulgarian *orél* ‘eagle’; Serbo-Croatian *órao* ‘eagle’. Pokorny 1959:325—326 **er-*, **or-* ‘eagle’; Walde 1927—1932.I:135 **er-*, **or-* ‘eagle’; Mann 1984—1987:889—890 **ornis* (**ornu̯is* ?) ‘petulant, dashing; dasher, flier’, 890—891 **oros*, *-i̯os* (**ʔoros*) ‘eagle, hawk’; Watkins 1985:46 **or-* and 2000:60 **or-* ‘large bird’ (earliest form **h̥₃er-*, colored to **h̥₃or-*); Mallory—Adams 1997:173 **H₃or-* ‘eagle’; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.I:158 **H₃or-* and 1995.I:136 *H₃or-* ‘eagle’ (also I:455, I:765 **Her-*, *o*-grade **Hor-*); Sturtevant 1951:31, §58, Indo-Hittite **γorn-*; Kloekhorst 2008b:301—302; Puhvel 1984— .3:137—139 Hittite *ḫāraniš* < **H₁órones* and 3:139; Tischler 1977— :170—171; Boisacq 1950:714; Frisk 1970—1973.II:421—422 **or-(elo-)n-*; Hofmann 1966:238 **er-*; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:822—823; Beekes 1969:130 and 2010.II:1106 **h₃er-n-*; Orël 2003:25 Proto-Germanic **arōn*; Kroonen 2013:32 Proto-Germanic **aran-* ‘eagle’; Feist 1939:54—55; Lehmann 1986:40; De Vries 1977:13 and 688; Onions 1966:324; Klein 1971:256; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:1; Kluge—Seebold 1989:1; Fraenkel 1962—1965.I:122; Derksen 2008:376—377 **h₃er-il-o-* and 2015:155 **h₃er-*; Smoczyński 2007.1:147. Pokorny (1959:325—326) reconstructs Proto-Indo-European **er-* on the basis of Lithuanian *erẽlis*,

but Cowgill (1965:146, fn. 2) questions the validity of this reconstruction since he takes Lithuanian *erẽlis* to be assimilated from the dialectal form *arẽlis*. Cowgill points out that the relative antiquity of the Lithuanian dialectal form is confirmed by Old Prussian *arelie*. Finally, he points out that Latvian *èrglis* has undergone even more remodeling.

Sumerian *hu-rí-in* ‘eagle’.

Buck 1949:3.64 bird. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:548, no. 406; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 741, **ɣerʔV* ‘eagle’.

743. Proto-Nostratic root **ħur-* (~ **ħor-*):
(vb.) **ħur-* ‘to pound, to grind, to crush, to waste away or wear down by rubbing’;
(n.) **ħur-a* ‘pestle, mortar’

A. Proto-Afrasian **ħur-* ‘to pound, to grind, to crush’: East Cushitic: Burji *hurd-* ‘to pound (in a mortar)’; East Galla / East Oromo *hurr-aaw-* ‘to become fine, powdery’. Hudson 1989:200; Sasse 1982:102.
B. Dravidian: Tamil *ural* ‘mortar, mould for making vermicelli or the like’; Malayalam *ural* ‘wooden mortar for beating rice’; Koḍagu *ora* ‘mortar of stone or wood’; Tuḷu *oralu̯*, *uralu̯*, *uraḷu̯* ‘a large mortar’; Telugu *rōlu*, *r̲ōlu* ‘mortar’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:62—63, no. 651. Tamil *urai* (*-v-*, *-nt-*) ‘to be reduced into a powder or paste, to wear away by attrition, to be indented or effaced by rubbing’, *urai* (*-pp-*, *-tt-*) ‘to rub into a paste, to wear away by rubbing, to grate, to test on the touchstone, to smear, to polish’, (n.) *urai* ‘rubbing, friction, attrition; fineness of gold or silver as tested on the touchstone’, *urai-kal* ‘touchstone, small stone for rubbing pills into powder’, *uraical* ‘friction’, *uraicu* (*uraici-*) ‘to rub against (intr.), to chafe, to wear away by use; to rub hard (tr.), to scour, to waste away by rubbing’, *uraiñcu* (*uraiñci-*) ‘to rub (tr.)’, *uraippu* ‘rubbing, assaying’, *uracu* (*uraici-*) ‘to rub against’, *uriñcu* (*uriñci-*) ‘to rub oneself, to rub against; to wear away by rubbing (tr.), to grind away, to scrape, to smear, to anoint’, *uriñu* (*uriñi-*) ‘to rub (intr.)’, *uriñcal* ‘rubbing, chafing’, *urāy*, *urāyñcu* (*urāyñci-*) ‘to rub (intr., as an animal against a tree, as two branches together)’, *urōcu*, *urōñcu* (*urōñci-*) ‘to rub (intr.)’; Malayalam *urasuka* ‘to rub, to come into contact, to contend, to form into a pill’, *urasal* ‘friction, contest’, *ura* ‘rubbing, a stroke’, *ura-kallu*, *uravu-kallu* ‘touchstone’, *urayuka* ‘to rub, to wear by friction’, *uravu* ‘rubbing, touch’, *urekka* ‘to rub, to grate, to polish, to grind, to assay metal’, *uriyuka* ‘to be chafed’, *uruṅṅuka*, *urammuka*, *urummuka*, *urattuka* ‘to rub against, to graze, to touch’, *urusuka* ‘to wear off, to diminish’; Kota *orv-* (*ort-*) ‘to rub into paste, to rub with a stone in making pot’, *orv-* (*ord-*) ‘to touch or stroke gently’, *orj-* (*orj-*) ‘to rub’, *uj-* (*uj-*) ‘to rub, to file, to sharpen’;

Toda *warf-* (*wart-*) ‘to rub into paste, to wipe, to wash’, *ud-* (*udy-*) ‘to smear on body’; Kannaḍa *urdu*, *uddu*, *ujju* ‘to rub, to make fine by rubbing’, *ujjisu* ‘to cause to rub’, *ujju*, *urdike* ‘rubbing’, *ore* (*orad-*) ‘(vb.) to touch, to rub, to smear, to apply to a touchstone, to examine, to grind, to make thin or fine; (n.) rubbing, etc.’, *orasu*, *orisu*, *orsu* ‘(vb.) to touch, to rub gently, to stroke, to rub, to scour, to rub out, to crush, to separate by friction (as grain from the ears), to smear; (n.) friction, rubbing, destroying’, *ore-gal* ‘touchstone’, *rubbu* ‘(vb.) to grind in a mortar; (n.) grinding’, (?) *ruddu* ‘to beat soundly’; Koḍagu *udd-* (*uddi-*) ‘to rub’; Tuḷu *urepuni* ‘to try metals by touchstone’, *uresuni* ‘to try metals by touchstone, to rub, to polish’, *urduni* ‘to rub, to file, to polish’, *ujjuni* ‘to rub’, *ure-kallu*, *ore-kallu* ‘touchstone’, *orevuni* ‘to rub, to wipe’, *oresuni* ‘to diminish (intr.), to wear off; to rub (tr.), to wipe’, *orabelu̯* ‘rice once cleaned off its husk only’, *orabēlu̯* ‘work involving the removal of husk from paddy’, *ocipuni* ‘to wipe off, to rub out, to clean’, *occuni* ‘to wipe off, to rub out, to clean, to whet, to sharpen’; Telugu *ora* ‘rubbing, touch, testing on a touchstone’, *ora-gallu* ‘touchstone’, *orapiḍi* ‘rubbing, friction’, *oracu* ‘to rub, to try by touchstone’, *orayu* ‘to rub, to test by touchstone, to touch; to be slightly bruised’, *orayika* ‘rubbing, friction’, *uriyu* ‘to be rubbed’, *ruddu* ‘to rub, to scour, to clean’, *rudduḍu* ‘rubbing, scouring, cleaning’, *rubbu* ‘to grind in a mortar’, *rubbu-guṇḍu* ‘stone pestle or roller used in grinding things in a mortar’, (?) *ruttu* ‘to strike or beat’, (?) *rȭkali* ‘a large wooden pestle’; Kolami *rubgunḍ* ‘stone pestle’ (Telugu loan), *rokāl*, *rōka* ‘pestle’ (Telugu loan); Naikṛi *rōkal* ‘pestle’ (Telugu loan); Parji *urc-* ‘to skim off (cream), to scrape’; Gadba (Ollari) *urs-* ‘to wipe (sweat)’; Gondi *uriyānā* ‘to powder’, *urisānā* ‘to sprinkle or crumble salt, sugar, sandal powder, etc.’, *rōkal* ‘pestle’ (Telugu loan), *ūc-* ‘to scrape, to plane’, *us-* ‘to pare’, *oochana* ‘a carpenter’s plane’; Konḍa *rōs-* ‘to touch slightly, to stroke, to rub against’; Kui *rūga* (*rūgi-*) ‘to be smooth’, *rūsa* (*rūsi-*) ‘(vb.) to crush, to grind; (n.) crushing, grinding’, *rūska* (*rūski-*), *rūseni* ‘to press for grinding sugarcane’; Kuwi *rūbali* ‘to smear’, *rub(b)inai* ‘to smear, to rouge’, *rub-* ‘to rub on (oil, etc.)’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:64—65, no. 665; Krishnamurti 2003:118 **ur-ay* ‘to rub’. (?) Parji *ud-* ‘to crush (nits, lice)’ (only recorded in the phrase *pēnul udomo*); Konḍa *u̲r-* (*uRt-*) ‘to butt, to gore (buffalo, etc. with horns), to crush (nits)’; Pengo *uz-* (*ust-*) ‘to butt, to gore; to crush (lice)’; Manḍa *uy-* ‘(cow) to gore; to crush (lice)’; Kui *ubga* (*ugb-*) ‘to collide, to strike against, to butt’; Kuwi *ur-* ‘to butt, to gore’, *ūrhali* ‘to butt’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:69, no. 706.

C. (?) Kartvelian: Georgian *xrc’en-/xrc’n-* ‘to decompose’.

Sumerian *hur* ‘to hollow out, to scratch, to scrape, to dig in, to rub, to grate, to grind’.

Buck 1949:5.56 grind; 8.22 dig; 9.31 rub.

744. Proto-Nostratic root **ħut'-* (~ **ħot'-*):
(vb.) **ħut'-* 'to shake, to shiver, to tremble';
(n.) **ħut'-a* 'trembling, shaking'; (adj.) 'shaking, shivering, trembling'
Note also:
(vb.) **ħat'-* 'to shake, to tremble; to be shaken, startled, frightened, terrified, afraid';
(n.) **ħat'-a* 'trembling, shaking'

A. Afrasian: Proto-Highland East Cushitic **hut'-* 'to shiver, to tremble' > Hadiyya *hut'-eʔ-* 'to shiver, to tremble', *hut'-is-ša* 'shivering'; Sidamo *hut'-iʔr-* 'to shake, to shiver, to tremble'; Kambata *hut'-* 'to shiver, to tremble', *hut'-is-ša* 'shivering'. Hudson 1989:133.
B. Dravidian: Tamil *utaṟu* (*utaṟi-*) 'to shake off, to shake out (as a cloth), to renounce (as the world, friends, etc.), to shake (as one's hands, feet, or body) through cold, fear, or anger', *utai* 'to tremble with fear, to shiver with cold', *utaippu* 'fright, alarm', *utir* (*-v-*, *-nt-*) 'to be shaken with the wind', *utir* (*-pp-*, *-tt-*) 'to shake off'; Malayalam *utaṟuka* 'to be in a hurry or confusion, to shake off'; Kannaḍa *odaṟu* '(vb.) to shake, to shake off; (n.) shaking, etc.', *odaṟisu* 'to cause to shake'; Tuḷu *udēvuni* 'to throw out (the hands to shake, as in sickness)'; Gadba (Ollari) *udurp-* (*udurt-*) 'to shake'; Telugu *udaru*, *uduru*, *udilu* '(vb.) to tremble, to shake, to shiver, to quake; (n.) trembling, shaking'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:59—60, no. 613.

Buck 1949:10.26 shake (vb. tr.).

				Eurasiatic			
Proto-Nostratic	Proto-Afrasian	Proto-Dravid.	Proto-Kartvel.	Proto-IE	Proto-Uralic	Proto-Altaic	Proto-Eskimo
ʕ-	ʕ-	Ø-	Ø-	ʕh̯-	Ø-	Ø-	Ø-
-ʕ-	-ʕ-	-Ø-	-Ø-	-ʕh̯-	-Ø-	-Ø-	-Ø-

745. Proto-Nostratic root **ʕag-* (~ **ʕəg-*):
(vb.) **ʕag-* ‘to bud, to sprout, to grow’;
(n.) **ʕag-a* ‘outgrowth, bud, sprout, protuberance’

A. Proto-Afrasian **ʕag-* ‘(vb.) to bud, to sprout, to grow; (n.) outgrowth, bud, sprout, protuberance’: Proto-Semitic **ʕag-ar-* ‘(vb.) to bud, to sprout, to grow; (n.) outgrowth, protuberance, knot, knob’ > Arabic *ʿağara* ‘to be stout, big, paunch-bellied; to be knotty; to be still ripe and green; to be hard and strong’, *ʿağar* ‘outgrowth, protuberance, excrescence, projection, knot, knob’, *ʿağir*, *ʿağur* ‘knotty, knobby; thick above the joint; still unripe or green’, *ʿağr* ‘green, unripe’, *ʿuğra* ‘knot, knob, hump, protuberance, excrescence’. Proto-Highland East Cushitic **agada* ‘stalk (e.g., of maize)’ > Gedeo / Darasa *agada* ‘stalk (e.g., of maize)’; Sidamo *agada*, *agasšo* (< **agad-co*) ‘stalk (e.g., of maize)’; Kambata *agada* ‘stalk (e.g., of maize)’. Also found in Amharic *agäda* ‘stalk (of sugar cane, of maize)’ and Galla / Oromo *(h)agadaa* ‘sugar cane’ (loanwords ?). Hudson 1989:142. Southern Cushitic: Proto-Rift **ʕag-* ‘a kind of grain’ > Iraqw *ʿayitiʔi* ‘maize’; K’wadza *agentiko* ‘bulrush millet’ (?). Ehret 1980:376. [Ehret 1995:346, no. 675, **ʕaag-* ‘grain’.]

B. Dravidian: Tamil *akai* (*-v-*, *-nt-*) ‘to flourish, to sprout’, *akai* (*-pp-*, *-tt-*) ‘to sprout, to rise; to raise’, *akaippu* ‘rising, elevation’; Malayalam *aka* ‘germ, bud, shoot’, *akekka* ‘to bud’, *ava* ‘bud, especially the fruit-like sprout of *Artocarpus*’, *avekka* ‘to sprout’; Kannaḍa *age* ‘seedling, shoot from the root of a plant or tree, sprout’; Koḍagu *age* ‘paddy, seedling’; Tuḷu *agge* ‘the shoot of a branch’; Kuṛux *akhuā* ‘seed-bud, sprout, shoot’, *akrānā* ‘to germinate, to shoot, to sprout’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:4, no. 15. Kannaḍa *āku* ‘leaf, young rice not yet transplanted, young sprouts of corn, any filament’; Telugu *āku* ‘leaf, petal; seedlings of paddy for transplantation’; Gadba (Salur) *ākupacan* ‘green’; Gondi (many dialects) *ākĭ* ‘leaf’; Konḍa *āku* ‘leaf’; Pengo *āki* ‘leaf’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:32, no. 335.

C. Altaic: Mongolian *aγli* ‘excrescence, burl, or canker on a tree’; Manchu *ageli* ‘a swelling found on the larch (*Larix leptolepis*) that is used as a medicine’ (cf. Norman 1978:7; not in Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003).

Buck 1949:8.42 grain.

746. Proto-Nostratic root *ʕak^{h}- (~ *ʕək^{h}-):
(vb.) *ʕak^{h}- ‘to beat, to strike, to break’;
(n.) *ʕak^{h}-*a* ‘the act of beating, striking, breaking’

A. Proto-Afrasian *ʕak- ‘to beat, to attack’: Proto-Semitic *ʕak-*ak*- ‘to beat, to attack’ > Arabic ʿ*akka* ‘to attack, to conquer, to convict; to beat, to whip, to flog’, ʿ*akkār* ‘who attacks repeatedly’. Proto-Southern Cushitic *ʕaak- or *ʕaak^{w}- ‘to attack’ > Iraqw *akut*- ‘to leap, to jump’, ʿ*aqmit*- ‘to fly’; K’wadza *ak*- ‘to seize’, *akat*- ‘to catch’; Asa *ʔak*- ‘to seize’. Ehret 1980:276. Proto-Southern Cushitic *ʕaaku- ‘war’ > K’wadza *ʔagumuk* ‘war’; Ma’a *akú* ‘war’. Derivative of *ʕaak- or *ʕaak^{w}- ‘to attack’. Ehret 1980:276. Ehret 1995:346, no. 677, *ʕaak- or *ʕaak^{w}- ‘to attack’.
B. Dravidian: Tamil *akai* (-*v*-, -*nt*-) ‘to be broken, crumpled; to suffer’, *akai* (-*pp*-, -*tt*-) ‘to break, to cut in pieces, to beat, to trouble, to oppress’; Gadba (Salur) *ag*- ‘to be torn’, *akp*- ‘to tear’; Telugu *agalu* ‘to break or go to pieces, to burst’, *agalincu*, *agul(u)cu* ‘to break (tr.), to burst’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:4, no. 16. Tamil *akkakkāy* ‘asunder’; Tuḷu *akkakka*, *akkoḷu* ‘(n.) part; (adv.) asunder’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:4, no. 19.
C. Uralic: Proto-Finno-Ugrian *äktä- ‘to cut, to strike’ > Lapp / Saami (Arjeplog) *ak'te*- ‘to kill (animals for food), to flay and cut up’; Zyrian / Komi *okty*- ‘to hew, to fell (a tree)’; Vogul / Mansi *jäkt*- ‘to cut’; Ostyak / Xanty *ögət*- ‘to cut, to cut off’. Collinder 1960:402 and 1977:88; Rédei 1986—1988:23 *äktɜ-; Sammallahti 1988:542 *äktä- ‘to cut’; Aikio 2020: 35 *äktä- ‘to cut’.

Sumerian *AK* ‘to beat, to strike, to hit’.

Buck 1949:9.21 strike (hit, beat); 9.26 break (vb. tr.).

747. Proto-Nostratic root *ʕal- (~ *ʕəl-):
(vb.) *ʕal- ‘to be high, tall, elevated, exalted; to rise high; to ascend’;
(n.) *ʕal-*a* ‘highest point: peak, summit, mountain’;
(particle) *ʕal- ‘on, upon, on top of, over, above, beyond’

A. Proto-Afrasian *ʕal- ‘(vb.) to be high, exalted; to rise high; to ascend; (particle) on, upon, on top of, over, above, beyond’: Proto-Semitic *ʕal-*aw/y*- ‘(vb.) to be high, exalted; to rise high; to ascend; (particle) on, upon, on top of, over, above, beyond’ > Akkadian *elū* ‘to travel uphill or to a higher ground, to go up, to ascend; to rise, to grow, to emerge’, *elū* ‘tall, high, exalted, proud’, *eli* ‘on, above, upon, more than, over, to, towards, against, beyond’, *elēn* ‘above, over’, *elēnu* (adv.) ‘above, upstream’, *el* ‘on, above, beyond’, *eliš* (adv.) ‘up, on high, on top; upward, upstream’;

Hebrew ʿālāh [עָלָה] ‘to go up, to ascend, to climb; to spring up, to grow’, ʿal [עַל] ‘height’, ʿal [עַל] ‘upon, on, over, above, by, beyond, to, towards’; Aramaic ʿəlē ‘to go up’; Syriac ləʿal ‘upward, above’; Ugaritic ʿly ‘to go up’, ʿl ‘upon’; Arabic ʿalā ‘to be high, elevated; to rise high, to exceed; to surpass’, ʿulūw ‘height, tallness, elevation, altitude’, ʿalā ‘on, upon, on top of, over, above, by, beyond, to, towards’, ʿalīy ‘high, tall, elevated’; Sabaean ʿly ‘to be high’, ʿly ‘above, upon, toward’; Soqoṭri ʿálha ‘high’; Mehri ʔālēw ‘at the top’; Ḥarsūsi *b-áʿla* ‘on, on top of’, ʿálwa ‘north, northwards’; Geez / Ethiopic (reduplicated) ʿalʿala [ዐልዐለ] ‘to raise, to elevate’, (with the preposition *la* agglutinated to the root ʿly [cf. Leslau 1987:304]) laʿala [ለዐለ], ləʿla [ልዕለ] ‘to be high, superior, elevated’, ʔalʿala [አልዐለ], ʔalaʿala [አለዐለ] ‘to lift up, to raise, to elevate, to exalt, to extol’, lāʿla [ላዕለ] ‘above, against, on, upon, over, about, concerning’ (with suffix pronouns, the form is *lāʿle-* [ለዕሌ-]); Tigre ʔalʿala ‘to raise’, läʿal ‘on, above’; Tigrinya läʿalä ‘to raise’, ləʿli ‘above’; Gurage *lalä* ‘on, above’; Amharic ləʿul ‘high, exalted; prince’ (loan from Geez) , *lay* ‘on, above’; Gafat *lağğä* ‘on, above’; Harari läʔay, *lāy* ‘above, on, over, top, upper’. Murtonen 1989:319; Klein 1987:473; Leslau 1963:98, 1979:378, and 1987:60 and 303—304; Bergsträsser 1928:187 and 1983:218—219; Zammit 2002:295. Egyptian ʿr ‘to ascend’ (earlier *ỉʿr*), ʿrʿr ‘to rise up, to go up, to ascend’; Coptic *ale* [ⲁⲗⲉ] ‘to go up, to ascend’. Hannig 1995:31 and 148; Faulkner 1962:24; Erman—Grapow 1921:6 *ỉʿr* (since Middle Kingdom ʿry) and 1926—1963.1:41, 1:208; Gardiner 1957:551 *ỉʿr* (later ʿr) ‘to ascend, to mount up, to approach’; Černý 1976:4 and 228 (*ōl* [ⲱⲗ] ‘to hold, to take, to lift up’); Vycichl 1983:6 and 249. Berber: Tamazight *aləy* ‘to climb up, to ascend’, *al* ‘until, up to’; Kabyle *ali* ‘to climb up, to ascend’. Proto-East Cushitic *ʕal- ‘mountain, highland’ > Dullay ʿal-*e* ‘mountain, highland’; Arbore *el* ‘stone’; Saho ʿal ‘mountain’; Somali ʿal ‘any lofty, coastal range of mountains’; Rendille *ħal* ‘mountain’. Sasse 1979:35 and 36. Proto-Highland East Cushitic **ale* ‘over, above’ > Sidamo *ale* ‘top’, *alé* ‘upper, upwards’, *al-icco* ‘highland, top’, *aliidi* ‘over, above’, *aliido* ‘north’; Kambata *ale(e-n)* ‘on (top of)’, *alee-n*, *ali* ‘over, above’, *aluuda* ‘north; over, above’; Gedeo / Darasa *alaalle* ‘north; over, above’. Hudson 1989:109. Diakonoff 1992:30 *ʕal (> *ʕyl, *ʕly) ‘to rise up’; Orël—Stolbova 1995:238, no. 1060, *ʕal- ‘to rise’, 238—239, no. 1061, *ʕal- ‘top’, and 247—248, no. 1102, *ʕilay- ‘to rise’ (derived from no. 1060 *ʕal- ‘to rise’); Ehret 1995:347, no. 679, *ʕal- ‘to ascend, to go up’.

B. Proto-Uralic *älɜ- ‘to lift, to raise’: Vogul / Mansi *älm-* ‘to lift up, to raise’; Ostyak / Xanty *äləm-* (imptv. *ilmi*) ‘to lift, to raise, to carry’; Hungarian *emel-* (< **elmel-*) ‘to lift, to raise’; Yurak Samoyed / Nenets (?) *jila-* ‘to pick up’; Tavgi Samoyed / Nganasan (?) *jili-*, *jila-* ‘to pick up’; Selkup Samoyed (?) *ila-* ‘to pick up, to nurse’. Collinder 1955:5 and 1977:27; Rédei 1986—1988:24 **älɜ-*; Décsy 1990:98 **älä-* ‘(to) lift, (to) carry’; Janhunen 1977b:26 **ilə̂-*.

C. Altaic: Tungus: Manchu *ala* ‘a hill with a level top’, *alin* ‘mountain’; Nanay / Gold *ala* ‘small mountains’; Jurchen *alin* ‘mountain’. Written Mongolian *ala* ‘flat-topped hill’; Khalkha *al* ‘flat-topped hill’. Turkic: Kirghiz *alïq* ~ *aluq* ‘peak, summit’. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak (2003:292) include Manchu *alin* ‘mountain’ and Jurchen *alin* ‘mountain’ under Proto-Altaic **āĺa* ‘to cross (a mountain)’. However, Dolgopolsky maintains that they belong here instead.

Buck 1949:1.22 mountain, hill; 10.21 rise (vb.); 10.22 raise, lift; 10.61 carry (bear). Bomhard—Kerns 1994:519—520, no. 367; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 126, **ʕ̲AlV* (= **ʕ̲alE* or **ʕ̲älï*) ‘height, top; to climb, to go up’; Illič-Svityč 1971—1984.I:274—275, no. 137, **ʕal'ʌ* ‘to cross a mountain’.

748. Proto-Nostratic root **ʕal-* (~ **ʕəl-*):
(vb.) **ʕal-* ‘to make a fire, to light a fire, to ignite, to kindle, to burn’;
(n.) **ʕal-a* ‘fire, torch’

A. Afrasian: Proto-Semitic **ʕal-aw/y-* ‘to burn’ > Hebrew *ʿōlāh* [עוֹלָה] ‘burnt offering’; Aramaic *ʿəlāθā* ‘burnt offering’; Syriac *ʿəlāθā* ‘burnt offering, altar’; Palmyrene *ʿlt²* ‘altar’. Klein 1987:466. Proto-Semitic **ʕal-ak'-* ‘to make a fire, to light a fire, to ignite, to kindle’ > Arabic *ʿalaḳa* ‘to ignite, to catch fire, to kindle’; Mehri *ʔālōḳ* ‘to make a fire’, *hālōḳ* ‘to light, to kindle’; Śḥeri / Jibbāli *aʿléḳ* ‘to light, to kindle’; Ḥarsūsi *ʔālōḳ* ‘to light, to kindle’.
B. Proto-Indo-European **ʕ̲ḫel-* [**ʕ̲ḫal-*] ‘to burn’: Sanskrit *alāta-m* ‘a fire-brand, coal’; Kashmiri *alāv* ‘fire in a pit’; Gujarati *alāvɔ* ‘fire kindled in a ditch around which Moslems dance at Muharram’; Shina (Guresi) *alāŭ* ‘bonfire’, (Gilgiti) *lăï* ‘unlit torch’; Latin *altar*, *altāre*, *altāria*, *altārium* ‘that which is placed upon an altar proper (*āra*) for burning of the victim; a high altar (more splendid than *āra*)’, *adoleō* ‘to burn a sacrifice’; Swedish *ala* ‘to blaze, to flame, to flare up, to burn’. Rix 1998a:234 **h₂el-* ‘to burn’; Pokorny 1959:28 **al-* ‘to burn’; Walde 1927—1932.I:88 **al-*; Mallory—Adams 1997:87 **hₐel-* ‘to burn’; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.I:55; Ernout—Meillet 1979:9 and 24; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:4—5 and I:32; De Vaan 2008:24—25.

Buck 1949:1.85 burn (vb.); 22.14 altar; 22.15 sacrifice, offering. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:525, no. 376; Illič-Svityč 1971—1984.I:276, no. 140, (?) **ʕʌLʌ* ‘to burn (sacrificial offerings)’; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 127, **ʕ[a]l̄V* ‘to burn (especially sacrifices), to use magic means (sacrifices, magic formula, etc.) to produce a particular result’.

749. Proto-Nostratic root **ʕam-* (~ **ʕəm-*):
(vb.) **ʕam-* ‘to sink, to dip, to plunge’;

(n.) *ʕam-a ‘deep place, valley’; (adj.) ‘sunken, deep’

A. Proto-Afrasian *ʕam- ‘to be or become deep’: Proto-Semitic *ʕam-ak’- ‘to be or become deep’ > Hebrew ʿāmaḳ [עָמַק] ‘to be deep’, ʿēmeḳ [עֵמֶק] ‘vale, valley, lowland; open country’, ʿāmōḳ [עָמֹק], ʿāmēḳ [עָמֵק] ‘deep’; Syriac ʿəmaḳ ‘to be deep’; Ugaritic ʿmḳ ‘valley, plain’; Phoenician ʿmḳ ‘plain, valley’; Arabic ʿamuḳa ‘to be or become deep, profound; to deepen, to make deep or deeper; to penetrate deeply, to go deeply, to become absorbed’, ʿamḳ, ʿumḳ ‘depth, profoundness, profundity; bottom’, ʿamīḳ ‘deep, profound’; Sabaean ʿmḳ ‘(cultivated) valley’; Mehri ʿāmḳ ‘middle’; Śḥeri / Jibbāli ʿamḳ ‘middle’; Ḥarsūsi ʿāmḳ ‘middle’; Geez / Ethiopic ʿamaḳa [ዐመቀ], ʿamaḳʷa [ዐመቈ] ‘to be deep, to submerge (intr.)’, ʿəmaḳ [ዕመቅ] ‘depth, deepness’; Tigrinya ʿamäḳʷä ‘to be deep’; Tigre ʿamḳa ‘to be concave, to be hollowed’; Amharic *ammäḳä* ‘to be deep, to make deep’, *mäḳmäḳ* ‘abyss (referring to hell)’. Murtonen 1989:321—322; Tomback 1978:250—251; Klein 1987:476; Leslau 1987:63; Zammit 2002:295—296. Semitic loan in Late Egyptian ʿmq ‘valley floor or bottom, plain’. Hannig 1995:141.

B. Dravidian: Tamil *amiṛ* ‘to be immersed, to be plunged, to sink’, *amiṛttu* (*amiṛtti-*) ‘to cause to sink, to immerse, to engulf, to press down, to cover (as eyelids the eyes)’, *amiṛntu* (*amiṛnti-*) ‘to sink’; Malayalam *amiṛuka* ‘to sink’, *amiṛttuka*, *amuṛttuka* ‘to fix, to set’; Kannaḍa *aguṛ* ‘to sink in water, to be immersed, to dive’, *aguṛcu* ‘to cause to sink in water, to immerse’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:16—17, no. 167.

C. Proto-Chukchi-Kamchatkan *əm- ‘deep’: Chukchi *n-əməcqə-qen*, *əməcqə-lʔən* ‘deep’, *əm-at-* ‘to flood, to overflow banks’; Koryak *n-əm-qen* ‘deep (water)’, *am-ka* ‘deep(ly)’; Alyutor *n-əm-qin* ‘deep (water)’; Kamchadal / Itelmen *ºam-laX* ‘deep’, *ºamʔam* ‘deep place’, (Western) *amlag* ‘deep’, (Eastern) *amam* ‘deep’, (Southern) *ama* ‘deep’. Fortescue 2005:341.

Buck 1949:12.67 deep.

750. Proto-Nostratic root *ʕam- (~ *ʕəm-):
(vb.) *ʕam- ‘to lift, to raise, to make high’;
(n.) *ʕam-a ‘highest point, tip, top’
Extended form (Semitic and Indo-European):
(vb.) *ʕam-V-d- ‘to lift, to raise, to make high’;
(n.) *ʕam-d-a ‘highest point, tip, top’

A. Proto-Afrasian *ʕam- ‘(vb.) to lift, to raise, to make high; to raise up, to stand upright, to support; (n.) point, tip, top’: Proto-Semitic *ʕam-ad- ‘to raise up, to stand upright, to support’ > Akkadian *emēdu* ‘to lean against, to reach, to cling to, to come into contact, to stand (near); to place, to lean (something upon or against something), to load, to impose (obligations to

pay taxes or fines)', *imdu* (*indu*) 'stanchion, support; tax, impost, obligation to work'; Arabic *ʿamada* 'to support (by a pillar or a column), to prop up, to buttress, to shore up', *ʿumda* 'support, prop, shore; main subject, main issue, basic issue', *ʿimād* 'column, support, pillar, tent-pole, pilaster'; Sabaean (pl.) *ʾʿmd* 'vine-props'; Śḥeri / Jibbāli *ʿámúd* 'beam, pillar', *aʿmíd* 'to put a pillow under the head'; Ḥarsūsi *ʾamdāt* 'beam', *ʾāmīd* 'pillow, cushion'; Mehri *ʾāmawd* 'ceiling beam, beam', *hāmōd* 'to prop up someone's head (with a pillow, arm)'; Phoenician *ʿmd* 'column'; Hebrew *ʿāmaḏ* [עָמַד] 'to take one's stand, to stand', *ʿammūḏ* [עַמּוּד], *ʿammuḏ* [עַמֻּד] 'pillar, column'; Imperial Aramaic *ʿmd* 'to stand'; Syriac *ʿammūḏā* 'pillar, column'; Geez / Ethiopic (denominative) *ʿammada* [**ዐመደ**] (also *ʾammada* [**አመደ**]) 'to erect a column, to stand (as a column), to sustain, to prop up (with a column), to strengthen, to form', *ʿamd* [**ዐምድ**] (also *ʾamd* [**አምድ**]) 'column, pillar, post, mast, balustrade, column of a page'; Tigrinya *ʿamdi* 'column'; Tigre *ʿamd* 'column'; Amharic *amd* 'column' (Geez loan). Murtonen 1989:321; Klein 1987:474; Leslau 1987:62—63. (?) Egyptian *ʿmm* body part (in the head of animals), perhaps 'brain' (semantic development from 'highest part of the head, top of the head' as in Old English *brægen* 'brain' [cf. Onions 1966:113], related to Greek βρεχμός 'top of the head', βρέγμα 'the front part of the head'). Faulkner 1962:43; Erman—Grapow 1926—1963.1:186; Hannig 1995:141. Proto-Southern Cushitic *ʕaam- 'tip, point' > Iraqw *ʿamay* 'cist, swollen gland; East Coast fever', *anta* 'grave', *antoni* 'anthill'; Burunge *anta* 'anthill'; Alagwa *anta* 'anthill'; K'wadza *ambayiko* 'tail'; Dahalo *ʿeeme* 'thorn; needle'. Ehret 1980:274. North Omotic: Bench / Gimira *amu* 'thorny'; Yemsa / Janjero *àamà* 'mountain'. Ehret 1995:348, no. 682, *ʕaam- '(vb.) to raise; (n.) tip of anything'.

B. Proto-Indo-European (*ʕ͡ḭm̥dʰ-i >) *ʕ͡ḭn̥dʰ-i 'on top of, over, above; in addition to': Sanskrit *ádhi* (as a prefix to nouns and verbs) 'over, over and above, besides'; (as a separable adverb or preposition) 'over, from above, from, from the presence of, after', *adhika-ḥ* '(adj.) additional, subsequent, later; superior, more numerous; abundant, excellent; (n.) surplus, abundance, redundancy, hyperbole; (indeclinable) exceedingly, too much, more'; Pāḷi *adhi* (prep. and prefix of place where) 'on top of, over, above, on; in addition to', (prep. and prefix of direction denoting a movement towards a definite end or goal) 'up to, over, toward, to, on', *adhika-* 'exceeding, superior, extraordinary'; Armenian *ənd* in the senses: 'to, over, by, with'. Mann 1984—1987:856 *n̥dh- (*n̥dhe, *n̥dhə, *n̥dhŏm) 'to, till, toward, near'; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.I:31; Burrow 1973:286 — Burrow also cites Avestan *aidī*, *aiδi* and Old Persian *adiy*; Hübschmann 1897:447.

Buck 1949:4.203 brain; 9.51 beam; 10.22 raise, lift; 12.33 top. Different etymology in Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 135, *ʕ[o]mdE 'to stand upright, to rise'.

751. Proto-Nostratic root *ʕam- (~ *ʕəm-):
(vb.) *ʕam- ‘to shoot, to hurl, to throw’;
(n.) *ʕam-a ‘arrow’

A. Proto-Afrasian *ʕam- ‘(vb.) to shoot, to hurl, to throw; (n.) arrow’: Egyptian ʿmʿɜt ‘throw-stick’, ʿmʿɜ ‘to throw the throw-stick’. Hannig 1995:140; Gardiner 1957:557; Faulkner 1962:42; Erman—Grapow 1926—1963.1:186. Highland East Cushitic: Sidamo *amaatt’o* ‘arrow’. Hudson 1987:21 and 350.
B. Dravidian: Tamil *ampu* ‘arrow’, *appu-kkaṭṭu* ‘a sheaf of arrows’; Malayalam *ampu* ‘arrow, porcupine quill’; Kolami *amb*, *am* ‘arrow, flensing knife’; Toda *ob* ‘arrow’; Kannaḍa *ambu* ‘arrow’; Koḍagu *ambï* ‘arrow’; Tuḷu *ambu* ‘arrow’, *ambige* ‘hunter’; Telugu *ambu*, *ambakamu*, *ammu*, *ampa-* (in compounds) ‘arrow’, (pl.) *ampaṟa* ‘arrows’, *ampakā̃ḍu* ‘archer’; Parji *amb* ‘arrow’; Gadba (Ollari) *amb* ‘arrow’; Koṇḍa *am* ‘arrow’; Pengo *am* ‘arrow’; Manḍa *amb* ‘arrow’; Kui *āmba* ‘arrow, arrowhead’, *ambu* ‘arrow’; Kuwi *ambū* ‘arrowhead’, *ambu* ‘arrow; bow’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:17, no. 178; Krishnamurti 2003:9 **ampu* ‘arrow’.
C. Uralic: Proto-Finno-Permian **ampɜ* ‘to shoot, to launch’ > Finnish *ampu-* ‘to shoot, to fire, to launch’, *ammus* ‘charge, projectile, shell, ammunition’; Estonian *amb* ‘cross-bow, arbalest’, *ambu-* ‘to shoot with the (cross-)bow’, *ambur* ‘archer, bowman’; Votyak / Udmurt (Sarapul) *i̮b-*, (Kazan) *ə̑b-*, (Glazov) *i̮b̂i̮-* ‘to shoot; to throw, to hurl’. Rédei 1986—1988:606—607 **ampɜ* ‘to shoot, to launch’ — Rédei also includes Lapp / Saami (Norwegian) *ab'bo* ~ *-bb-* ‘to boil over, to boil so fast that part of the contents runs away’; Sammallahti 1988:552 **ampa-* ‘to shoot’; Aikio 2020:13—14 **ampV-* / **e̮mpV-* ‘to shoot’.

Buck 1949:10.25 throw (vb.); 20.25 arrow. Hakola 2000:20, no. 29.

752. Proto-Nostratic root *ʕan- (~ *ʕən-):
(vb.) *ʕan- ‘to breathe, to respire, to live’;
(n.) *ʕan-a ‘life, breath’

A. Afrasian: Egyptian ʿnḫ ‘(vb.) to live; (n.) life; living person’, ʿnḫy, ʿnḫw ‘a living being’, ʿnḫw ‘life’; Coptic *ōnh* [ⲱⲛϧ] ‘to live, to be alive’. Hannig 1995:144—146; Faulkner 1962:43—44; Erman—Grapow 1921:26 and 1926—1963.1:193—200; Gardiner 1957:557; Vycichl 1983:250; Černý 1976:228. [Ehret 1995:352, no. 690, *ʕanγʷ- ‘to rise, to grow’.]
B. Proto-Indo-European *ʕ̯ienE- [*ʕ̯ianE-] ‘to breathe, to respire, to live’: Greek ἄνεμος ‘wind’; Sanskrit *ániti*, *ánati* ‘to breathe, to respire, to live’, *aná-ḥ* ‘breath, respiration’, *ánila-ḥ* ‘wind’; Latin *anima* ‘breath, wind; the breath of life, vital principle, soul (physical)’, *animal* ‘a living being, animal’, *animō* ‘to animate, to give life to’, *animōsus* ‘full of breath, wind,

life'; Old Irish *anál* 'breath'; Gothic *uz-anan* (only in 3rd sg. pret.) 'to breathe one's last'; Old Icelandic *anda* 'to breathe, to live', *andi* 'breath, wind, spirit', *önd* 'breath'; Norwegian *anda* 'to breathe', *ande* 'breath'; Old English *ōþian* (< **anθō-jan*) 'to pant'; Old Frisian *omma*, *amma* (< **an-man-*) 'breath'; Tocharian A *āñcäm*, B *āñme* 'self; inner being, soul'. Rix 1998a:238—239 **h₂enh₁-* 'to breathe'; Pokorny 1959:38—39 **an(ə)-* 'to breathe'; Walde 1927—1932.I:56—58 **an-*; Mann 1984—1987:21 **andhos*, *-ā*, *-us* 'soul, spirit, rancor', 22 **anəmos*, *-ā* 'breath, soul, spirit, air', 22 **anətlom*; **anətrom*, *-ā* 'breath', 22 **anətos*, *-i̯os*, *-is*, *-ōn* 'breath, soul', 26—27 **anō*, *-i̯ō* 'to blow, to breathe', 27 **anos* 'breath, soul, fragrance'; Mallory—Adams 1997:82 **hₐénh₁mi* 'to breathe', **hₐénh₁mos* 'breath', **hₐénh₁-tlo-* 'breath' (in Celtic), **hₐénh₁-* 'to breathe'; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.II:466 **anH-* and 1995.I:388 **anH-* '(vb.) to breathe; (n.) breath'; Watkins 1985:2 **anə-* and 2000:4 **anə-* 'to breathe' (oldest form **h̥₂enh̥₁-*, colored to **h̥₂anh̥₁-*), suffixed form **anə-mo-*; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.I:33 and I:34; Boisacq 1950:61 **anēi-*; Hofmann 1966:18; Frisk 1970—1973.I:105; Beekes 2010.I:101—102 **h₂enh₁-mo-*; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:86; Ernout—Meillet 1979:34; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:49—50; De Vaan 2008:43; Orël 2003:17 Proto-Germanic **an(a)mōn*, 17—18 **ananan*, 18 **anđōjanan*, 18—19 **anđōn*; Kroonen 2013:27 Proto-Germanic **anan-* 'to breathe'; Feist 1939:538 **ane-*; Lehmann 1986:385 **an(ə)-*; De Vries 1977:9 and 687; Boutkan—Siebinga 2005:294; Van Windekens 1976—1982.I:164 **anh̥₁-*; Adams 1999:41—42 **hₐen(h₁)-*; Wodtko—Irslinger—Schneider 2008:307—311 **h₂enh₁-*.

C. Proto-Eskimo **anəʀ-* 'to breathe (out)': Alutiiq Alaskan Yupik *anəʀməq* 'breath, spirit'; Central Alaskan Yupik *anəʀnəq* 'spirit, soul, breath'; Naukan Siberian Yupik *anəʀnəʀiʀ(aʀ)* 'to get out of breath'; Central Siberian Yupik *anəXtə-* 'to breathe, to continue to function normally', *anəʀnəq* 'breath, the way things are'; Sirenik *anəcəcəXtəX* 'breath'; North Alaskan Inuit *aniʀniq* 'breath'; Western Canadian Inuit *aniʀniq* 'breath'; Eastern Canadian Inuit *aniʀniq* 'breath, spirit'; Greenlandic Inuit *aniʀniq* 'breath'. Fortescue—Jacobson—Kaplan 1994:28. Proto-Eskimo **anəʀtəqə-* 'to breathe': Alutiiq Alaskan Yupik *anəXtəqə-* 'to breathe'; Central Alaskan Yupik *anəXtəqə-* 'to live, to breathe'; North Alaskan Inuit *aniqtiʀi-* 'to breathe'; Sirenik *anəXsaqə(s)-* 'to breathe'; Western Canadian Inuit *aniqtiʀi-* 'to breathe'; Eastern Canadian Inuit *aniqtiʀi-* 'to breathe'; Greenlandic Inuit *aniʀtiʀi-* 'to breathe deeply, to groan'. Fortescue—Jacobson—Kaplan 1994:28. Proto-Eskimo **anəʀya(C)aʀ-* 'to take a breath': Alutiiq Alaskan Yupik *anəʀyaaʀ-* 'to sigh'; Northern Siberian Yupik *anʀayuʀiŋaɬəq* 'catching one's breath'; Central Alaskan Yupik *anəʀyaaʀ-* 'to take a breath, to sigh'; Seward Peninsula Inuit *aniqsaaq-* 'to breathe'; North Alaskan Inuit *aniqsaaq-* 'to take a breath'; Western Canadian Inuit *aniqsaaq-* 'to breathe'; Eastern Canadian Inuit *aniʀsaatuq-* 'to breathe'; Greenlandic Inuit *aniʀsaaʀ-* 'to breathe', *aniʀsaaq* 'spirit,

ghost’. Fortescue—Jacobson—Kaplan 1994:28. Proto-Inuit *an(ə) ʁiləkˉ ‘to gasp for breath’ > Greenlandic Inuit *aʁŋili(ɣ)ˉ* ‘to gasp for breath’. Fortescue—Jacobson—Kaplan 1994:28.

Buck 1949:4.51 breathe; breath; 4.74 live (= be alive); living, alive; life. Illič-Svityč 1971—1984.I:261, no. 125, *ʔanqʌ ‘to breathe’; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 138a, *ʕin̄[V]qV ‘to live’; Bomhard—Kerns 1994:521, no. 369; Fortescue 1998:152.

753. Proto-Nostratic (n.) *ʕaŋ-a ‘upper part’; (particle) *ʕaŋ- ‘up, above’:

A. Proto-Afrasian *ʕaŋ- ‘(n.) upper part; (particle) up, above’: Proto-Southern Cushitic *ʕaŋ- ‘up, above’ > Iraqw *aŋ* ‘in the past, long ago’; Burunge *oŋ* (pl. *omeri*) ‘mountain’; K’wadza *onka* (pl. *oma*) ‘mountain’; Ma’a *aná* ‘above’, *aŋilá* ‘above’. Ehret 1980:276. Proto-Southern Cushitic *ʕaŋ- ‘head’ > Ma’a *muʾa*, *angálo* ‘head’; Dahalo *ʿàni* ‘head’. Ehret 1980:276. Highland East Cushitic: Sidamo *aaná* ‘on (top of)’, *aana* ‘over, above’. Hudson 1989:348. [Ehret 1995:351, no. 689, *ʕaŋ-/*ʕiŋ- ‘tip, peak, top’.]

B. [Dravidian: Tamil *aṇ* ‘upper part’, *aṇa* ‘to lift the head’, *aṇar* ‘to rise, to move upwards’, *aṇavu* (*aṇavi-*) ‘to go upward, to ascend’, *aṇṇal* ‘greatness, exaltation, superiority, great man, king, god’, *aṇṇā* ‘to look upward, to gape, to hold the head erect’; Malayalam *aṇṇa* ‘upwards, above’, *aṇṇal* ‘high, God, esp. Arhat’, *aṇṇā* ‘looking upwards’; Kannaḍa *aṇṇe*, *aṇṇa*, *aṇa* ‘excellence, purity’; Tuḷu *aṇāvuni*, *aṇṇāvuni* ‘to look up, to lift up the face, to gaze’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:12, no. 110. Tamil *āṇi* ‘excellence, superiority’, *āṇi-ppoṉ* ‘gold of the finest quality’, *āṇi-muttu* ‘pearl of the finest quality’; Kannaḍa *āṇi* ‘excellence, superiority, preciousness’, *āṇi-pon* ‘gold of the finest quality’; Malayalam *āṇikkaram* ‘the choicest of anything’, *āṇi-pponnu* ‘finest gold’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:33, no. 354.]

C. [(?) Proto-Altaic *āŋo (‘front, front side’ >) ‘right (side)’: Proto-Tungus *āŋ(gi)- ‘right’ > Evenki *anŋū*, *āńŋū* ‘right’; Lamut / Even *āngъγ* ‘right’; Negidal *ańŋi-dā* ‘right’; Oroch *āńžā* ‘right’; Udihe *ayaŋaža* ‘right’; Solon *angida* ‘right’. Proto-Mongolian *eŋge- ‘south; front (of cloth)’ > Written Mongolian *eŋger* ‘flap of a garment, lapel(s); southern slope of a mountain or hill’, *eŋ* ‘width (of material), dimension, extent’, *eŋ* ‘very, most’ (*eŋ terigün* ‘first of all, very first’); Khalkha *enger* ‘south; front (of cloth)’; Buriat *enger* ‘front (of cloth)’; Kalmyk *eŋgə*, *eŋgr̥* ‘shore’; Ordos *enger* ‘front (of cloth)’; Dagur *enge* ‘front (of cloth)’; Dongxiang *engie* ‘front (of cloth)’; Monguor *ŋge* ‘front (of cloth)’. Proto-Turkic *oŋ ‘right; good, lucky; west’ > Old Turkic (Old Uighur) *oŋ* ‘right; good, lucky; west’; Karakhanide Turkic *oŋ* ‘right; good, lucky’; Turkish (dial.) *on* ‘right; good, lucky’; Turkmenian *oŋ* ‘good, lucky’; Uzbek *o̤ŋ* ‘right; good, lucky’; Uighur *oŋ* ‘right’; Karaim *oŋ* ‘right; good, lucky’; Tatar *uŋ* ‘right; good,

lucky'; Bashkir *uŋ* 'right; good, lucky'; Kirghiz *oŋ* 'right; good, lucky'; Kazakh *oŋ* 'right'; Noghay *oŋ* 'right; good, lucky'; Sary-Uighur *oŋ* 'right'; Oyrot (Mountain Altai) *oŋ* 'right; good, lucky'; Tuva *oŋ* 'right'; Yakut *uŋa* 'right; southern', *uŋuor* 'on the other bank'. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:305 ***āŋo* 'right'.]

Sumerian *an* 'high', *an* 'heaven', *an* 'over, above', *an-da* 'more than; over, above, on top of', *an-na* 'to be raised, elevated', *an-na* 'high', *an-na* 'over, above', *an-na* 'in heaven'.

Buck 1949:1.22 mountain; hill; 4.20 head; 12.33 top; 12.41 right; 12.48 south. Note: the Dravidian and Altaic forms are phonologically ambiguous — they may belong with Proto-Nostratic **xaŋ-* (~ **xəŋ-*) '(vb.) to lift, to raise; to rise, to go upward, to ascend; (n.) that which is most prominent, visible, or noticeable; (particle) on top of, over, above' instead.

754. Proto-Nostratic root **ʕap'-* (~ **ʕəp'-*):
(vb.) **ʕap'-* 'to grasp, to seize, to take hold of, to take by force';
(n.) **ʕap'-a* 'grasp, hold, seizure'

A. Proto-Afrasian **ʕap'-* 'to grasp, to seize, to take hold of, to take by force': Proto-Semitic **ʕab-at'-* 'to take hold of, to take by force; to hold tightly, to hold fast' > Akkadian *ebēṭu* 'to tie, to bind; to tighten, to put someone in straits'; Mandaic *abṭ* 'to bind, to hold fast'; Epigraphic South Arabian *ʿbṭ* 'compulsory service, calamity'; Geez / Ethiopic *ʿabbaṭa* [**ዐበጠ**], *ʾabaṭa* [**አበጠ**] 'to exact compulsory service, to compel, to force, to coerce, to take by force, to requisition; to ruin; to push; to place an obstacle'; Tigrinya *ʿabäṭä* 'to hurl oneself upon to tear to pieces'; Amharic *abbäṭä* 'to trouble, to upset, to compel'. Leslau 1987:55. Proto-Highland East Cushitic **abad-* (?) 'to hold, to seize' > Gedeo / Darasa *abid-* 'to hold, to seize'; Hadiyya *amad-* 'to hold, to seize, to start, to begin, to touch'; Sidamo *amad-* 'to hold, to seize, to touch'. Hudson 1989:80.

B. Elamo-Dravidian: Royal Achaemenid Elamite *ha-pi-* 'to press, to squeeze out'. Dravidian: Tamil *appu* (*appi-*) 'to stick with the hand (as sandal paste), to plaster with a trowel (as mortar), to apply repeatedly (as fomentation), to press against (as in wrestling), to thrust in the mouth', *appaḷi* 'to remove unevenness in the wall by placing pieces of brick or tile with chunam when plastering'; Malayalam *appi*, *appu* 'plaster', *appuka* 'to stick to, to attach to, to press against (as plaster), to press in'; Kota *ap-* (*apy-*) 'to throw (clay) into a crevice to plug it, to beat strongly with the hand'; Kannaḍa *appige*, *apige*, *appaḍe*, *appuge* 'the act of joining, cementing, soldering, etc.; a patch', *appaḷisu* 'to strike against, to stroke, to flap, to slap', *apparisu* 'a stroke'; Tuḷu *appaḷipuni* 'to strike anything with the open hand, to squash'; Telugu *appaḷincu* 'to slap, to touch, to tap, to

strike gently with the open hand, to smear, to apply', *appaḷinta* 'slapping, etc.', *appaḷamu* 'clapping, flapping, striking'. Burrow—Emenau 1984:16, no. 157.

C. Uralic: Finnish *apaja* 'fishing grounds; catch, haul'; Karelian *apaja*, *abaja* 'fishing grounds; catch, haul'; Estonian *abajas* 'cove, bay, creek, backwater, inlet'.

D. Proto-Altaic **apV-* 'to take': Proto-Tungus **abgu-* 'to pull out, to take from; (refl.) to appear' > Evenki *abgịn-* 'to appear'; Negidal *abgụ-* 'to pull out, to take from'; Ulch *aɢbụmbụ-* 'to pull out, to take from', *aɢbụn-* 'to appear'; Orok *aɢbụn-* 'to appear'; Nanay / Gold *aɢbị-mboɢo-* 'to pull out, to take from', *aɢbịačị-* 'to appear'; Oroch *ābu-* 'to pull out, to take from'; Udihe *agbu-* 'to pull out, to take from'. Proto-Mongolian **ab-* 'to take' > Written Mongolian *ab-* 'to take, to grasp, to get hold of', *abta-* (passive of *ab-*) 'to be taken or seized, to be taken out, to be capable of being taken, to be overtaken, to suffer from, to come under the influence of', *abuldu-* (reciprocal of *ab-*) 'to seize or hold each other, to interlock, to stick together, to be glued together', *abuča* 'taking, receiving, accepting'; Khalkha *av-* 'to take, to grasp, to get hold of'; Buriat *aba-*, *ab-* 'to take, to grasp, to get hold of'; Kalmyk *aw-* 'to take, to grasp, to take hold of'; Ordos *ab-*, *aw-* 'to take, to grasp, to get hold of'; Moghol *afu-* 'to take, to grasp, to get hold of'; Dagur *aw-* 'to take, to grasp, to get hold of'; Monguor *awu-*, *abu-* 'to take, to grasp, to get hold of'. Poppe 1955:25, 100, and 278. Proto-Turkic **ạbuč-* 'handful' > Karakhanide Turkic *avut*, *avut-ča*, *avuč-ča*, *avuč* 'handful'; Turkish *avuc* 'palm of the hand, handful'; Gagauz *auč* 'handful'; Azerbaijani *ovuč* 'handful'; Turkmenian *ovuč* 'handful'; Uzbek *χɔwuč* 'handful'; Uighur *oč* 'handful'; Karaim *avuč*, *uvuč*, *uvuc* 'handful'; Tatar *uč* 'handful'; Bashkir *us* 'handful'; Kirghiz *ūč* 'handful'; Kazakh *uwïs* 'handful'; Noghay *uvïs* 'handful'; Oyrot (Mountain Altai) *ūš* 'handful'; Chuvash *ĭvъš* 'handful'. Poppe 1960:44; Street 1974:7 **ab-* 'to take, to grasp', **ab-uča* 'grasp, handful'; Starostin—Dybo — Mudrak 2003:309—310 **apV* 'to take'.

Buck 1949:9.16 bind (vb. tr.); 9.342 press (vb.); 11.13 take; 11.14 seize, grasp, take hold of. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:526—527, no. 378; Hakola 2000:22, no. 35, **apa-* 'to take, to carry'.

755. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **ʕar-a* 'back, rear; hindquarters, behind':

A. Proto-Afrasian **ʕar-* 'back, hindquarters': Semitic: Akkadian *erūtu* (*arūtu*) 'back'. Egyptian *ʿrt* 'hinder parts (of men), hindquarters (of animals)'. Faulkner 1962:45; Hannig 1995:149; Gardiner 1957:558; Erman—Grapow 1926—1963.1:209. West Chadic: Tsagu *áárí* 'back'. East Chadic: Dangla *áároṅ* 'back'; Birgit *ʔárà* 'back'; Mubi *hâr* 'back'. Jungraithmayr—Ibriszimow 1994.2:6—7.

B. Proto-Altaic *ă*ra* ‘back, behind’: Proto-Tungus **arka-n* ‘back’ > Evenki *arkan* ‘back’; Lamut / Even *arqъn* ‘back’; Negidal *aykan* ‘back’; Orok *atta(n)* ‘back’; Oroch *akka(n)* ‘back’; Udihe *aka(n)* ‘back’; Solon *arkā* ‘back’. Proto-Mongolian **aru* ‘back, behind’ > Middle Mongolian *aru* ‘back’, *aradan* ‘behind’, *ārudur* ‘to the back’; Written Mongolian *aru* ‘back, rear; north, northern; verso of a sheet or folio’; Khalkha *ar* ‘back, rear; the north facing, shady side of a mountain or a house; north, northern; background, reverse’; Buriat *ara* ‘back’; Kalmyk *arə*, *ārə*, *arkə* ‘back’; Ordos *aru* ‘back; east’; Dagur *ar*, *arkən* ‘back’; Shira-Yughur *ār* ‘back’. Proto-Turkic **arka* ‘back’ > Old Turkic (Old Uighur) *arqa* ‘back’; Karakhanide Turkic *arqa* ‘back’; Turkish *arka* ‘back, back part; reverse side’; Gagauz *arqa* ‘back’; Azerbaijani *arχa* ‘back’; Turkmenian *arqa* ‘back’; Uzbek *ɔrqa* ‘back’; Uighur *a(r)qa* ‘back’; Karaim *arqa*, *arχa* ‘back’; Tatar *arqa* ‘back’; Bashkir *arqa* ‘back’; Kirghiz *arqa* ‘back’; Kazakh *arqa* ‘back’; Noghay *arqa* ‘back’; Sary-Uighur *arqa*, *harqa* ‘back’; Khakas *arγa* ‘back’; Oyrot (Mountain Altai) *arqa* ‘back’; Tuva *a'rγa* ‘mountain forest’; Chuvash *orγa-lъχ* ‘saddle, strips’; Yakut *arγā*, *arγa-s* ‘back’; Dolgan *arga-lā-* ‘to turn one’s back towards somebody’. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:311—312 **ă*ra* ‘back, behind’; Poppe 1960:78, 94, and 129; Street 1974:8 **aru* ‘rear, back’.

Buck 1949:4.19 back. Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 146, *$\underline{ʕ}arH_2|wu$ ~ *$\underline{ʕ}aH_2ru$ ‘back, loins’.

756. Proto-Nostratic root *ʕar- (~ *ʕər-):
Extended form:
(vb.) *ʕar-*V*-g- ‘to climb on, to mount; to rise, to ascend; to lift up, to raise’;
(n.) *ʕar-g-a ‘climbing, mounting’

A. Afrasian: Proto-Semitic *ʕar-ag- ‘to climb on, to mount; to rise, to ascend’ > (?) Hebrew ʿāraγ ‘to long for, to yearn for’; Arabic ʿaraǧa ‘to ascend, to mount, to rise’ (according to Leslau [1987:70], this may be a loan from Geez / Ethiopic); Epigraphic South Arabian ʿrg ‘eminent’ (?); Geez / Ethiopic ʿarga [ዐርገ] ‘to ascend, to go up, to climb’, ʾaʿraga [አዕረገ] ‘to raise, to take up, to lead up to, to offer (sacrifice)’; Tigre ʿarga ‘to go up, to ascend’; Tigrinya ʿarägä ‘to go up’; Amharic *arrägä* ‘to go up into heaven’; Gurage *arägä* ‘to have sexual intercourse’. Murtonen 1989:329; Klein 1987:484; Leslau 1979:87 and 1987:70; Zammit 2002:284. Cushitic: Bilin ʾarag- ‘to go up, to ascend’ (loan from Ethiopian Semitic). Reinisch 1887:49.

B. Dravidian: Kuṛux *argnā* (*argyas*) ‘to climb, to mount an animal, to rise (as sun, moon, stars), to rise in pitch (as a drum), to get puffed up, (eyes) to be turned up before death’, *argnā* (*argas*) ‘to make climb, to lift, to haul up, to take upon one’s shoulders, to lay a burden on, to begin, to raise, to

increase', *argtaʔānā*, *argaʔānā* 'to make climb, to lift up'; Malto *arge* 'to climb', *argtre* 'to lift, to raise'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:22, no. 231.

Bomhard—Kerns 1994:564—565, no. 428.

757. Proto-Nostratic root **ʕatʰ-* (~ **ʕətʰ-*):
(vb.) **ʕatʰ-* 'to move, to proceed, to advance (in years)';
(n.) **ʕatʰ-a* 'maturity, old age; advance'; (adj.) 'mature, old; advanced'

A. Proto-Afrasian **ʕat-* 'to move, to proceed, to advance (in years)': Proto-Semitic **ʕat-uk'-* 'to move, to proceed, to advance (in years)' > Hebrew *ʿāθēḳ* [עָתֵק] 'to move, to proceed, to advance (in years)'; Ugaritic *ʿtḳ* 'to pass'; Akkadian *etēḳu* 'to pass through'; Arabic *ʿatuḳa* 'to grow old, to age, to mature; to mellow (wine)', *ʿatīḳ* 'old, ancient, antique, matured, mellowed, aged (wine)', *ʿitḳ* 'age, vintage (wine)'. Murtonen 1989:334; Klein 1987:490. [Orël—Stolbova 1995:255, no. 1143, **ʕVtuḳ-* 'to go'.]
B. Proto-Indo-European **ʕ͡ħietʰ-* [**ʕ͡ħiatʰ-*] 'to move, to proceed, to advance (in years)': Sanskrit *átati* 'to go (constantly), to walk, to run, to wander', *atná-ḥ* 'sun'; Latin *annus* (< **at-no-s*) 'year'; Oscan *akeneí* (*-k-* < *-t-*) 'in the year'; Umbrian (acc. pl.) *acnu* 'years'; Gothic (dat. pl.) *aþnan* 'year'. Rix 1998a:244 **h₂et(H)-* 'to go, to wander'; Pokorny 1959:69 **at-* 'to go; year'; Walde 1927—1932.I:41—42 **at-* 'to go'; Mann 1984—1987:40 **atnos*, *-om* 'year, period'; Watkins 1985:4 **at-* and 2000:5 **at-* 'to go'; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.I:442—443, fn. 1, **at[ʰ]nos* and 1995.I:370, fn. 26, **atʰnos*; Mallory—Adams 1997:228 **hₐet-* 'to go'; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.I:26 and I:28; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:51 **at-nos*; Ernout—Meillet 1979:35; De Vaan 2008:43—44 **h₂et-no-*, **h₂et-nio-* 'which goes, a year'; Orël 2003:28 Proto-Germanic **aþnaz*, 28 **aþnjan*; Kroonen 2013:40 Proto-Germanic **aþna-* 'year'; Feist 1939:62—63 (Latin *annus* < **at-nos*); Lehmann 1986:47 **at-* 'to go'.

Buck 1949:14.73 year. Brunner 1969:63, no. 320; Bomhard—Kerns 1994: 518—519, no. 366.

758. Proto-Nostratic root **ʕen-*:
(vb.) **ʕen-* 'to see, to notice, to pay attention';
(n.) **ʕen-a* 'sight, view, attention'

A. Proto-Afrasian **ʕen-* 'to see, to notice, to pay attention': Proto-Semitic **ʕan-an-* 'to come into view, to appear' > Arabic *ʿanna* 'to present itself to view, to offer itself (to someone); to take shape, to form, to arise, to spring up (in someone's mind), to suggest itself; to appear (to someone)'; Sabaean *ʿnn* 'to manifest one's self (of a deity)'. Proto-Southern Cushitic **ʕeen-* or **ʕaan-* 'sight, view' > Asa *nuʔus-* 'to show', *nuʔuset-* 'to see'; Dahalo

ʿ*eenaað*- ‘to see from afar’. Ehret 1980:274. [Ehret 1995:349, no. 686, *ʕ*an*- or *ʕ*aan*- ‘to come into view, to appear’.]

B. (?) Uralic: Finnish *enne* ‘omen, augury; sign’, *ennustaa* ‘to predict, to prophesy, to forecast, to foretell’, *ennustus* ‘prediction; prophesy’; Estonian *enne* ‘omen, portent, foretoken, presage, augury’, *ennustama* ‘to foretell, to predict, to forecast, to prognosticate, to prophesy, to presage, to tell fortunes’, *ennustus* ‘prediction, forecast, prognosis, prophesy, presage’.

C. Proto-Altaic **enu*- (~ -*o*) ‘(vb.) to beware; (n.) attention’: Proto-Tungus **(χ)en-te*- ‘(vb.) to beware; (adv.) attentively, slowly’ > Evenki *ente*- ‘to beware’, *ēntukukēn* ‘attentively, slowly’; Manchu *enteχeme* ‘always, eternally’. Proto-Mongolian **(h)an*- ‘(vb.) to pay attention, to beware; (adj.) vigorous, attentive’ > Written Mongolian *aŋqar*- ‘to give attention to, to look attentively; to be attentive, to pay attention, to observe, to regard’, *aŋqarul* ‘attention, regard, interest’, *anuγu*- ‘vigorous, attentive’, *ana*- ‘to beware, to be cautious, to take precautions’; Khalkha *anχa*- ‘to pay attention’, *anūr* ‘attentive, cautious, circumspect’, *anūχan* ‘hale and hearty (of old people)’, *ana*- ‘to beware’; Buriat *anχar*- ‘to pay attention’, *anda*-, *anžar*- ‘to notice’, *andadag* ‘very sensitive’; Kalmyk *aŋχər*- ‘to pay attention’; Ordos *anug*- ‘to aim at’. Proto-Turkic **anu*- ‘(vb.) to get ready; (adj.) ready, certain’ > Old Turkic (Old Uighur) *anu*- ‘to get ready’, *anuq* ‘ready, certain’; Karakhanide Turkic *anu*- ‘to get ready’, *anuq* ‘ready, certain’; Tatar *anïq* ‘ready, certain’; Bashkir *anïq* ‘ready, certain’; Turkish (dial.) *anïk*- ‘to get ready’; Turkmenian *anïq* ‘ready, certain’; Uzbek *ɛniq* ‘ready, certain’; Uighur *eniq* ‘ready, certain’; Karaim *anïq* ‘ready, certain’; Kirghiz *anïq* ‘ready, certain’; Kazakh *anïq* ‘ready, certain’. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:508 **enu* (~ -*o*) ‘(vb.) to beware; (n.) attention’.

D. (?) Proto-Chukchi-Kamchatkan **enareð*- ‘to look for’: Chukchi *enarer*- ‘to look for, to search, to conduct a search’; Kerek *inajtat*- ‘to look for’; Koryak *enajej*- ‘to look for’; Alyutor *inarit*- (Palana *enaret*-) ‘to look for (tr.)’; Kamchadal / Itelmen *enxtzo-s*, *inxtzu*- ‘to look for’. Fortescue 2005:79. Semantic development as in Czech *hledati* ‘to search, to look for’ from the same stem found in Old Church Slavic *ględati* ‘to look at’, Serbo-Croatian *glèdati* ‘to look at’, Russian *gljadét'* [глядеть] ‘to look (at), to fasten one’s eyes upon, to gaze (at)’, etc.

Buck 1949:11.31 seek; 12.84 sign (sb.); 15.51 see; 15.52 look (vb.), look at; 15.53 sight (sb.); 15.54 sight (obj.), look (obj.), appearance; 15.55 show (vb.); 22.47 omen. Hakola 2000:27, no. 58, **ennɜ* ‘sign, omen’ — Hakola compares the Uralic forms cited above with Tamil *eṇṇu* (*eṇṇi*-) ‘to think, to consider, to determine, to esteem, to conjecture, to count, to reckon, to compute, to set a price upon’, etc. However, the original meaning of the Uralic forms was more likely to have been something like ‘to beware of, to notice, to see’ (cf. Buck 1949:12.84 sign [sb.] and 22.47 omen), which would place them here instead of with Proto-Nostratic root **ʕeŋ*- ‘to think, to consider’.

759. Proto-Nostratic root **ʕeŋ-*:
(vb.) **ʕeŋ-* ‘to think, to consider’;
(n.) **ʕeŋ-a* ‘thought, idea, notion, concept, intention, deliberation’

A. Afrasian: Proto-Semitic **ʕan-ay-* ‘to mean, to intend’ > Arabic *ʿanā* ‘to mean, to signify; to concern, to refer to’, *maʿnan* ‘sense, meaning, signification, import; concept, notion, idea, thought’, *ʿināya* ‘concern; care, solicitude, providence; care(fulness), painstaking, meticulousness; heed, notice, regard, attention; interest’; Ḥarsūsi *méʿna* ‘meaning’; Mehri *hānō* ‘to decide, to intend’, *mānē* ‘example; intention, intent, meaning’; Śḥeri / Jibbāli *aʿní* ‘to mean’, *maʿné* ‘intention, meaning; example’. Murtonen (1989:322—323) also compares the following: Hebrew *ʿānāh* [עָנָה] ‘to answer, to respond’; Aramaic *ʿənā* ‘to answer, to respond’; Ugaritic *ʿny* ‘to respond, to reply’, *mʿn* ‘response, reply’ (cf. Gordon 1965:458, no. 1883); Palmyrene *ʿnh* ‘to answer, to respond’. Klein (1987:476), however, does not compare the Arabic and South Arabian forms with Hebrew *ʿānāh* [עָנָה].

B. Dravidian: Tamil *eṉṉu* (*eṉṉi-*) ‘to think, to consider, to determine, to esteem, to conjecture, to count, to reckon, to compute, to set a price upon’, *eṉ* ‘thought, intention, deliberation, esteem, calculation, mathematics, number’, *eṉṉam* ‘thought, idea, respect, deliberation, anxiety, mathematics’, *eṉṉar*, *eṉṉalar* ‘mathematicians’, *eṉṉal* ‘intention, counting, deliberation’, *eṉṉikkai* ‘numbering, esteem, reverence’, *ēṇi* ‘number’; Malayalam *eṉ* ‘number, thought’, *eṉṉam* ‘number, counting’, *eṉṉuka* ‘to count, to number, to esteem, to relate’, *eṉṉikka* ‘(vb.) to get counted, to account for; (n.) counting’; Toda *öṉ-* (*öṉy-*) ‘to count’, *öṉm* ‘counting, numbers’; Kannaḍa *eṇike*, *eṉṉike* ‘counting, number, thinking, observation’, *eṇisu*, *eṇasu*, *eṇusu*, *eṉṉisu* ‘to add together, to enumerate, to count, to estimate, to appreciate, to consider, to think, to plan, to compare’, *eṉṉu* ‘to count, to think’; Koḍagu *ëṉṉ-* (*ëṉṉi-*) ‘to say, to tell’; Tuḷu *eṉṉuni* ‘to count, to think, to presume, to expect’, *eṉṉige*, *eṇike*, *eṇe*, *eṇke* ‘calculation, estimation’; Telugu *ennu* ‘to count, to reckon, to think, to believe, to esteem, to care for, to criticize’, *ennika* ‘counting, number, esteem, regard, opinion, hope’, *encu* ‘to count, to reckon, to enumerate, to think, to consider, to believe, to judge, to esteem’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:78, no. 793; Krishnamurti 2003:13 **eṉ-* ‘to count’.

C. Proto-Altaic **ēŋV-* ‘to think, to understand’: Proto-Tungus **(χ)eŋē-* ‘to peer at, to investigate’ > Lamut / Even *eŋēli-*, *eŋēt-* ‘to peer at, to investigate’. Proto-Mongolian **ayuda-la-* ‘to look into, to investigate’ > Written Mongolian *ayudala-* (*kereg ayudalaχu*) ‘to look into, investigate, or reveal a matter or affair’; Khalkha *ūdla-* (кэрэг уудлах) ‘to investigate or expose a matter’; Buriat *ūdal-* ‘to look into, to investigate’; Kalmyk *ūdļ-* ‘to look into, to investigate’; Ordos *ūdala-* ‘to look into, to investigate’; Moghol *audɔl-* ‘to look into, to investigate’, (Zirni Manuscript) *oudal*

‘investigation’. Proto-Turkic **āŋ* ‘intelligence’, **āŋ-la-* ‘to hear, to understand, to discern’ > Old Turkic (Old Uighur) *aŋla-* ‘to understand’; Karakhanide Turkic *aŋla-* ‘to understand’; Turkish *anla-* ‘to understand’; Azerbaijani *anla-* ‘to understand’; Uighur *aŋla-* ‘to hear’; Tatar *aŋ-γar-* ‘to understand’; Turkmenian *āŋla-* ‘to understand’, *āŋ* ‘intelligence’; Kirghiz *aŋ* ‘intelligence’; Chuvash *ъʷn* ‘intelligence’; Yakut *aŋlā-* ‘to discern’. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:511 **ēŋV* ‘to think, to understand’.

Buck 1949:11.66 account, reckoning; 17.13 think (= reflect); 17.14 think (= be of the opinion); 17.16 understand.

760. Proto-Nostratic root **ʕey-*:
(vb.) **ʕey-* ‘to know, to recognize’;
(n.) **ʕey-a* ‘sight, recognition’; (adj.) ‘known, seen, recognized’

A. Proto-Afrasian **ʕeyn-* ‘eye’: Proto-Semitic **ʕayn-* ‘eye’ > Akkadian *īnu* (*ēnu*) ‘eye’; Hebrew *ʿayin* [עַיִן] ‘eye’ (Post-Biblical Hebrew *ʿēnāʾ* [עֵינָא] [from Aramaic]); Aramaic *ʿenā* ‘eye’; Syriac *ʿaynā* ‘eye’; Mandaic *aina* ‘eye’; Phoenician *ʿyn*, *ʿn* ‘eye’; Nabatean *ʿyn* ‘eye’; Palmyrene *ʿyn* ‘eye’; Ugaritic *ʿn* ‘eye’; Arabic *ʿayn* ‘eye’; Sabaean *ʿyn* ‘eye’; Ḥarsūsi *ʾāyn* ‘eye’; Mehri *ʾāyn* ‘eye’; Śḥeri / Jibbāli *ʿíhn* ‘eye’; Geez / Ethiopic *ʿayn* [ዐይን] ‘eye’; Tigrinya *ʿayni* ‘eye’; Tigre *ʿin* ‘eye’; Amharic *ayn* ‘eye’; Argobba *ayn* ‘eye’; Gurage (Gyeto) *ayn*, (Chaha, Eža, Muher, Masqan, Gogot) *en*, (Endegeñ) *ēn*, (Soddo, Wolane) *in*, (Selṭi, Zayse) *īn*, (Ennemor) *ẽ̃r* ‘eye’; Gafat *inä* ‘eye’; Harari *īn* ‘eye’. Murtonen 1989:317—318; Klein 1987:470; Zammit 2002:301; Leslau 1963:27, 1979:117, and 1987:79—80; Bergsträsser 1983:212—213; Militarëv 2010:66 Proto-Semitic **ʕayn-*. Egyptian *ʕn*, *ʕyn-* hieroglyphic determinative sign for ‘eye’. Hannig 1995:142—143 and 1033 (D8); Faulkner 1962:43 (under *ʕn* ‘beautiful’); Erman—Grapow 1921:25 and 1926—1963.1:189. [Orël—Stolbova 1995:243, no. 1084, **ʕayVn-* ‘eye’.] Note: The Southern Cushitic forms cited by Militarëv (2010:66, no. 25) are included under Proto-Nostratic **ʕen-* ‘to see, to notice, to pay attention’ instead.

B. Dravidian: Tamil *ey* ‘to know, to understand’, *eyyāmai* ‘ignorance’; Toda *ïy-* (*ïs-*) ‘to know how to’; Gadba *etap-* (*etat-*) ‘to think’; Koṇḍa *nes-* ‘to know, to be capable of’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:79, no. 806.

C. (?) Indo-European: Tocharian A/B *aik-* ‘to know, to recognize’; B *aiśamo* ‘wise’, *aiśamñe* ‘wisdom’, *aiśi* ‘knowing’, *aiśaumye* ‘(n.) wise person, sage; (adj.) wise’. The traditional comparison of the above Tocharian forms with Gothic *aigan* ‘to have’, etc. (cf. Adams 1999:101—102; Van Windekens 1976—1982.I:139—140) should accordingly be abandoned. Also to be abandoned is Mann’s (1984—1987:6) suggestion that Tocharian *aik-* may be from a putative Proto-Indo-European **aiĝiō* ‘to show, to tell, to declare’ and related to Gothic *af-aikan* ‘to deny’, Latin *aiō* ‘to affirm, to

say, to assert, to state', etc. Thus, it appears that Tocharian *aik-* is isolated within Indo-European.

D. Yukaghir (Southern / Kolyma) *ejmə-* 'to stare (intr.)', *ejməri:-* 'to stare at (tr.)'. Nikolaeva 2006:154.

Buck 1949:4.21 eye; 15.51 see; 17.16 understand; 17.17 know.

761. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **ʕig-a* 'young of an animal, calf':

A. Proto-Afrasian **ʕig(a)l-* 'young of an animal, calf': Proto-Semitic **ʕigl-* 'young of an animal, calf' > Hebrew *ʿēγel* [עֵגֶל] 'calf'; Aramaic *ʿeglā* 'calf'; Phoenician *ʿgl* 'calf'; Arabic *ʿiğl* 'calf'; Ugaritic *ʿgl* 'calf'; Sabaean *ʿgl* 'calf'; Geez / Ethiopic *ʾəgʷl* [እጕል], *ʿəgʷal* [ዕገል], *ʿəgʷl* [ዕጕል] 'the young of any animal or fowl'; Tigre *ʾəgal* 'calf'; Tigrinya *gəlgäl* 'young mule or horse'; Amharic (reduplicated) *gəlgäl* 'lamb'; Harari *gīgi* 'young of animals'; Gurage *gəlgəl* 'the young of an animal'. According to Leslau (1979:273), "[t]he root *glgl* is a reduplicated *gl-gl* going back to *ʾgʷl*, *ʿgl*." Murtonen 1989:309—310; Leslau 1963:70, 1979:273, and 1987:11; Klein 1987:463; Diakonoff 1992:82, fn 123, **ʕəgʷ-* (Diakonoff rejects the comparison of the above forms with Akkadian *agālu* 'donkey'); Zammit 2002:282. Egyptian *ʕg-*, *ʕgn-* (placed before several words dealing with cattle); Coptic *ačol* [ⲁⲥⲟⲗ] 'calf'. Erman—Grapow 1926—1963.1:236; Černý 1976:19 (questioned); Vycichl 1983:23 (Coptic *ačol* [ⲁⲥⲟⲗ] < **ʕaggál* < **ʕaggāl*). M. Cohen 1947:86, no. 43. Orël—Stolbova 1995:247, no. 1100, **ʕigal-* 'cow, calf'; Militarëv 2009:101.

B. Proto-Indo-European **ʕ̬iig^{h}-* [**ʕ̬ieg^{h}-*] 'with young (of animals)': Sanskrit (f.) *ahī́* 'cow'; Avestan *azī* 'with young (of cows or mares)'; Armenian *ezn* 'bull'; (?) Middle Irish *ag* 'ox, cow', *ál* (< **aglo-*) 'litter, brood'. Pokorny 1959:7 **aĝh-* 'pregnant animal'; Walde 1927—1932.I:38; Mann 1984—1987:233 **eĝhis* 'ox, cow'; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.I:68; Vendryès 1959— :A-22 **agh-* and A-58; Mallory—Adams 1997:135 **h$_1$eĝh-* 'cow' (Mallory—Adams note: "This word is usually reconstructed as **h$_a$eĝh-* but such a reconstruction makes it impossible to include Arm *ezn* 'cow'. The Indo-Iranian forms are ambiguous as to whether the initial vowel was **h$_1$e-* or **h$_a$e-*; only the Celtic seems to require **h$_a$e-*. However, there is some precedent for an initial **e-* appearing as *a-* in Celtic, cf. OIr *aig* 'ice' from **i̯egi-*. As the word is attested at the margins of the IE world this strongly suggests PIE status.").

Buck 1949:3.23 cow; 3.24 calf. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:518, no. 365; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 119, **[ʕ]ogUlV* (or **H$_2$oġUlV*) 'offspring, child, young'.

762. Proto-Nostratic root **ʕim-* (~ **ʕem-*):

(vb.) *ʕim- ‘to suck, to swallow’;
(n.) *ʕim-a ‘the act of sucking, swallowing; breast, nipple, teat’

A. Proto-Afrasian *ʕim- ‘to suck, to swallow’: Egyptian ʿm ‘to swallow; to absorb’, (causative) sʿm ‘to swallow down, to wash down (food)’. Hannig 1995:138; Faulkner 1962:42; Gardiner 1957:557; Erman—Grapow 1921:25 and 1926—1963.1:183—184. West Chadic: Karekare ʔìmpà ‘to suck’; Bole ʔyump- ‘to suck’, ʔyùmpá (n.) ‘the act of sucking’. Jungraithmayr—Ibriszimow 1994.II:310. West Chadic: Pa’a ʔm̀ma ‘to eat (soft food)’. East Chadic: Somray ʔə́m ‘to eat (soft food)’; (?) Migama ʔáymó ‘to eat (hard food)’; (?) Sokoro ə́ymɛ̀ ‘to eat (hard food)’. Jungraithmayr—Ibriszimow 1994.II:119 and II:120—121. North Omotic: Bench / Gimira mʔ ‘(vb.) to eat; (n.) food, meal’; Yemsa / Janjero *me* ‘to eat’, *mu*, *muwu* ‘to eat’.
B. Proto-Uralic *imi- ‘to suck’: Finnish *ime-* ‘to suck, to suckle’; Estonian *ime-* ‘to suck’; Zyrian / Komi *ńim-* ‘to suck’; Ostyak / Xanty *em-* ‘to suck’; Old Hungarian *em-* ‘to suck’, *emlő* ‘breast, nipple, teat’ (Hungarian *emésztő* ‘digesting, digestive; consuming, wasting’, *emésztés* ‘digestion, digesting’); Yurak Samoyed / Nenets (derivative) (Obdorsk) *ńimńe-* ‘to suck’; Tavgi Samoyed / Nganasan (derivative) *ńimiri-* ‘to suck’; Selkup Samoyed *ńima-* ‘to suck’, *ńemarna-*, *ńewara-* ‘to give the breast’; Kamassian (derivative) *ńimeer-* ‘to suckle, to suck’; Taigi *nímu* ‘to suck’. Collinder 1955:15—16 and 1977:37; Décsy 1990:98 **imä* ‘to suck’; Rédei 1986—1988:82—83 **ime-* ‘to suck’; Sammallahti 1988:536 *imi-* ‘to suck’; Janhunen 1977b:110—111 **ńim-*; Aikio 2020:59—60 **imi-* ‘to suck’. Yukaghir (Southern / Kolyma) *ib-* ‘to suck’. Nikolaeva 2006:178—179.
C. Proto-Altaic **emV* (~ **ami*) ‘to suck’: Proto-Mongolian **em-kü-* ‘to chew, to put into the mouth’ > Written Mongolian *emkü-* ‘to chew, to put into or hold in the mouth’, *emkü* (n.) ‘bite, morsel, mouthful’; Khalkha *ömχö-* ‘to chew, to put into the mouth’; Buriat *ümχe-* ‘to chew’; Ordos *uŋku* ‘mouthful’; Dagur *unku-*, *umku-*, *enku-* ‘to chew’; Monguor *uŋkwā* ‘mouthful’, *χaŋgu-* ‘to put into the mouth’. Poppe 1955:48. Proto-Turkic **em-* ‘to suck’ > Old Turkic (Old Uighur) *emig* ‘breast’; Karakhanide Turkic *ẹm-* ‘to suck’, *ẹmig* ‘beast’; Turkish *em-* ‘to suck’, *emme* ‘the act of sucking’, *emzik* ‘nipple, teat’; Azerbaijani *ämžäk* ‘nipple’; Turkmenian *em-* ‘to suck’, *emžek* ‘breast’; Uzbek *emčak* ‘breast’; Uighur *äm-* ‘to suck’, *ämčäk* ‘breast’; Tatar *im-* ‘to suck’, *imčɛk* ‘breast’; Bashkir *imsäk* ‘breast’; Kirghiz *emček* ‘breast’; Noghay *emšek* ‘breast’; Sary-Uighur *emïγ* ‘breast’; Tuva *em-* ‘to suck’, *emig* ‘breast’; Chuvash *əʷm-* ‘to suck’; Yakut *em-* ‘to suck’, *emīj* ‘breast’; Dolgan *emij* ‘breast’. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:505—506 **emV* (~ **ami*) ‘to suck’.

Buck 1949:4.41 breast (of woman); 4.58 bite (vb.); 5.11 eat; 5.13 drink (vb.); 5.16 suck (vb.). Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 134, *ʕ̲im[ê] ‘to suck, to swallow’;

Illič-Svityč 1971—1984.I:248, no. 109, **H/E/mi* ‘to suck, to swallow’; Greenberg 2002:159—160, no. 371; Hakola 2000:39, no. 125.

763. Proto-Nostratic root **ʕor^{y}-*:
(vb.) **ʕor^{y}-* ‘to turn or twist round’;
(n.) **ʕor^{y}-a* ‘turning, twisting; binding, tying; sewing, weaving’

A. Proto-Afrasian **ʕor-* ‘to turn or twist round’: Egyptian *ʿrq* ‘to bind; to put on (clothes), to get dressed’, *ʿrf* ‘(vb.) to envelop, to tie up; (n.) bag, bundle’; Coptic (Bohairic) *ōrf* [**ωρϥ**] ‘to enclose, to restrict, to surround’. Hannig 1995:151; Faulkner 1962:45; Gardiner 1957:558; Erman—Grapow 1921:27, 28 and 1926—1963.1:210—211, 1:211; Vycichl 1983:250; Černý 1976:229. Proto-Southern Cushitic **ʕor-* ‘to bind, to tie’ > Alagwa *ʿor-* ‘to tangle’; Iraqw *ʿoru* ‘cow seized by force’; Asa *ʔeras-* ‘to shut’; Ma’a *-ʿóro* ‘to tie, to tether’; Dahalo *ʿur-* ‘to sew’. Ehret 1980:279.
B. Dravidian: Tamil *oṛukku* (*oṛukki-*) ‘to draw out (as gold thread)’; Kota *oṛk-* (*oṛky-*) ‘to embroider’; Toda *wïṛk-* (*wïṛky-*) ‘to embroider’; Tuḷu *nūloḍu* ‘a spindle’; Telugu *oḍuku*, *vaḍuku* ‘to spin’; Naiki (of Chanda) *oc-*/*os-* ‘to sew’; Gondi *vaḍūyānā* ‘to twist a rope’, *vaḍḍānā*, *vaḍitānā* ‘to spin’, *wadītānā* ‘to twist or twirl fiber into a thread’; Kota *vaṛk-* ‘to spin’; Pengo *ṛoc-* ‘to sew; to plait, to weave’; Manḍa *ṛuc-* ‘to plait’; Kui *osa* (*osi-*) ‘(vb.) to sew, to weave; (n.) sewing, weaving’; Kuwi *ohʔnai* ‘to mesh’, *huc-* ‘to weave’; Kuṛux *ōjnā* ‘to spin, to twist’, *ōjjnā* ‘to sew, to stitch together’; Malto *óje* ‘to twist’, *ójgre* ‘to be twisted’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:97, no. 1012; Krishnamurti 2003:8 **oẓ-ukk-* ‘to spin’.

Buck 1949:6.31 spin; 6.32 spindle; 6.33 weave; 6.35 sew; 9.75 plait (vb.); 10.12 turn (vb.); 10.13 turn around (vb.); 10.14 wind, wrap (vb.); 10.15 roll (vb.).

764. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **ʕub-a* ‘bosom, breast’:

A. Proto-Afrasian **ʕub-* ~ **ʕib-* ‘breast’: Semitic: Arabic *ʿubb*, *ʿibb* ‘breast pocket’. Berber: Tashelhiyt / Shilha *tibbit* ‘woman’s breast’; Tamazight *bubbu* ‘breast’; Kabyle *bubbu* ‘breast’. Central Chadic: Lamang *úuɓa* ‘breast’; Mandara *úúbạ* ‘breast’; Glavda *úúbà* ‘breast’; Guduf *úɓa* ‘breast’; Dghwede *úɓa* ‘breast’. Jungraithmayr—Ibriszimow 1994.II:46—47. Lowland East Cushitic: Somali *ʿib-* ‘nipple’. Orël—Stolbova 1995:245, no. 1094, **ʕib-*/**ʕub-* ‘breast, bosom’.
B. Proto-Kartvelian **ube-/a-* ‘breast, bosom’: Georgian *ube-* ‘bosom’; Mingrelian *uba-*, *luba-*, *ləba-* ‘bosom, breasts (of woman)’; Laz *uba-*, *oba-* ‘bosom’. Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:344 **ube-*; Fähnrich 1994:253 and 2007:418 **ube-*; Klimov 1964:185 **ube-/a-* and 1998:195 **ube//a-* ‘breast, lap’.

Sumerian *ubur* ‘woman’s breast’.

Buck 1949:4.40 breast (front of chest); 4.41 breast (of woman). Illič-Svityč 1971—1984.I:275, no. 138, **ʕ/e/bU-* ‘breast’; Bomhard—Kerns 1994:525, no. 375; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 107, **ʕ[æ]bU* ‘female breast, bosom’.

765. Proto-Nostratic root **ʕun^{y}-* (~ **ʕon^{y}-*):
(vb.) **ʕun^{y}-* ‘to eat, to drink, to swallow; to feed (on), to suck (milk from a breast)’;
(n.) **ʕun^{y}-a* ‘food, meal’

A. Proto-Afrasian **ʕun-* ‘to eat, to drink, to swallow; to feed (on), to suck (milk from a breast)’: Semitic: Arabic *ʿanğara* ‘to smack the lips, to put the lips out and curl them’. Lowland East Cushitic: Somali *ʿun-* ‘to eat’; Rendille *ħûn-* ‘to drink milk, blood’. Heine 1978:100. Ehret 1995:351, no. 688, **-ʕon-* ‘to swallow’.

B. Dravidian: Tamil *uṉ* ‘to eat or drink, to suck (as a child), to take food, to swallow without biting, to enjoy, to experience’, *uṇṭar̲u-* ‘to eat and digest, to experience to the fullest extent’, *uṇṭi* ‘food, boiled rice, food of birds and beasts, experience’, *uṇṇi* ‘one who eats’, *uṇṇīr* ‘drinking water’, *uṇa* ‘food’, *uṇavu*, *uṇā* ‘food, boiled rice, foodstuffs’, *ūṉ* ‘eating, food, experience of joys and sorrows by the soul as the inevitable results of *karma*’, *ūṇan̲* ‘glutton’, *ūṇi* ‘one who eats’; Malayalam *uṇṇuka* ‘to eat (especially rice), to suck’, *uṇṇi* ‘sucking, infant’, *ūṉ* ‘food, boiled rice, meal’; Kota *uṉ-* (*uḍ-*) ‘to drink, to suck’, *uṇkc-* (*uṇkc-*) ‘to make to drink, to make to feast’; Toda *uṉ-* (*uḍ-*) ‘to drink, (child) to take breast; (rain) to rain’, *u·ṇ* ‘food, feast’; Kannaḍa *uṉ* (*uṇḍ-*), *uṇṇu*, *umbu* ‘to eat what forms a person’s (or in poetry, certain animals’) real meal, or (with regard to children) mother’s milk; to enjoy (as riches), to take (as interest in money)’, *uṇi* ‘person who feeds on’, *uṇike* ‘taking a meal’, *uṇisu* ‘(vb.) to cause to take a meal; (n.) what is fed on, a meal’, *uṇṇi* ‘taking a meal, a meal’, *ummu* ‘boiled rice (a term used when speaking to children)’; Koḍagu *uṇṉ-* (*umb-*, *uṇḍ-*) ‘to eat a meal’, *umbaḷa-mane* ‘kitchen’; Tuḷu *uṇpini*, *uṇupini* ‘to take one’s meal, to dine, to eat rice (in opposition to a slight repast of fruits, cakes, etc.)’, *uṇasu̯*, *oṇasu̯* ‘a meal, dinner, boiled rice and curry’, *uṇkelu̯* ‘the time of evening, the night meal’, *uṇpu* ‘boiled rice, solid food’, *umpu*, *nuppu* (= *uṇpu*) ‘cooked rice’; Kolami *un-* (*und-*) ‘to drink’, *unip-* (*unipt-*) ‘to make to drink, not giving with one’s own hand’; Naikṛi *un-* (*unḍ-*) ‘to drink’; Naiki (of Chanda) *un-* (*unḍ-*) ‘to drink, to smoke (cigarettes)’; Parji *un-* (*unḍ-*) ‘to drink’, *unṭip-* ‘to cause to drink’; Gadba (Ollari) *un-* (*unḍ-*) ‘to eat, to drink’, *unḍke* ‘food’, *uṇpe* ‘food, boiled rice’; Gondi *unḍānā* ‘to drink’, *jawā unḍānā* ‘to take food’ (*jawā* ‘porridge, food’); Konḍa *uṉ-* (*uṭ-*) ‘to drink’; Pengo *uṉ-* (*uṭ-*) to drink’; Manḍa *un-* (*uc-*) ‘to drink, to smoke’; Kui *uṇba* (*uṭ-*) ‘(vb.) to drink,

to partake of food (with *ēja* ‘a meal’), to smoke tobacco; (n.) the act of drinking, smoking’; Kuwi *ūndali* ‘to drink’; Kuṛux *ōnnā* (*oṇḍas*) ‘to drink, to eat rice’, *ōnkā* ‘thirst’, *ōntaʔānā* ‘to give a meal, to make drink’; Malto *óne* (*oṇḍ-*) ‘to drink, to be colored’, *onde* ‘to drink, to color, to dye’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:58—59, no. 600; Krishnamurti 2003:110 **uṇ-* ‘to drink’.

Buck 1949:5.11 eat; 5.12 food; 5.13 drink (vb.); 5.15 thirst (sb.); 5.16 suck (vb.). Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 719, **[g]ûńV* (or **ʕ̲ûńV*) ‘to drink, to eat’.

766. Proto-Nostratic root **ʕur-* (~ **ʕor-*):
(vb.) **ʕur-* ‘to be firm, hard, strong’;
(n.) **ʕur-a* ‘firmness, hardness, strength’; (adj.) ‘firm, hard, strong’

A. Proto-Afrasian **ʕur-* ‘to be firm, hard, strong’: Proto-Semitic **ʕar-ad-* ‘hard, firm, stiff’ > Arabic *ʿard*, *ʿardal* ‘hard, firm, stiff’. Proto-Semitic **ʕar-at-* ‘to be hard’ > Arabic *ʿarata* ‘to be hard’. Proto-Semitic **ʕar-aʒ-* ‘to be strong, hard’ > Arabic *ʿaraza* ‘to be strong and hard’, *ʿarzab* ‘hard, firm’, *ʿarzam* ‘firm’. Egyptian *ʿȝ(î)* (< **ʿr*) ‘great; greatness’, *ʿȝʿ* ‘bravery, courage, valor’. Hannig 1995:125 and 129; Faulkner 1962:37 and 38; Gardiner 1957:557; Erman—Grapow 1921:22 and 1926—1963.1:161—164. Proto-Southern Cushitic **ʕur-* or **ʕuur-* ‘strength’ > Iraqw *ʿuru* ‘strength’; Alagwa *ʿuru* ‘strength’; Ma’a *ur* ‘strength’. Ehret 1980:279. Ehret 1995:354, no. 697, **ʕuur-* ‘strength’ and 511 (no. 697); Takács 2011a:143.

B. Dravidian: Tamil *ura* ‘to become firm, hard (as the soil); to become thick, coarse (as paper)’, *urappu* ‘hardness (as of rice that is not well boiled), coarseness or roughness (as of cloth or paper), resoluteness, strength’, *uram* ‘strength, hardness, compactness, resolution, heart of a tree, manure (as strengthening the soil)’, *uraṉ* ‘strength of will, support’, *uraṉar* ‘persons of strong will’, *uravu* (*uravi-*) ‘to become vigorous, to get strong’, *uravam* ‘strength, force’, *uravaṉ*, *uraviyaṉ*, *uravōṉ* ‘strong man’, *uravu* ‘strength, firmness, strength of mind, increasing’; Malayalam *urakka* ‘to be strong’, *urattan* ‘strong man’, *uram* ‘strength, firmness’; Kota *orp-* (*orpy-*) ‘to excel’; Kannaḍa *uraṭu*, *uraṭa*, *uruṭa*, *ur(u)ṭu*, *uṭṭu*, *oraṭu*, *orṭu* ‘coarseness (of cloth, thread, hair), thickness, stoutness’, *orpu* ‘strength, firmness, durability, coarseness (of cloth)’, (?) *urku*, *ukku* ‘power, valor’; (?) Telugu *ukku* ‘strength, vigor, courage, spirit’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:62, no. 649. Tamil *uṟai* ‘to become firm, steadfast, decided (as the mind)’, *uṟaippu* ‘firmness, steadfastness’, *uṟuti* ‘firmness, strength, capacity, assurance’; Malayalam *uṟayuka* ‘to be firm in’, *uṟekka* ‘to be firm, fixed, settled’, *uṟakkē* ‘strongly, firmly, aloud’, *uṟappu* ‘firmness, stay, support, assurance’, *uṟappikka* ‘to seize, to hold firmly, to make fast; to resolve, to assure, to convince’, *uṟuka* ‘to be firm’, *uṟuti* ‘firmness’;

Kota *urv-* (*urd-*) ‘to sink into ground or hole of its own weight’, *urv-* (*urt-*) ‘to press forcibly into hole or ground’; Telugu *or̲apu* ‘steadiness, firmness, strength’, *ur̲iya* ‘a brave man’; Kuṛux *ordnā* ‘to support’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:71, no. 721.

C. Uralic: Proto-Finno-Ugrian **urɜ* ‘man, male’ > Finnish *uros* ‘male (of animals), adult man, brave man, hero’; (?) Lapp / Saami *vâres*, (Lule) *ores* ‘male animal, a male’, *vârek*, (Lule) *orek* ‘two-year old male reindeer’; (?) Hungarian *úr* ~ *ura-* ‘lord, husband’. Collinder 1955:121 and 1977:134; Rédei 1986—1988:545—546 **urɜ*; Sammallahti 1988:542 **urå* ‘male’. Semantic development as in Telugu *ur̲iya* ‘a brave man’ cited above or Latin *vir* ‘man, male; husband’, Sanskrit *vīrá-ḥ* ‘man, hero’, Gothic *wair* ‘man’, Lithuanian *výras* ‘man, husband’, etc. (< **wĭ̆-ro-* ‘man, male; husband; hero’, from the same root found in Latin *vīs* ‘force, power, strength’).

Buck 1949:2.21 man (vs. woman); 2.23 male (of human beings); 3.12 male (of animals); 4.81 strong; mighty; powerful; 15.74 hard; 15.76 rough; 16.52 brave. Hakola 2000:202, no. 902.

767. Proto-Nostratic root **ʕut'-* (~ **ʕot'-*):
(vb.) **ʕut'-* ‘to smell’;
(n.) **ʕut'-a* ‘smell, odor, fragrance’

A. Afrasian: Proto-Semitic **ʕat'-ar-* ‘to have a good smell, to be fragrant’ > Arabic ʿ*aṭira* ‘to perfume, to scent’, ʿ*aṭir* ‘sweet-smelling, fragrant’; Syriac ʿ*eṭrā* ‘incense’; Śḥeri / Jibbāli ʿ*áṭór* ‘to have a good smell’, ʿ*éṭr* ‘perfume’; Mehri ʔ*āṭáwr* ‘to have a nice smell, to be perfumed’, ʔ*āṭər* ‘perfume, perfume bottle’; Ḥarsūsi ʔ*áṭer* ‘perfume, perfume bottle’. Proto-Semitic **ʕat'-an-* ‘to smell bad, to stink’ > Arabic ʿ*aṭina* ‘to rot, to decay, to putrefy’, ʿ*aṭin* ‘putrid, rotten, stinking’; Geez / Ethiopic ʿ*aṭana* [ዐጠነ], ʔ*aṭana* [አጠነ] ‘to burn incense’, ʿ*əṭān* [ዕጣን] ‘incense’; Tigrinya ʿ*aṭänä* ‘to fumigate, to perfume, to render fragrant with incense’; Tigre ʿ*aṭna* ‘to fumigate’, ʿ*əṭan* ‘incense’; Amharic *aṭṭänä* ‘to perfume with incense, to fumigate, to smoke’; Harari *aṭäna* ‘to fumigate’, *əṭān* ‘incense’; Gurage (Chaha) *aṭänä* ‘to perfume’, *əṭan* ‘incense’. Leslau 1963:37, 1979:109, and 1987:76.

B. Proto-Indo-European **ʕ̯fiot'-* ‘to smell’: Armenian *hot* ‘smell, odor’, *hotim* ‘to smell’; Greek (Ionic) ὀδμή, (Attic) ὀσμή, (Doric) ὀδμᾱ́ (< **ὀδ-σ-μᾱ́*) ‘smell, scent, odor’, ὄζω ‘to smell’; Latin *odor* ‘smell, odor’; Lithuanian *úodžiu*, *úosti* ‘to smell’; Latvian *uôžu*, *uôst* ‘to smell’. Rix 1998a:263 **h₃ed-* ‘to give off an odor’; Pokorny 1959:772—773 **od-* ‘to smell’; Walde 1927—1932.I:174 **od-*; Mann 1984—1987:862 **ŏd-* ‘to smell’, 862—863 **odmā* (**odimā*, **ŏdsmā*) ‘smell’; Watkins 1985:45 **od-* and 2000:59 **od-* ‘to smell’; Mallory—Adams 1997:528 **h₃ed-* ‘to smell’ (‘to

give off a smell'); Frisk 1970—1973.II:353—355 Greek ὄζω < *ὄd-i̯ō; Boisacq 1950:684—685 *ods-; Hofmann 1966:224—225 Greek ὄζω < *ὀδι̯ω; *ods-; Beekes 2010.II:1050—1051 *$h_3$ed-; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:777 *od- (*$h_2$ed-); Ernout—Meillet 1979:459; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.II:203 *od-; De Vaan 2008:425—426; Winter 1965a:102; Smoczyński 2007.1:705 *Ho-Hd- < *h_3e-h_3d- < *$h_3$ed-; Fraenkel 1962—1965.II:1167—1168; Derksen 2015:482 *$h_3$ed-.

Buck 1949:15.21—15.24 smell. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:522, no. 371.

768. Proto-Nostratic (n.) *ʕuw-a (~ *ʕow-a) 'herd of small animals, sheep and goats':

A. Afrasian: Egyptian (collective) ʿwt 'sheep and goats, animals, flocks, herds (of small cattle)'. Hannig 1995:132; Faulkner 1962:39; Gardiner 1957:557; Erman—Grapow 1921:23 and 1926—1963.1:170—171.

B. Proto-Indo-European *ʕ̯ho̯wi-s 'sheep': Sanskrit *ávi-ḥ* 'sheep'; Greek ὄϊς, οἶς 'sheep'; Latin *ovis* 'sheep'; Armenian *hov-iw* 'shepherd'; Old Irish *oí* 'sheep'; Gothic *awēþi* 'herd of sheep'; Old English *ēow*, *ēaw*, *ēw* 'sheep', *ēowu*, *ēowe* 'ewe', *ēowd*, *ēowde* 'herd of sheep'; Old Frisian *ei* 'ewe'; Old Saxon *ewwi* 'ewe'; Dutch *ooi* 'ewe'; Old High German *ouwi*, *ou* 'ewe', *ewit*, *owiti* 'herd of sheep'; Lithuanian *avìs* 'sheep'; Latvian *avs* 'sheep'; Old Church Slavic *ovьca* (< *owi-kā) 'sheep'; Hittite (nom. sg. or pl. ?) *ḫa-a-u-e-eš* 'sheep'; Hieroglyphic Luwian *hawis* 'sheep'; Luwian (nom. sg.) *ḫa-a-ú-i-iš* 'sheep'; Lycian *χava-* 'sheep'; Tocharian B *eye* 'sheep', *ā(u)w* 'ewe', *aiyye* 'ovine, pertaining to sheep'. Pokorny 1959:784 *óu̯i-s 'sheep'; Walde 1927—1932.I:167 *ou̯i-s; Mann 1984—1987:897 *ou̯is 'sheep'; Watkins 1985:45 *owi- and 2000:61 *owi- 'sheep' (oldest form *$h_2$owi-); Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.II:577—578 *Hou̯i- and 1995.I:493 *Howi- 'sheep'; Mallory—Adams 1997:510 *$h_2$óu̯is 'sheep'; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.I:59; Orël 2003:31 Proto-Germanic *awiđjan, 31 *awistran, 31 *awiz; Kroonen 2013:45 Proto-Germanic *awi- 'ewe', *awidja- 'flock of sheep', *awist(r)a- 'sheepfold'; Feist 1939:70 *ou̯is; Lehmann 1986:52 *owis; Onions 1966:332; Klein 1971:263; Puhvel 1984— .3:279—280 *$A_2{}^w$éwi- or *H_1ówi-; Kloekhorst 2008b:337—338; Boisacq 1950:692—693 *ou̯i-s; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:786; Frisk 1970—1973.II:367—368 *óu̯i-s; Hofmann 1966:228 *ou̯is; Beekes 2010.II:1060—1061 *$h_3$eui-; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.II:229 *ou̯is; Ernout—Meillet 1979:471—472; De Vaan 2008:437—438; Adams 1999:35 *$h_2$ówis, 92, and 104; Winter 1965a:102; Smoczyński 2007.1:38—39 *$h_2$óu̯i-s; Fraenkel 1962—1965.I:28; Derksen 2008:384 *$h_3$eu-i- and 2015:74 *$h_3$eu-i-; Wodtko—Irslinger—Schneider 2008:335—339 *$h_2$óu̯-i-, *$h_2$éu̯-i̯-.

C. Proto-Uralic (?) *owči / *uwči 'sheep' (< *uwi-či [*-či is a hypocoristic suffix]) > Finnish *uuhi*, *uutu* 'sheep, ewe'; Estonian *uhe* 'sheep'; Mordvin

(Moksha) *učа* ‘sheep’; Cheremis / Mari *užga* (*-ga* is a suffix) ‘fur coat of sheepskin’; Votyak / Udmurt *yž* ‘sheep’; Zyrian / Komi *yž* ‘sheep’; Vogul / Mansi *oš*, *os* ‘sheep’; Ostyak / Xanty *ač* ‘sheep’. Collinder 1955:121 and 1977:134; Rédei 1986—1988:541 **učе*; Sammallahti 1988:552 **uuči* ‘sheep’; Aikio 2020:80—81 (?) **owčV* / **uwčV* ‘sheep’. Note: The vowel **-i-* in the suffix **-či* is reconstructed on the basis of the Finnic forms. Mordvin, on the other hand, points to **-ča*.

D. Proto-Altaic **uykV* (*-kV* is a suffix) ‘mountain ram, mountain goat’: Proto-Tungus **uyKam* ‘mountain ram; a kind of horned animal’ > Evenki *uyam* ‘mountain ram’; Lamut / Even *ụyama* ‘mountain ram’; Negidal *oyamka* ‘a kind of horned animal’; Manchu *weyχen* ‘a kind of horned animal’. Proto-Mongolian **ugalža* ‘male mountain goat’ > Written Mongolian *uγalža* ‘male wild mountain sheep’ (Haltod—Hangin—Kassatkin—Lessing 1960:864 list *uγulža*); Khalkha *ugalʒ* ‘male mountain sheep’ (cf. Hangin 1986:539 угалз); Ordos *ug*^{w}*alži* ‘male mountain goat’. Proto-Turkic **ograk* ‘mountain goat’ > Karakhanide Turkic *oγraq* ‘mountain goat’. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:1486 **ujkV* ‘a kind of horned animal’.

Buck 1949:3.25 sheep. Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 749, **Γ[o]wV* ‘wild sheep/goats’; Bomhard—Kerns 1994:521—522, no. 370.

				Eurasiatic			
Proto-Nostratic	Proto-Afrasian	Proto-Dravid.	Proto-Kartvel.	Proto-IE	Proto-Uralic	Proto-Altaic	Proto-Eskimo
x-	x-	Ø-	x-	ħ͡h-	Ø-	Ø-	Ø-
-x-	-x-	-Ø-	-x-	-ħ͡h-	-x-	-Ø-	-Ø-

769. Proto-Nostratic root **xal-* (~ **xəl-*):
(vb.) **xal-* ‘to wear down, to wear out, to weaken; to be worn out, worn down, weakened’;
(n.) **xal-a* ‘weakness, exhaustion, fatigue, weariness’; (adj.) ‘weak, worn out, tired, exhausted, weary’
Note also:
(vb.) **ħal-* ‘to lay waste, to destroy, to kill, to slaughter’;
(n.) **ħal-a* ‘destruction, violence, killing, slaughter’

A. Proto-Afrasian **xal-* ‘to wear down, to wear out, to weaken; to be worn out, worn down, weakened’: Proto-Semitic **xal-ak’-* ‘to wear out, to wear down, to make smooth; to be worn down, worn out, ended, finished, terminated, wasted, destroyed’ > Hebrew *ḥālaḳ* [חָלַק] ‘(Qal) to be smooth, slippery; (Hif.) to beat smooth (metal, with a hammer)’, *ḥālāḳ* [חָלָק] ‘smooth, bald’; Ugaritic *ḫlḳ* ‘to perish (?), to destroy’; Arabic *ḫalaḳa* ‘to be old, worn, shabby (garment); to wear out (something), to let (something) become old and shabby’, *ḫalaḳ* ‘shabby, worn (garment), threadbare’; Akkadian *ḫalāḳu* ‘to disappear, to vanish, to become missing or lost, to perish; to escape, to flee; to destroy, to ruin’; Geez / Ethiopic *ḫalḳa* [ኀልቀ], *ḥalḳa* [ሐልቀ] ‘to be consumed, to be wasted, to perish, to cease, to come to an end, to be accomplished, to be terminated, to be finished, to be destroyed, to fail, to dwindle away, to be spent, to be decided upon, to be determined’; Tigrinya *ḫaläḳä* ‘to finish, to be finished’; Amharic *älläḳä* ‘to come to an end, to be finished, to be consumed’; Argobba *alläḳa* ‘to be finished’; Gurage (Soddo) *alläḳä*, *allä’ä* ‘to be finished, ended’, *əllaḳi* ‘worn out’. Murtonen 1989:184; Klein 1987:220; Leslau 1979:40 and 1987:261. Proto-Semitic **xal-aw/y-* ‘to be worn out, weak, sick’ > Akkadian *ḫalū* ‘to suffer’; Hebrew *ḥālāh* [חָלָה] ‘to be weak, sick; to be smooth (to the taste), to be sweet; (Pi.) to soften, to sweeten; to soothe, to assuage; (Hif.) to assuage, to soften; to make sick, to wear out’; Aramaic *ḥəlā* ‘to be sick’. Murtonen 1989:182; Klein 1987:217. Proto-Semitic **xal-aš-* ‘to be weak’ > Hebrew *ḥālaš* [חָלַשׁ] ‘to be weak, prostrate; to weaken, to disable, to prostrate’; Aramaic *ḥəlaš* ‘to be weak’. Murtonen 1989:184; Klein 1987:220. Egyptian *ḫ͗ꜣ* (medical term) ‘to pound, to crush, to pulverize’. Hannig 1995:629. [Orël—Stolbova 1995:272, no. 1229,

*ḥalaḳ- ‘to be smooth’ and 291—292, no. 1327, *ḫalaḳ- ‘clothes’ (Proto-Semitic *ḫulāḳ-/*ḫālūḳ- ‘old or torn clothes’ < Proto-Semitic *ḫVlVḳ- ‘to be torn’).]

B. Dravidian: Tamil *ala* ‘to suffer, to be in distress, to suffer privation, to be in want’, *alu* ‘to be weary, to be tired by overwork or care’, *allā* ‘to suffer, to be in distress’, *alam* ‘distress, pain, misery’, *alacu* (*alaci-*) ‘to suffer, to be distressed, to be exhausted, to become weary’; Malayalam *ala* ‘lamentation’, *alaṅṅuka*, *alukka* ‘to be worn out, to grow lean’; Kota *alv-* (*ald-*) ‘to become wearied by walking or searching’; Kannaḍa *ala*, *alapu*, *alupu*, *alavu*, *alavike*, *alasike* ‘fatigue, weariness, trouble’, *alasu* ‘to become weary, to be tired, to be vexed, to be disgusted, to loiter’; Tuḷu *alasuni*, *alajuni* ‘to be fatigued, to be vexed, to suffer gripping pain’, *albe* ‘thin, weak, lean’; Telugu *alayu* ‘to be tired, to be disgusted’; Kolami *alay-* (*alayt-*) ‘to become tired’; Kui *alāṛi* ‘fatigue, distress from fatigue, exhaustion’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:22—23, no. 236. Malayalam *aliyuka* ‘to melt, to dissolve (as salt, heart)’, *alikka*, *aliyikka* ‘to melt’; Koḍagu *ali-* (*aliv-*, *aliñj-*) ‘to dissolve (intr.)’, *ali-* (*alip-*, *alic-*) ‘to dissolve (tr.)’; Tuḷu *aliyuni* ‘to dissolve, to decay’, *eliyuni*, *ēluni* ‘to melt’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:24, no. 250. Tamil *alku* (*alki-*) ‘to shrink, to diminish, to lessen’, *alkal* ‘deficiency, poverty’; Kannaḍa *akkuḍisu* ‘to become small, to wane’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:24, no. 252.

C. Proto-Indo-European *ḫ͡ḫel- [*ḫ͡ḫal-] ‘to wear down, to grind’: Sanskrit *áṇu-ḥ* (< *al-nu-) ‘fine, minute’; Pāḷi *aṇu-* ‘small’; Greek ἀλέω ‘to grind, to bruise, to pound’; Armenian *ałam* ‘to grind’. Pokorny 1959:28—29 *al- ‘to grind’; Walde 1927—1932.I:189 *al-; Mann 1984—1987:14 *aleu̯i̯ō* ‘to grind, to pound, to crush’, 14 *aleur- (*aleu̯ər-*) ‘millings, flour’; Watkins 1985:2 *al- and 2000:3 *al-* ‘to grind, to mill’; Mallory—Adams 1997:247 *$h_4$el-* ‘to grind down’; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.I:26 *al-nu-; Boisacq 1950:43; Frisk 1970—1973.I:70—71; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:59; Beekes 2010.I:65 *$h_2$elh$_1$-; Hofmann 1966:12. Perhaps also the following: Sanskrit *alasá-ḥ*, *ālasa-ḥ* ‘inactive, lazy, tired’; Lithuanian *alsà* ‘tiredness’; Tocharian B *alāṣmo* ‘sick’, *alāsk-* ‘to be sick’. Mayrhofer 1956—1980.I:55; Couvreur 1950:126; Van Windekens 1976—1982.I:620 (Van Windekens considers Tocharian B *alāsk-* to be adapted from Sanskrit *alasá-ḥ*); Adams 1999:25—26; Fraenkel 1962—1965.I:184; Smoczyński 2007.1:219—220; Derksen 2015:53.

D. Yukaghir (Southern / Kolyma) *al'a:-* ‘to thaw’, *al'o:-* ‘melted’, *al'a:š-* ‘to melt’, *al'o:jə* ‘ice-hole; thawed patch’, *al'ununnu-* ‘to thaw’, (Northern / Tundra) *al'aa-* ‘to thaw’, *al'uo-* ‘melted’, *al'uorii-* ‘to keep melted’. Nikolaeva 2006:100.

E. Proto-Altaic *āle* ‘weak, tired, confused’: Proto-Tungus *āli-* ‘to become tired’ > Negidal *ālī-* ‘to become tired’; Ulch *āl(i)-* ‘to become tired’; Orok *ālị-* ‘to become tired’; Nanay / Gold *ālị-* ‘to become tired’. Proto-Mongolian *al-da-, *al-ǯi-, *al-ga- ‘(vb.) to become tired; to lose, to miss;

(adj.) disturbed, absent-minded, lazy' > Mongolian *alda-* 'to lose, to let go, to drop; to lose control of, to be unable to control; to do something by mistake or by accident', *aldaγ-a* 'mistake, error, fault, blunder, omission; defect; loss', *aldaγdal* 'defect, deficiency, lack, want', *aldal* 'loss, slip, omission, mistake, error, fault, blunder', *aldara-* 'to come loose, to untie, to come off; to be freed from; to disappear, to vanish; to lose courage or strength or to weaken physically', *aldas* 'mistake, slip, omission, fault', *alγur* 'slow(ly), quiet(ly), calm(ly), leisure(ly), gradual(ly)', *alγasa-* 'to be distracted, confused, absent-minded, inattentive; to be unstable; to be worried; to be concerned; to miss, to skip', *almai* 'careless(ness), absent-minded(ness), inattentive(ness), forgetful(ness)', *alǯiya-* 'to be or become tired, exhausted, weary; to be troubled', *alǯiyal* 'fatigue, weariness; worry, anxiety, trouble', *alǯiyas* 'fatigue, trouble, worry, temptation, allurement, enticement; error'; Khalkha *alda-* 'to lose, to miss', *alǯā-* 'to become tired', *algū*, *almai* 'disturbed, absent-minded, lazy'; Buriat *alžā-* 'to become tired', *almay* 'disturbed, absent-minded, lazy'; Kalmyk *aldə-* 'to lose, to miss', *almā̃* 'disturbed, absent-minded, lazy'; Ordos *alda-* 'to lose, to miss'; Dagur *alśē-* 'to become tired', *alede-* 'to lose, to miss'; Monguor *χarʒ́ā-* 'to become tired', *(a)rda-* 'to lose, to miss'. Proto-Turkic **ăl-* 'weak, tired, old, worn out, etc.' > Old Turkic (Old Uighur) *alaŋ-ad-* 'to become weak'; Karakhanide Turkic *alïγ* 'bad', *alïq* 'to be vile (of a man), to turn septic (of a wound)'; Turkish *alık*, (Osmanli) *alu* 'weak, inferior', (dial.) *alaz*, *alız* 'weak, inferior', (dial.) *alkın* 'upset'; Gagauz *alïq* 'crazy; fool'; Turkmenian *al-ŋ-a-sa-* 'to hurry'; Uighur *alaq*, *alaŋ* 'crazy'; Karaim *alas* 'weakness'; Tatar *ala-ma* 'bad; old, worn-out'; Bashkir *alama* 'bad; old, worn-out', *al-yawu* 'to go mad'; Kirghiz *alaŋ*, *alaγ-dï* 'absent-minded, inattentive'; Kazakh *alaŋ* 'lazy man'; Oyrot (Mountain Altai) *alā* (< *alaγ*) 'dumb, foolish', *alu* (< *alïγ*) 'fool', *alaŋ* 'doubt, surprise', *alγas* 'upset', *al-ïn-* 'to go mad'; Noghay *ala-ŋ-γa-s-ar* 'absent-minded, inattentive'; Sary-Uighur *alγač* 'lazy man'; Tuva *alāq-* 'to be in doubt', *alaŋ* 'doubt, surprise'; Yakut *alγas* 'error'. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:286—287 **āle* 'weak, tired, confused'.

F. Gilyak / Nivkh *al-* 'to be tired'.

Buck 1949:4.82 weak; 4.84 sick; sickness; 4.91 tired, weary; 5.56 grind; 16.31 pain, suffering. Greenberg 2002:170, no. 395, **ali* 'tired'; Bomhard—Kerns 1984:545—546, no. 404.

770. Proto-Nostratic root **xal-* (~ **xəl-*):
(vb.) **xal-* 'to divide, to allot, to apportion, to enumerate, to count';
(n.) **xal-a* 'division, allotment, portion, share; measurement, calculation, number'

A. Proto-Afrasian **xal-* ‘to divide, to allot, to apportion, to enumerate, to count’: Proto-Semitic **xal-ak’-* ‘to divide, to allot, to apportion, to enumerate, to count’ > Hebrew *ḥālaḳ* [חָלַק] ‘to divide, to allot, to share’, *ḥēleḳ* [חֵלֶק] ‘part, portion, share (of booty, of property)’; Syriac *ḥəlaḳ* ‘to allot’, *ḥəlḳā* ‘lot, portion’; Arabic *ḫalaḳa* ‘to measure (out leather before cutting it)’; Geez / Ethiopic *ḫʷallaḳʷa* [ኀለቈ] ‘to count, to number, to enumerate, to take account, to review, to impute, to consider’; Tigrinya *ḫəlḳʷ* ‘number, count’; Amharic *əlḳ*, *əlḳo* ‘number’; Harari *ḥēläḳa* ‘to count, to consider’; Gurage (Wolane) *eläḳä*, (Selṭi) *ēläḳä*, (Zway) *īläḳä* ‘to count’, (Wolane, Selṭi) *əlḳ*, (Zway) *ələḳ* ‘number’. Murtonen 1989:184; Klein 1987:220; Leslau 1963:82—83, 1979:41, and 1987:261.

B. Dravidian: Tamil *alaku* ‘number, calculation, cowries (as signs of number in reckoning)’; (?) Koḍagu *alu* ‘cowrie’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:23, no. 238. Tamil *aḷa* ‘to measure, to limit, to define’, *aḷapu*, *aḷappam* ‘measurement’, *aḷappu* ‘measurement, limit, bounds’, *aḷavu* ‘measure, extent, size, number’, *aḷavi* ‘limit’, *aḷavai* ‘measure, bounds, limit’, *aḷavaṉ* ‘one who measures grain’; Malayalam *aḷakka* ‘to measure’, *aḷavu* ‘measure, capacity, measure of time’, *aḷattam* ‘measurement’, *aḷavan* ‘measurer’; Kota *aḷv-* (*aḷd-*) ‘to measure’, *aḷv* ‘limit’; Toda *aḷ-* (*aḷθ-*) ‘to measure’, *aḷt-* ‘measure’; Kannaḍa *aḷe* (*aḷad-*, *aḷed-*) ‘(vb.) to measure; (n.) measure’, *aḷate*, *aḷte* ‘measure, extent, measurement’, *aḷavu*, *aḷabu* ‘measure’; Koḍagu *aḷa-* (*aḷap-*, *aḷand-*) ‘to measure’, *aḷate* ‘act of measuring’; Tuḷu *aḷa* ‘measure, capacity’, *aḷakè*, *aḷatè* ‘measurement’, *aḷapuni* ‘to measure’, *aḷaka* ‘large basket for measuring rice’; Telugu *alavi* ‘measure, extent’, *lāvu* ‘dimensions, magnitude’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:28, no. 295.

Sumerian *hal* ‘to separate, to divide; to deal out, to distribute’, *ha-la* ‘portion, share’, (reduplicated) *hal(-hal)* ‘to apportion, to allot, to deal out, to distribute’.

Buck 1949:12.54 measure (vb.); 13.12 number. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:551—552, no. 411.

771. Proto-Nostratic root **xam-* (~ **xəm-*):
(vb.) **xam-* ‘to be wild, fierce, brave, strong, manly’;
(n.) **xam-a* ‘a male (human or animal)’
Extended form (Dravidian and Indo-European):
(vb.) **xam-V-d-* ‘to be wild, fierce, brave, strong, manly’;
(n.) **xam-d-a* ‘a male (human or animal)’ (**xam-d-* > **xan-d-*)

A. Afrasian: Egyptian *ḫm* ‘(to be) wild (of animals)’. Hannig 1995:599; Faulkner 1962190. (?) Highland East Cushitic: Burji *ham?-anée* ‘big’. Sasse 1982:91; Hudson 1989:8 and 196.

B. Dravidian: Parji *enḍka* ‘young male pig’; Pengo *anḍren* ‘male, man’; Manḍa *anḍren* ‘male, man’; Kui *anḍra* ‘a male animal or bird; male’; Kuṟux *aṇḍra* ‘male (said only of animals)’, *aṇḍyā* ‘fierce, unmanageable (of bulls, bullocks, and male buffaloes), haughty, overbearing (of men)’; Malto *anḍya* ‘a bull’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:509, no. 7. Dravidian loanword in Sanskrit *aṇḍīra-ḥ* ‘male, man; strong’.

C. Indo-European: Greek ἄνθρωπος ‘man (used both as a generic term and of individuals)’, (Mycenaean) *a-to-ro-qo* (ant^{h}rōk^{w}os) ‘man’, ἀνθρώπειος, ἀνθρώπινος, ἀνθρωπικός ‘human’, ἀνθρωπισμός ‘humanity’. Boisacq 1950:63; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:90—91; Hofmann 1966:19; Beekes 2010.I:106 (probably substrate origin); Frisk 1970—1973.I:110—111. Semantic development as in Dravidian cited above. Notes: (1) Found only in Greek. (2) ἄνθρωπος appears to be a compound < pre-Greek **and^{h}ro-*+ **-(H)ok^{w}-o-*. The meaning of **-(H)ok^{w}-o-* is not clear. If it is ultimately a derivative of the Proto-Indo-European root **Hok^{w}h-* ‘to see’, as some have claimed, the original meaning may have been something like ‘having the look, appearance, or characteristics of a man, like a man’ (cf. Greek ὄψις ‘the look or appearance of a person or thing, his or its aspect’, ὄψανον ‘appearance’).

Buck 1949:2.1 man (human being); 2.23 male; 3.12 male (adj.).

772. Proto-Nostratic root **xan-* (~ **xən-*):
(vb.) **xan-* ‘to sprout, to floursh, to bloom’;
(n.) **xan-a* ‘sprout, bloom, blossom’

A. Afrasian: Proto-Semitic **xan-ab-* ‘to sprout, to flourish’ > Akkadian *ḫanābu* ‘to sprout, to flourish, to grow abundantly’, *ḫanbu*, *ḫānibu* ‘luxuriant’, *ḫunnubu* ‘very thriving’. Proto-Semitic **xan-am-* ‘to thrive, to be luxuriant’ > Akkadian *ḫanāmu* ‘to thrive, to be luxuriant; to bloom’, *ḫannāmu* ‘very luxuriant’. Proto-Semitic **xan-at’-* ‘to ripen, to mature’ > Akkadian *ḫunṭu* ‘ripeness, maturity’, *ḫunnuṭu* ‘(state of) ripening’.

B. Proto-Indo-European **ĥ̯hen-d^{h}-* [**ĥ̯han-d^{h}-*] ‘to sprout, to blossom, to bloom’, **ĥ̯hen-d^{h}-os-* [**ĥ̯han-d^{h}-os-*] ‘sprout, blossom, bloom, flower’: Sanskrit *ándhas-* ‘sprout of the soma plant; herb’; Greek ἄνθος ‘blossom, flower’. ἀνθέω ‘to blossom, to bloom’, ἄνθη ‘full bloom’; Albanian *ëndem* ‘to blossom, to bloom’, *ënde* ‘flower’. Rix 2001:266 (?) **h$_2$end^{h}-* ‘to sprout, to bloom’; Pokorny 1959:40—41 **andh-*, **anedh-* ‘to sprout, to bloom, to blossom’, **andhos* ‘bloom, blossom, herb’; Walde 1927—1932.I:67—68 **andhos*; Mann 1984—1987:21 **andhos*, *-es-*, **andhi̯ə* ‘plant, flower’; Watkins 1985:2 **andh-* and 2000:4 **andh-* ‘bloom’; Mallory—Adams 1997:207 **h$_a$éndhes-* ± ‘flower’; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.I:36; Boisacq 1950:62—63; Hofmann 1966:19; Frisk 1970—

1973.I:108—109; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:89—90; Beekes 2010.I:104—105 *h_2end^h-; Orël 1998:87; Hamp 1965a:141.

Buck 1949:8.53 plant; 8.57 flower.

773. Proto-Nostratic root *xaŋ- (~ *xəŋ-):
(vb.) *xaŋ- ‘to lift, to raise; to rise, to go upward, to ascend’;
(n.) *xaŋ-a ‘that which is most prominent, foremost, visible, or noticeable’;
(particle) *xaŋ- ‘on top of, over, above’
Extended form:
(n.) *xaŋ-t^h-a ‘the most prominent or foremost (person or thing), front, front part’

A. Afrasian: Proto-Highland East Cushitic *ħan- ‘over, above, on (top of)’ > Gedeo / Darasa *hana* ‘over, above’; Hadiyya *hana* ‘over, above’, *hane* ‘top’; Sidamo *aana* ‘over, above’, *aaná* ‘on (top of)’. Hudson 1989:109. The following Semitic forms probably belong here as well (see below): Proto-Semitic *xan-at’- ‘(vb.) to stick out, to project, to protrude; (n.) that which is most prominent, foremost, visible, or noticeable’ > Mehri *xənṭāy* ‘front part of a camel’; Ḥarsūsi *xenṭī* ‘one of the fore-teats of a camel’; Śḥeri / Jibbāli *xanṭí* ‘front, front part of anything’ (also *šxəníṭ* ‘to come out, away from; to get out’, *xunṭ* ‘outside’, *xanṭún* ‘out, absent’; *axníṭ* ‘to take out, to take off; to evacuate the bowels; to be full to overflowing; to go out in the spring’). Arabic *ḫunṭūl* ‘long horn or penis’. Arabic *ḫinṣir*, *ḫinṣar* ‘little finger or toe’.

B. [Dravidian: Tamil *aṉ* ‘upper part’, *aṇa* ‘to lift the head’, *aṇar* ‘to rise, to move upwards’, *aṇavu* (*aṇavi-*) ‘to go upward, to ascend’, *aṇṇal* ‘greatness, exaltation, superiority, great man, king, god’, *aṇṇā* ‘to look upward, to gape, to hold the head erect’; Malayalam *aṇṇa* ‘upwards, above’, *aṇṇal* ‘high, God, esp. Arhat’, *aṇṇā* ‘looking upwards’; Kannaḍa *aṇṇe*, *aṇṇa*, *aṇa* ‘excellence, purity’; Tuḷu *aṇāvuni*, *aṇṇāvuni* ‘to look up, to lift up the face, to gaze’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:12, no. 110. Tamil *āṇi* ‘excellence, superiority’, *āṇi-ppoṉ* ‘gold of the finest quality’, *āṇi-muttu* ‘pearl of the finest quality’; Kannaḍa *āṇi* ‘excellence, superiority, preciousness’, *āṇi-pon* ‘gold of the finest quality’; Malayalam *āṇikkaram* ‘the choicest of anything’, *āṇi-pponnu* ‘finest gold’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:33, no. 354.]

C. [(?) Proto-Altaic *āŋo (‘front, front side’ >) ‘right (side)’: Proto-Tungus *āŋ(gi)- ‘right’ > Evenki *anŋū*, *āńŋū* ‘right’; Lamut / Even *āngъγ* ‘right’; Negidal *ańŋi-dā* ‘right’; Oroch *āńžä* ‘right’; Udihe *ayaŋaža* ‘right’; Solon *angida* ‘right’. Proto-Mongolian *eŋge- ‘south; front (of cloth)’ > Written Mongolian *eŋger* ‘flap of a garment, lapel(s); southern slope of a mountain or hill’, *eŋ* ‘width (of material), dimension, extent’, *eŋ* ‘very, most’ (*eŋ terigün* ‘first of all, very first’); Khalkha *enger* ‘south; front (of cloth)’;

Buriat *enger* ‘front (of cloth)’; Kalmyk *eŋgə*, *eŋgŗ* ‘shore’; Ordos *enger* ‘front (of cloth)’; Dagur *enge* ‘front (of cloth)’; Dongxiang *engie* ‘front (of cloth)’; Monguor *ŋge* ‘front (of cloth)’. Proto-Turkic **oŋ* ‘right; good, lucky; west’ > Old Turkic (Old Uighur) *oŋ* ‘right; good, lucky; west’; Karakhanide Turkic *oŋ* ‘right; good, lucky’; Turkish (dial.) *on* ‘right; good, lucky’; Turkmenian *oŋ* ‘good, lucky’; Uzbek *o̦ŋ* ‘right; good, lucky’; Uighur *oŋ* ‘right’; Karaim *oŋ* ‘right; good, lucky’; Tatar *uŋ* ‘right; good, lucky’; Bashkir *uŋ* ‘right; good, lucky’; Kirghiz *oŋ* ‘right; good, lucky’; Kazakh *oŋ* ‘right’; Noghay *oŋ* ‘right; good, lucky’; Sary-Uighur *oŋ* ‘right’; Oyrot (Mountain Altai) *oŋ* ‘right; good, lucky’; Tuva *oŋ* ‘right’; Yakut *uŋa* ‘right; southern’, *uŋuor* ‘on the other bank’. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:305 ***āŋo* ‘right’.]

Buck 1949:10.21 rise (vb.); 10.22 raise, lift; 12.31 high; 12.33 top; 12.41 right; 12.48 south. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:553—554, no. 413. Note: the Dravidian and Altaic forms are phonologically ambiguous — they may belong with Proto-Nostratic **ʕaŋ-* (~ **ʕəŋ-*) ‘(n.) upper part; (particle) up, above’ instead.

774. Proto-Nostratic root **xaŋ-* (~ **xəŋ-*):
Extended form:
(n.) **xaŋ-t^{h}-a* ‘the most prominent or foremost (person or thing), front, front part’
Derivative of:
(vb.) **xaŋ-* ‘to lift, to raise; to rise, to go upward, to ascend’;
(n.) **xaŋ-a* ‘that which is most prominent, foremost, visible, or noticeable’;
(particle) **xaŋ-* ‘on top of, over, above’

A. Afrasian: Egyptian *ḫnt* ‘face, front part’, *ḫnt* ‘in front of, among, from’, *ḫnt* ‘to ascend, to rise (the Nile)’, (adv.) *ḫntw* ‘before, earlier’, *ḫnt*, *ḫnty* ‘nose, face’, *ḫnty* ‘who or which is in front of (of place), who is at the head of, foremost, pre-eminent in, principal (of degree), protruding (of shape)’; Coptic *šant* [ϣⲁⲛⲧ] ‘nose’. Erman—Grapow 1921:129—130 and 1926—1963.3:302—306; Gardiner 1957:585; Hannig 1995:607—608; Faulkner 1962:194; Vycichl 1983:254. Note: Dolgopolsky (2002:45—46 and 2008, no. 1875) compares the following South Arabian forms with the Egyptian forms cited here: Mehri *xənṭāy* ‘front part of a camel’; Ḥarsūsi *xenṭī* ‘one of the fore-teats of a camel’; Śḥeri / Jibbāli *xanṭí* ‘front, front part of anything’ (also *s̃xəníṭ* ‘to come out, away from; to get out’, *xunṭ* ‘outside’, *xanṭún* ‘out, absent’; *axníṭ* ‘to take out, to take off; to evacuate the bowels; to be full to overflowing; to go out in the spring’). These cannot be separated from Arabic *ḫunṭūl* ‘long horn or penis’. The original meaning was probably something like ‘that which is most prominent, foremost, visible, or noticeable’. The Proto-Semitic ancestor may be reconstructed **xan-at'-* ‘to stick out, to project, to protrude’, that is, root **xan-* with *-at'-*

extension. That the root is to be reconstructed as **xan-* to which various extensions have been added in Semitic proper is shown by the related Arabic *ḫinṣir*, *ḫinṣar* ‘little finger or toe’, itself from earlier **xan-ac'-*. Thus, the Semitic forms can be compared, but not directly with Egyptian *ḫnt* ‘face, front part’ as Dolgopolsky has attempted to do.

B. Proto-Indo-European **ḫ͡ḫent^{h}-s* [**ḫ͡ḫant^{h}-s*] ‘front, front part’, **ḫ͡ḫent^{h}i* [**ḫ͡ḫant^{h}i*] ‘in front of, before’: Hittite *ḫa-an-za* ‘front, front part’, *ḫa-an-ti* ‘in front of, before’, *ḫa-an-te-iz-zi-iš* ‘first, foremost’; Luwian (nom. sg.) *ḫa-an-te-le-eš* ‘first, foremost’, (acc. sg.) *ḫa-an-da-wa-te-en* ‘leader, chief’; Lycian (3rd sg. pret.) *χñte-wete* ‘to lead, to direct’, *χñte-wata-* ‘leader, chief’; Sanskrit *ánti* ‘before’, *ántya-ḥ* ‘last (in time, place, or order)’, *ánta-ḥ* ‘end, limit, boundary’; Pāḷi *antika-* ‘near’; Sindhi (f.) *andī* ‘edge, edge of a web of cloth as left in weaving’; Kashmiri *and* ‘edge, limit’; Marathi *ãt* ‘as far as’, *ãtī̃* ‘at the end of, after, on’; Greek ἀντί ‘opposite’, ἄντα ‘over, against, face to face’; Latin *ante* ‘before’; Oscan *ant* ‘till’; Gothic *and* ‘along, throughout, towards’, *andeis* ‘end’; Old Icelandic (prefix) *and-* ‘opposite, against, towards’, *endi*, *endir* ‘end’, *endr* ‘in times past, formerly’, *enda* ‘to end, to bring to an end’; Old English (prefix) *and-*, *ond-* ‘opposite, against, towards’, *ende* ‘end, limit, border’; Old Frisian *enda* ‘end’; Old Saxon (prefix) *and-*, *ant-* ‘opposite, against, towards’, *endi* ‘end’; Dutch *einde* ‘end’; Old High German (prefix) *ant-*, *int-*, *ent-* ‘opposite, against, towards’ (New High German *ant-*, *ent-*), *anti*, *enti* ‘end’ (New High German *Ende*); Lithuanian *añt* (earlier *antà*) ‘on, upon’; Tocharian A *ānt*, B *ānte* ‘surface, forehead’. Pokorny 1959:48—50 **ant-s* ‘front’, **anti* ‘in front of, before’; Walde 1927—1932.I:65—67 **anti*; Mann 1984—1987:27—28 **anti* (**ənti*, **ʔanti*, **ʔənti*); **antis*, *-os*, *-i̯os* ‘towards, against, facing; face, front, side, edge, end’; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.I:158 **H$_2$ant[^{h}]-*, I:203, II:814 **Hant[^{h}]-*, **Hant[^{h}]i̯o-* and 1995.I:136 **H$_2$ant^{h}-* ‘forehead, front part of face, forehead’, I:175, I:713 **Hant^{h}-*, **Hant^{h}yo-*; Watkins 1985:3 **ant-* ‘front, forehead’, inflected form (loc. sg.) **anti* ‘against’ and 2000:4 **ant-* ‘front, forehead’ (oldest form **h$_2$ent-*, colored to **h$_2$ant-*), inflected form (loc. sg.) **anti* ‘against’, with derivatives meaning ‘in front of, before’, also ‘end’; Mallory—Adams 1997:60 **H$_2$enti* ‘in front’ and 209 **H$_2$ent-* ‘forehead’; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.I:35 and I:36; Puhvel 1984— .3:89—96 **A$_1$ent-* and 3:108—112; Boisacq 1950:64 (Latin *ante* < **antĭ*); Frisk 1970—1973.I:112—113 and I:113—114; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:91—92; Hofmann 1966:19; Sihler 1995:439, §406.1, **H$_2$enti* ‘in front and facing’; Beekes 2010.I:107—108 **h$_2$ent-* and I:109 **h$_2$ent-*; Ernout—Meillet 1979:36—37; De Vaan 2008:45; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:53—54 **anti*, **anta*; **anti̯ó-*, **ánti̯o-*; Orël 2003:18 Proto-Germanic **anđa*, 18 **anđjaz*, 18 **anđjōjanan*; Kroonen 2013:27 Proto-Germanic **andja-* ‘end, extreme’; Feist 1939:46 and 49; Lehmann 1986:34 and 36; De Vries 1977:9 and 102; Onions 1966:313 **antjó-*; Klein 1971:247 **anta-*, **anti-*;

Boutkan—Siebinga 2005:88; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:25 **anta*, **anti*, 165 **antjō-*, and 166—167; Kluge—Seebold 1989:178 and 179; Smoczyński 2007.1:17 **$h_2$ent-*; Fraenkel 1962—1965.I:11; Derksen 2015:57; Adams 1999:43 **H_2ento-*, **H_2ent-* 'front, forehead'; Van Windekens 1976—1982.I:163; Sturtevant 1942:40, §37c, Indo-Hittite **xants*, (dat.) **xánti*; Kloekhorst 2008b:287—289 **$h_2$ent-*. Adams (1999:14 and 2013:15) has shown that Tocharian A *āmpi*, B *antapi* ~ *āntpi* 'both' probably belong here as well, being derived from Proto-Indo-European **ḫ̆hent^h-b^{h}o-* [**ḫ̆hant^h-b^{h}o-*] (Adams writes **$h_2$ent-bho-*). On the basis of the Tocharian forms, which are particularly archaic, Greek ἄμφω 'both' and Latin *ambō* 'both' must now be derived as follows: **ḫ̆hem-b^{h}o-* [**ḫ̆ham-b^{h}o-*] < **ḫ̆hent^h-b^{h}o-* [**ḫ̆hant^h-b^{h}o-*], with assimilation of original **-nt^h-* to **-m-* before **-b^{h}o-* (cf. Beekes 2010.I:96 **h_2(e)nt-b^{h}oh_1*; De Vaan 2008:37—38 **h_2(e)nt-b^{h}oH*).

C. Proto-Uralic **aŋta* 'horn, antler': Ostyak / Xanty (Vah) *äŋət* 'horn', (Upper Demyanka) *oŋət*, (Obdorsk) *aŋət*; Vogul / Mansi (Tavda) *ɛ̯ɛ̯ńt* (*-ńt* < **-nt* < **-ŋt*) 'horn', (Pelymka) *ońt* 'horn', (Sosva) *aańt* 'horn'; Yurak Samoyed / Nenets (Obdorsk) *ńaamt* 'horn, antler (of reindeer)'; Yenisei Samoyed / Enets (Hantai) *eddo* 'horn', (Baiha) *naddo*; Tavgi Samoyed / Nganasan *ŋamta* 'horn'; Selkup Samoyed (Narym) *amd*, *aamd* 'horn, antler'; Kamassian *amno* 'horn'; Koibal *amna* 'horn'; Motor *amdu* 'horn'. Rédei 1986—1988:12—13 **aŋtɜ* (**oŋtɜ*); Décsy 1990:97 **angta* 'horn'; Janhunen 1977b:20 **ämtə̂*; Aikio 2020:19—20 (?) **ańta* 'antler'.

D. (?) Altaic **a[ŋ]t^{h}a* 'hill, slope' (< 'front slope' ?): Proto-Tungus **antaga* 'slope of a mountain' > Evenki *antaγa* 'slope of a mountain'; Lamut / Even *antъγ* 'slope of a mountain'; Negidal *antaγa* 'slope of a mountain'; Manchu *antu* 'the south side of a mountain, the sunny side of a mountain'; Nanay / Gold *antažia* 'slope of a mountain'; Udihe *anta* 'slope of a mountain'. Turkmenian *aŋŋat* 'sandhill, mound' may belong here as well. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:302 **ant'a* 'hill, slope'.

E. Etruscan *hanθin* 'in front of'.

Buck 1949:4.17 horn; 4.204 face; 12.35 end. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:554, no. 414; Dolgopolsky 2002:45—46 **qan/ṅṭV* 'forehead, front' and 2008, no. 1875, **qañṭV* 'forehead, front'; Greenberg 2002:24—25, no. 35, **hant* 'before'.

775. Proto-Nostratic root **xat'-* (~ **xət'-*):
(vb.) **xat'-* 'to cut into, to hollow out, to engrave, to prick, to pierce';
(n.) **xat'-a* 'slice, carving, engraving, engraved line, incision'

A. Proto-Afrasian **xat'-* 'to cut into, to hollow out, to engrave, to prick, to pierce': Proto-Semitic **xat'-at'-* 'to cut into, to hollow out, to engrave, to carve' > Arabic *ḫaṭṭa* 'to carve, to engrave, to inscribe, to draw or trace a line, to write'; Akkadian *ḫaṭāṭu* 'to make a ditch, to excavate, to dredge a

river', *ḫiṭṭatu* 'trench; foundation pit'; Sabaean *ḫṭṭ* 'to fix the boundaries of a piece of land'; Ḥarsūsi *xṭāṭ* 'to make signs on the ground by the road to guide travelers', *xaṭṭ* 'letter, line'; Śḥeri / Jibbāli *xeṭṭ* 'to write, to make signs on the ground to point out a route'; Mehri *xəṭ* 'to make signs on the ground to point out (a route)'. Zammit 2002:163. Orël—Stolbova 1995:294, no. 1341, **ḫaṭ-* 'to dig' and 302, no. 1380, **ḫuṭ-* 'to dig, to scratch' (connected with **ḫaṭ-* 'to dig').

B. Elamo-Dravidian: Achaemenid Elamite *at-tu-* 'to excavate, to dig', *at-ti* 'a kind of tool', perhaps 'shovel' or 'hoe'.

C. Kartvelian: Svan *xt'ūr-* 'to cut into pieces, to slice, to carve'.

D. Proto-Indo-European **ḫ͡ḫet'-* [**ḫ͡ḫat'-*] 'to cut into, to hollow out, to engrave, to prick, to pierce': Armenian *hatanem* 'to cut', *hat* 'piece, cut, slice'; Hittite (3rd sg. pres.) *ḫa-at-zi*, *ḫa-at-ta-i*, *ḫa-at-ta-a-i*, *ḫa-ad-da-i*; *ḫa-az-zi-zi*, *ḫa-az-zi-az-zi* 'to make a hole (in), to pierce, to prick, to stab, to slash, to perforate, to penetrate, to stick (as a means of killing), to hit (a target), to strike (especially a musical instrument), to engrave (a tablet)', (1st sg. pres.) *ḫa-at-ta-ra-a-mi* 'to prick, to incise, to engrave, to inscribe', (nom.-acc. sg.) *ḫa-at-tal-la-an* 'club, mace', (nom.-acc. sg.) *ḫa-at-ta-ra-a[n]* 'prick, awl', (nom. sg.) *ḫa-at-tal-ki-iš-na-aš* 'thorn-bush', (3rd sg. pres.) *ḫa-at-ra-a-iz-zi* 'to write, to send written word (about), to report, to order, to dispatch'; Hieroglyphic Luwian *ha-tu+ra/i-à-s* 'letter', (imptv.) *ha-tu+ra/i+à* 'write!'; Luwian (3rd sg. pret.) *ḫa-at-ta-ri-it-ta* 'to prick, to pierce', (acc. sg.) *ḫa-at-ta-ra-an* 'prick'; Lycian *χttadi* 'to hurt, to damage', *χdrñna* (?) 'inscription' (?); Avestan *aδu* 'water-course, brook, canal'. Pokorny 1959:4 **ad(u)-*, **ad-ro-* 'water-course'; Kloekhorst 2008b:330—332, 332, 333—334, and 335—336; Puhvel 1984— .3:248—255, 3:255—256, 3:256—257, 3:263—265, and 3:269—274; Tischler 1977— :226—227. Though the comparison of Armenian *hatanem* with the Anatolian forms is semantically flawless, there are problems with the phonology (cf. Puhvel 1984— .3:254), since double writing of the dental stop in Hittite points to original **-t^{h}-*, while the Armenian form points to original **-t'-*. However, double writing of medial stops in Hittite can also indicate the former presence of a laryngeal (see Chapter 5 for details) as in (nom. sg.) *me-ik-ki-iš* 'large', which is to be derived from earlier **mek'-* plus the suffix **-Hi-* > **mek'Hi-* > the attested Hittite *me-ik-ki-iš*. Thus, comparison of Armenian *hatanem* with the Anatolian forms having medial double writing can be maintained if we derive the Anatolian forms from earlier **ḫ͡ḫet'H-* [**ḫ͡ḫat'H-*], which would yield Hittite *ḫatta-* as the regular outcome (cf. Bomhard 1992d:5—11 and 2000:35—46, especially 44—45). Support for this interpretation may be found in Hittite *ḫatrai-*, which has consistent single writing. Thus, it is possible to envision a pre-Proto-Anatolian root **ḫ͡ḫet'-* [**ḫ͡ḫat'-*], which was then extended by two separate suffixes in Proto-Anatolian proper: (A) **ḫ͡ḫet'-Ha-* [**ḫ͡ḫat'-Ha-*], yielding Hittite *ḫatta-* upon loss of the medial laryngeal, and (B) **ḫ͡ḫet'-ra-* [**ḫ͡ḫat'-*

ra-], yielding Hittite *ḫatra*-. Stem (A) was further extended by a suffix *-ra*-, giving the attested agent noun *ḫattara*- ‘prick, awl’, which, in turn, served as the basis of the denominative verb *ḫattarai*-. Other derivatives of stem (A) are *ḫattatta*- ‘club, mace’ and *ḫattalkešna*- ‘thorn-bush’. The agent noun **ḫatra*-, from stem (B) and from which the denominative verb *ḫatrai*- is derived, is unattested.

E. Chukchi-Kamchatkan: Proto-Chukotian **atənvə* ‘wound’ > Chukchi *atən* (pl. *atənwət*) ‘wound’, *atənw-at*- ‘to wound’; Kerek *atnuuŋa* ‘wound’, *atnw-aat*- ‘to wound’. Fortescue 2005:24.

Buck 1949:1.36 river; stream; brook; 8.22 dig; 18.51 write. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:547—548, no. 405.

776. Proto-Nostratic root **xol*-:
(vb.) **xol*- ‘to be separated or apart from, by oneself, alone; to set apart’;
(n.) **xol-a* ‘solitude, seclusion, loneliness’; (adj.) ‘alone, lonely’

A. Proto-Afrasian **xol*- ‘to be separated or apart from, to be by oneself, to be alone; to set apart’: Proto-Semitic **xal-aw/y*- ‘to be separated or apart from; to be alone’ > Arabic *ḫalā* ‘to be empty, vacant; to be free, to be alone’, *ḫalā* ‘except, save, with the exception of’, *ḫilw* ‘alone, in a private place, free (from)’, *ḫalawī* ‘lonely, solitary, secluded, isolated, outlying’; Sabaean *ḫlw* ‘except, with the exception of’ (contexts fragmentary); Śḥeri / Jibbāli *xálé* ‘to be empty; to be unmarried, alone with (*b*-)’, *xálɛ́ʔ* ‘empty place, something empty; loneliness’, *xálɔ́ʔ* ‘divorce’, *xalwɛ́t* ‘loneliness’; Mehri *xáyli* ‘to be empty, to be alone with (*b*-) someone’, *xōli* ‘to divorce’, *xəlēʔ* ‘desert; hungry; alone; empty (*mən*) of’, *xəlōy* ‘divorce’; Ḥarsūsi *xéli* ‘to be empty’, *xāl* ‘to divorce’, *xelōy* ‘divorce’, *xelēʔ*, *xelā* ‘empty place, desert’, *xéli* ‘undressed’. Zammit 2002:166. Highland East Cushitic: Hadiyya *holl*- ‘to chase, to divorce’. Hudson 1989:283.

B. Proto-Kartvelian **xolo* ‘alone, sole; only, merely, solely’: Georgian *xolo* ‘only, and (conjunction)’, *mxolo* ‘the only’, *xole* ‘alone, only’, *mxolod* ‘only, merely’; Mingrelian *xvale* ‘only, alone’; Laz *xvala* ‘only’. Schmidt 1962:159; Klimov 1964:260—261 **xole*- and 1998:330 **xolo* ‘only’.

Buck 1949:13.33 alone, only (adj.; adv.). Bomhard—Kerns 1994:551, no. 410.

22.39. PROTO-NOSTRATIC *x^w

				Eurasiatic			
Proto-Nostratic	Proto-Afrasian	Proto-Dravid.	Proto-Kartvel.	Proto-IE	Proto-Uralic	Proto-Altaic	Proto-Eskimo
x^w-	x^w-	v-/Ø-	xw/u-	ħ͡h^w-	w-		v-
-x^w-	-x^w-	-v-	-xw/u-	-ħ͡h^w-	-x-		-v-

777. Proto-Nostratic root *x^w*al-* (~ *x^w*əl-*):
(vb.) *x^w*al-* ‘to pull (off, out), to tear (off, out)’;
(n.) *x^w*al-a* ‘the act of pulling or tearing (off, out)’

A. Proto-Afrasian *x^w*al-* ‘to pull (off or out)’: Proto-Semitic **xal-aʕ-* ‘to pull (off or out)’ > Arabic *ḫalaʿa* ‘to take off, to put off, to slip off (a garment); to extract, to pull; to wrench, to dislocate, to luxate (a joint); to depose, to remove, to dismiss, to discharge (someone from an office); to renounce, to forgo, to give up (something), to withdraw (from); to throw off, to cast off’, *ḫalʿ* ‘slipping off, taking off (of clothes); deposition (for example, of a ruler); dislocation, luxation; extraction of teeth’. Zammit 2002:165. Proto-Semitic **xal-ag-* ‘to draw or tear out, to remove’ > Arabic *ḫalağa* ‘to draw, to attract; to tear out’, *ḫilliğ* ‘far, remote’; Śḥeri / Jibbāli *xɔ́lɔ́g* ‘to cause to grieve at the loss or removal of a child’; Mehri *xəláwg* ‘grieving at the loss or removal of a child’. Proto-Semitic **xal-ac-* ‘to rob, to steal, to filch; to lose, to be deprived (of)’ > Arabic *ḫalasa* ‘to steal (something), to pilfer, to filch, to swipe, to purloin (something); to obtain (something) under false pretenses or means; to embezzle, to misappropriate’, *ḫulsatan* ‘by stealth, stealthily, surreptitiously, furtively’, *ʔiḫtilās* ‘embezzlement, misappropriation’; Mehri *xəlūs* ‘to stray, to get lost; to lose, to lose in court; to guess wrong; to miss’; Śḥeri / Jibbāli *xɔ́lɔ́s* ‘to miss something; to lose; to guess’, *axtélés* ‘to lose something precious; to be deprived, bereaved of a child’, *šxéləs* ‘to filch; to filch food, etc., when one’s parents are absent’; Ḥarsūsi *xelōs* ‘to miss (a shot)’, *xlōs* ‘to lose, to mislead’. Proto-Semitic **xal-ac’-* ‘to pull out or tear out, to remove’ > Hebrew *ḥālaṣ* [חָלַץ] ‘to draw off or out, to withdraw; to pull out, to tear out; to rescue, to deliver’; Aramaic *ḥəlaṣ* ‘to undress, to take (something) off; to withdraw’; Phoenician *ḥlṣ* ‘to deliver’; Akkadian *ḫalāṣu* ‘to press, to squeeze out; to comb out’, *ḫalṣu* ‘obtained by pressing out (said of oil), pressed out (said of sesame seeds), combed (said of flax)’, *ḫilṣu* ‘combed wool’; Arabic *ḫalaṣa* ‘to be or become free, to be freed, to be liberated (from), to be cleared, to get rid (of); to extract (something from)’, *ḫalāṣ* ‘liberation, deliverance, riddance; rescue, salvation (from), redemption; payment, settlement, liquidation (of a bill)’, *taḫalluṣ* ‘freedom, libertation, release, extrication, escape (from)’, *ḫulāṣa* ‘excerpt; extract, essence; quintessence,

substance, gist (of something); abstract, résumé, summary, epitome, syonpsis'. Murtonen 1989:184; Klein 1987:220; Zammit 2002:164—165. (?) Egyptian *ḫnp* (if for **ḫlp*) 'to snatch, to catch; to steal'. Hannig 1995:603; Faulkner 1962:192; Gardiner 1957:585; Erman—Grapow 1921:128 and 1926—1963.3:290. Southern Cushitic: Proto-Rift **x^{w}al-* 'to dig up' > Alagwa *xwal-* 'to dig up'; K'wadza *xoxwal-* 'to till, to cultivate'. Ehret 1980:375. Ehret 1995:230, no. 400, **x^{w}al-*, **x^{w}aal-* 'to extract, to take or draw out'.

B. Dravidian: Tamil *vali* 'to draw, to pull, to row; to have contortions or convulsions', *vali*, *valippu* 'pulling, dragging, spasm, convulsion'; Malayalam *vali* 'drawing, pull, tug, spasm', *valikka* 'to draw, to drag, to row; to have spasms', *valippikka* 'to cause to pull', *valippu* 'drawing, pulling, spasm', *valiyuka* 'to be drawn, to extend, to have spasmodic pain'; Koḍagu *bali-* (*balip-*, *balic-*) 'to snatch, to pull', *balip-* 'the act of dragging'; Koraga *bali* 'to pull'; Kui *velba-* (*ves-*) '(vb.) to pull, to pull up; (n.) pulling'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:477, no. 5282.

C. Proto-Indo-European **ħ͡ħ^{w}el-*/**ħ͡ħ^{w}ol-*/**ħ͡ħ^{w}l̥-* 'to draw, to pull, to tear out': Latin *vellō* 'to pluck, to pull, to tear out'; Lithuanian *velkù*, *vil̃kti* 'to drag, to pull'; Old Church Slavic *vlěkǫ*, *vlěšti* 'to draw, to drag'; Avestan (in compounds) *varək-* 'to draw'; Gothic *wilwan* 'to rob, to plunder', *wilwa* 'robber'. Rix 1998a:620 **u̯elk-* 'to drag, to draw, to pull'; Pokorny 1959:1144—1145 **u̯el-* 'to tear', 1145 **u̯elk-* 'to pull'; Walde 1927—1932.I:304—305 **u̯el-* and I:305 **u̯elk-*; Mann 1984—1987:1509 **u̯el-* 'to snatch, to tug', 1511 **u̯elk-* 'to pull, to tug, to jerk', 1512 **u̯elu̯mn-* 'pull, tear, jerk; fleece', 1512 **u̯elu̯ō*, *-i̯ō* 'to snatch, to pluck, to rob', 1572 **u̯olk-*; Watkins 1985:76 **wel-* and 2000:98 **wel-* 'to tear, to pull'; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.II:492, fn. 1, **u̯el-* and 1995.I:413, fn. 1, **wel-* 'to lacerate, to tear apart; to wound; to kill'; Mallory—Adams 1997:471 **h$_4$u̯elk-* 'to pull'; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.II:744—745 **u̯el-*; Ernout—Meillet 1979:718 **wel-*; De Vaan 2008:659; Orël 2003:454 Proto-Germanic **welwanan*; Feist 1939:564—565 **u̯el-*; Lehmann 1986:404 **wel-* 'to tear, to rob; to wound'; Smoczyński 2007.1:753—754 **h$_2$u̯elk-*; Fraenkel 1962—1965.II:1253; Derksen 2008:514 and 2015:504 **u(e)lk(*^{w}*)-*.

Buck 1949:9.28 tear (vb. tr.); 9.33 draw, pull; 11.56 steal; 11.57 thief. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:608—609, no. 485; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 2480, **[']w[A]l[iy]V* (or **[']wôl[iy]V* ?) 'to draw, to pull (out, off)'.

778. Proto-Nostratic root **x^{w}at'-* (~ **x^{w}ət'-*):
(vb.) **x^{w}at'-* 'to scratch, to scrape';
(n.) **x^{w}at'-a* 'the act of scratching, scraping'

A. Proto-Afrasian **x*^{w}*at'-* 'to scratch, to scrape, to sweep': (?) Semitic: Akkadian *ḫaṭāpu* (to process grain in some way); 'to wipe away (tears)'. Proto-East Cushitic **ħaad-* 'to scrape (ground), to sweep' > Burji *haad-* 'to dig'; Somali *ħaaḍ-* 'to sweep'; Galla / Oromo *haad-* 'to scrape the ground'. Hudson 1989:195; Sasse 1982:87.
B. Dravidian: Pengo *vat-* '(fowl) to scratch the ground', *vatpa-* '(fowl) to scratch the ground', *vatki ki-* '(fowl) to scratch the ground'; Manḍa *vetki ki-* '(fowl) to scratch the ground'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:473, no. 5248.
C. Proto-Kartvelian **xwet'-*/**xwt'-* 'to scrape': Georgian *xvet'-* 'to scrape; to tear off; to sweep'; Mingrelian *xvat'-* 'to scratch; to gnaw, to bite'; Laz *xvat'-* 'to gnaw, to bite'; Svan *xwet'-/xwt'-* 'to perish (of a multitude)'. Klimov 1964:259 **xweṭ-* and 1998:328—329 **xweṭ-* : **xwṭ-* 'to scrape'; Fähnrich—Sardschweladse 1995:550—551 **xweṭ-*; Fähnrich 2007:683—684 **xweṭ-*.

Buck 1949:18.51 write.

779. Proto-Nostratic root **x*^{w}*at'-* (~ **x*^{w}*ət'-*):
(vb.) **x*^{w}*at'-* 'to chatter, to speak';
(n.) **x*^{w}*at'-a* 'chatter, talk'

A. Afrasian: Proto-Semitic **xat'-ab-* 'to speak' > Arabic *ḫaṭaba* 'to deliver a public address, to make a speech; to preach, to deliver a sermon'; *ḫuṭba* 'public address, speech; oration; letter, note, message', *taḫāṭub* 'conversation, talk, discussion, (inter)communication'. Proto-Semitic **xat'-il-* 'to talk nonsense, to prattle' > Arabic *ḫaṭila* 'to talk nonsense, to indulge in idle or unseemly talk', *ḫaṭal* 'idle talk, prattle', *ḫaṭil* 'garrulous, chattering, given to silly talk; stupid, foolish'.
B. Dravidian: Tamil *vataṟu* (*vataṟi-*) 'to chatter, to prate, to be talkative, to lisp, to abuse'; Kannaḍa *odaṟu* 'to sound, to cry aloud, to shout, to shriek, to howl', *odaṟukive* 'sounding, crying aloud'; Tuḷu *badaritana* 'defamation'; Telugu *vadaru*, *vaduru* 'to prattle, to prate, to babble, to chatter, to jabber', *vadarũbōtu* 'prattler, babbler'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:473, no. 5244.
C. Proto-Indo-European **ḫ̲ḫ*^{w}*et'-* 'to say, to speak': Sanskrit *vāda-ḥ* 'speech, discourse, talk, utterance, statement', *vádati* 'to speak, to say, to utter, to tell, to report, to speak to, to talk with, to address'; Greek (?) ἀείδω (< **ἀϝείδω < *awe-ud-* < **H*$_2$*we-H*$_2$*ud-* [cf. Sihler 1995:55, §61.1.a, and 86, §90; Buck 1933:89; Grammont 1948:137—138 **a-we-wdō*]) 'to sing', αὐδάω 'to utter sounds, to speak', αὐδή (Doric αὐδά) 'the human voice, speech', (?) ἀηδώ, ἀηδών 'nightingale'; Lithuanian *vadinù*, *vadìnti* 'to call, to name'. Rix 1998a:225 **h*$_2$*u̯edH-* 'to sound, to speak' (note: Rix [1998a:256—257] derives Greek ἀείδω from **h*$_2$*u̯eu̯id-* 'to sing'); Pokorny 1959:76—77 **au̯-* **au̯ed-* 'to speak'; Walde 1927—1932.I:251—252

*$\underset{\cup}{u}$ed-; Mann 1984—1987:45 *a$\underset{\cup}{u}$ed- (*ə$\underset{\cup}{u}$ed-, *aud-, *əud-) ‘to sing’, 1496 *$\underset{\cup}{u}$ed- ‘to speak, to utter’, and 1558 *$\underset{\cup}{u}$od- ‘call, sound’; Watkins 1985:73 *wed- (possibly oldest root form *əwed- becoming *awed-) and 2000:95 *wed- ‘to speak’ (oldest form *$\underset{\cup}{h_2}$wed-); Mallory—Adams 1997:535 *$\underset{\cup}{u}$ed- ‘to raise one’s voice’; Boisacq 1950:15, 17 *$\underset{\cup}{u}$ed- (or *a$\underset{\cup}{u}$ed-), and 99; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:21—22 Greek ἀείδω < *ἀ-ϝε-ιδ-ειν, dissimilated from *ἀ-ϝε-ϝδ-ειν, I:26, and I:137—138; Hofmann 1966:4, 5, and 28; Frisk 1970—1973.I:22—23, I:26 *(a)$\underset{\cup}{u}$ed-, and I:184 *a$\underset{\cup}{u}$ed-; Wyatt 1972a:51—52 Greek ἀείδω < *weid- ‘to make known’; Prellwitz 1905:8, 10, and 64; Beekes 1969:56—57 (Beekes rejects derivation of Greek ἀείδω from *ἀ-ϝε-ϝδ-ειν), 89 *$\underset{\cup}{h_2u}\breve{e}d$- : *$h_2$eud-, and 2010.I:23 *$h_2$ueid-, I:27 (ἀηδώ, ἀηδών ‘nightingale’ could be pre-Greek), I:168 *$h_2$ued-; L. Meyer 1901—1902.I:23—24; Wharton 1890a:18; Polomé 1965:24 Greek ἀηδών < *$\underset{\cup}{A}$w-e-Awd-; Smoczyński 2007.1:710 *$h_2\underset{\cup}{u}edH$- Fraenkel 1962—1965.II:177—178; Derksen 2015:484.

D. Uralic: Finno-Ugrian: Finnish *vatustaa*, *vatvoa* ‘to dwell on something, to chatter’; Estonian *vada* ‘to chatter, to prattle, to jabber’.

E. (?) Chukchi-Kamchatkan *vetɣav- ‘to speak’: Chukchi *wetɣaw- ‘to speak (out)’, *wetɣaw* ‘speech, word’, *rə-wetɣaw-* ‘to speak (with someone), to decide’; Alyutor *vitɣav-* ‘to decide’, (Palana) *nə-ta-vetɣ-əŋ-qen* ‘talkative’; Koryak *vetɣav-* ‘to reach agreement’, *nə-vetɣəŋ-qen* ‘talkative’. Fortescue 2005:316.

Buck 1949:18.21 speak, talk. Hakola 2000:211, no 944.

780. Proto-Nostratic root *x^{w}el^{y}-:
(vb.) *x^{w}el^{y}- ‘to gulp down’;
(n.) *x^{w}el^{y}-*a* ‘neck, throat’

A. Dravidian: Malayalam *vēḷa* ‘throat’; Koḍagu *bo·ḷe* ‘neck’; Gondi *warēṛ*, *veṛeṛ*, *vereṛ*, *vereḍi*, *vaṛer*, *veṛeṛ* ‘neck’, *verer*, *veḍeṛu*, *veḍāgā* ‘throat’, *warer* ‘neck, throat’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:506, no. 5547.

B. Proto-Kartvelian *xwl-ep’-/*xwl-ip’- ‘to gulp (down), to choke’: Georgian *xvrep’-/xvrip’-*, (Gurian) *xvlep’-/xvlip’-* ‘to gulp (down), to choke’; Mingrelian *xvip’-* ‘to gulp (down), to choke’; Laz *xlap’-/xlip’-* ‘to gulp (down), to choke’; Svan *xwlip’-* ‘to gulp (down), to choke’ (this may be a Zan loan). Klimov 1964:259 *xwliṗ- and 1998:329 *xwl-eṗ- : *xwl-iṗ- ‘to gulp (down), to choke’; Fähnrich—Sardschweladse 1995:552 *xwleṗ-/*xwliṗ-; Fähnrich 2007:684—685 *xwleṗ-/*xwliṗ-.

Buck 1949:4.28 neck; 4.29 throat.

781. Proto-Nostratic root *x^{w}ir- (~ *x^{w}er-):
(vb.) *x^{w}ir- ‘to make a loud noise, to make a shrill sound’;

(n.) **x^{w}ir-a* ‘loud noise’

A. Proto-Afrasian **x^{w}ir-* ‘to rumble, to sound, to snore’: Proto-Semitic **xar-ar-* ‘to roar, to rumble, to snore’ > Arabic *ḫarra* ‘to murmur, to bubble, to gurgle, to purl (of running water); to ripple, to trickle; to snore’, *ḫarīr* ‘purl, murmur, ripple (of water)’, (reduplicated) *ḫarḫara* ‘to snore’; Akkadian *ḫarāru* ‘to croak, to rumble’. Egyptian *ḫr* (defective verb) ‘to say, to speak’, *ḫrtw* ‘declaration, statement’, *ḫrw* ‘voice, noise’; Coptic *hrow* [ϩⲣⲟⲟⲩ] ‘voice, sound’; *hrubbai* [ϩⲣⲟⲩⲃⲃⲁⲓ], *hrmpe* [ϩⲣⲙⲡⲉ], *hrumpe* [ϩⲣⲟⲩⲙⲡⲉ] ‘thunder’. Hannig 1995:611 and 614; Faulkner 1962:196; Erman—Grapow 1921:131 and 1926—1963.3:317—318, 3:318, and 3:324—325; Gardiner 1957:585; Černý 1976:295; Vycichl 1983:308, 309, and 311. Southern Cushitic: Proto-Rift **xiri-* (< **x^{w}ir-*) ‘to rumble, to roar’ > Iraqw *xuray* ‘to rumble, to roar’. Proto-Rift **xiriʔus-* ‘to rumble’ > Burunge *xuruʔus-* ‘to thunder’; Asa *hoʔorus-* ‘to snore, to growl’. Ehret 1980:370. Ehret 1995:232, no. 405, **x^{w}ir-* ‘to rumble’.

B. Dravidian: Tamil *vīr-vīr-en̲al* onomatopoeic expression of screaming, shrieking, *vīr-en̲al* onomatopoeic expression of a sharp, shrill cry, *vīr-iṭu* ‘to cry out suddenly, to scream’; Malayalam *vīr-iṭuka* ‘to squeak, to bellow’, *vīr* ‘the roar of elephants, the grunt of pigs’; Kui *vere vere* ‘the squeal of a pig’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:496, no. 5458.

C. Proto-Kartvelian **xwr-en-*/**xwr-in-* ‘to snore’: Georgian *xvren-*/*xvrin-* ‘to snore’; Mingrelian *xurxin-*, *xirxin-* ‘to snore’. Klimov 1964:259—260 **xwr-in-* and 1998:329 **xwr-en-* : **xwr-in-* ‘to snore’.

D. Proto-Indo-European **ḫ͡h^{w}er-k^{h}-* ‘to cry, to squeal’: Old Church Slavic *vrěštǫ*, *vrěštati* ‘to cry, to squeal’; Czech *vřískat*, *vřeštět* ‘to cry, to whimper’; Lithuanian *verkiù*, *veřkti* ‘to weep, to cry’, *verkšnà* ‘cry-baby’, *veřksmas* ‘weeping, crying’. Mann 1984—1987:1519 **u̯erki̯ō* (**u̯erksk̂ō*) ‘to squeal, to cry, to utter, to say’; Smoczyński 2007.1:737; Fraenkel 1962—1965.II:1226; Derksen 2015:497 **uerk-*.

Buck 1949:15.44 sound (sb.).

22.40. PROTO-NOSTRATIC *γ

				Eurasiatic			
Proto-Nostratic	Proto-Afrasian	Proto-Dravid.	Proto-Kartvel.	Proto-IE	Proto-Uralic	Proto-Altaic	Proto-Eskimo
γ-	γ-	Ø-	γ-	ʕɦ̯-	Ø-	Ø-	Ø-
-γ-	-γ-	-Ø-	-γ-	-ʕɦ̯-	-Ø-	-Ø-	-Ø-

782. Proto-Nostratic root *γam- (~ *γəm-):
(vb.) *γam- ‘to be or become dark; to cover, to hide’;
(n.) *γam-a ‘darkness; sunset, evening’

A. Afrasian: Proto-Semitic *γam-am- ‘to be or become dark; to cover, to hide’ > Arabic ġamma ‘to cover, to veil, to conceal; to be overcast’, ġamām ‘clouds’; Sabaean ġmm ‘clouds’; Śḥeri / Jibbāli aġmím ‘to make a smoke-screen, dust-cloud’, ġiũm ‘heat-mist, fog’; Mehri aġmēm ‘to see only as a blurred image, to see as in a fog’; Hebrew ʿāmam [עָמַם] ‘to darken, to dim’, (reduplicated) ʿimʿēm [עִמְעֵם] ‘to dim, to darken, to obscure’; Geez / Ethiopic ʿamama [ዐመመ] ‘to be dark, black, dirty’. Leslau 1987:63; Klein 1987:475 and 476; Zammit 2002:310. Proto-Semitic *γam-ad- ‘to cover, to hide, to conceal; to obscure; to set (sun)’ > Arabic ġamada ‘to cover, to conceal, to veil; to close the eyes; to sheathe’; Śḥeri / Jibbāli ġõd ‘to be hidden, obscured; to obscure; to set (sun)’, oġõd ‘to go at sunset; to be covered in gloom after the death of the best member of the family’, ġumd ‘sunset’; Mehri ġəmēd ‘sunset’; Ḥarsūsi ġemōd ‘to set, to go down in the evening’. Arabic ġamā (ġmw) ‘to cover’, ġamūs ‘deep; dark, obscure; difficult’. [Orël—Stolbova 1995:229, no. 1019, *ġum- ‘to cover, to shut’.]
B. Proto-Kartvelian *γam- ‘(last) night’: Georgian γam-e ‘night, at night’, sa-γam-o ‘evening’; Laz γom-a(n) ‘yesterday’; Mingrelian γum-a ‘last night’; (?) Svan γam- in li-γam-n-e ‘to wait’. Klimov 1964:200—201 *γamen- and 1998:220 *ɣame- ‘last night’; Schmidt 1962:138; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:384 *γam-; Fähnrich 2007:476—477 *γam-. Note: Klimov rejects the comparison of the Svan form.
C. Yukaghir (Southern / Kolyma) emu:- ‘dark’, emidej- ‘to grow dark’, embə- ‘black’, emid'ə ‘blackness, birthmark’, emil ‘night’, emike:- ‘to darken’, am-mal- (< *em-mal-) ‘to spend the night’. Nikolaeva 2006:157—158.
D. Proto-Chukchi-Kamchatkan *amecat- ‘to disappear, to hide’: Chukchi amecat- ‘to disappear, to hide’; Kerek amicγən ‘to disappear, to hide (?)’, pəəlʁa amejŋatək ‘after sunset’; Alyutor (Palana) amecat- ‘to disappear, to hide’; Kamchadal / Itelmen amełat-kas ‘to disappear, to hide’ (this may be a loan from Chukotian). Fortescue 2005:21.

Buck 1949:1.62 darkness; 12.26 cover (vb.); 12.27 hide, conceal;14.42 night.

783. Proto-Nostratic root *γil- (~ *γel-):
(vb.) *γil- ‘to bear, to give birth, to beget (of humans)’;
(n.) *γil-a ‘child, youth, young person’; (adj.) ‘young, immature’

A. Proto-Afrasian *γil- ‘(vb.) to give birth, to beget (of humans); (adj.) young, immature; (n.) child, youth, young person’: Proto-Semitic *γil-m- ‘youth, young person; young man, lad, boy’ > Hebrew (m.) ʿelem [עֶלֶם] ‘young man’, (f.) ʿalmāh [עַלְמָה] ‘young woman, maiden’; Imperial Aramaic ʿlym ‘servant, slave’; Syriac ʿəlaymā ‘boy, youth, young man, servant’; Phoenician ʿlm ‘youth’, ʿlmt ‘young woman’; Palmyrene ʿlmt ‘female servant, female slave’; Nabatean ʿlym ‘servant’; Ugaritic ġlm ‘boy’, ġlmt ‘girl; Sabaean ġlm ‘child, boy, youth’; Arabic ġulām (pl. ġilmat) ‘boy, youth, lad; slave, servant, waiter’, ġulāmat ‘girl, slave-girl’. Murtonen 1989:320; Klein 1987:473; Tomback 1978:246; Zammit 2002:308. Cushitic: Proto-Sam *ilem ‘small boy’ > Somali ilmo ‘child, baby’; Boni éleŋ ‘boy’. Heine 1978:65. Proto-Highland East Cushitic *il- ‘to give birth, to beget (of humans)’ > Gedeo / Darasa il- ‘to give birth, to beget’, ila ‘generation’, ildaatt’e ‘fertile (of woman)’, ileenša ‘generation’; Sidamo il- ‘to give birth, to beget (of humans)’, il-ama ‘relative’, il-aasinco ‘fertile (of woman)’, ilama ‘generation’; Kambata il- ‘to give birth, to beget (of humans)’, il-amu ‘relative’, il-mucco ‘last born; brother, youngest’. Hudson 1989:246—247, 323—324, and 374.

B. Proto-Dravidian *iḷa- (< *ilya-) ‘child, youth, young person’: Tamil iḷa, iḷam, iḷai ‘young, tender’, iḷai ‘youth, tender age’, iḷaimai ‘youth’, iḷaicci ‘younger sister’, iḷañaṉ ‘younger brother, lad, young man’, iḷaitu ‘that which is young and not fully developed’, iḷaiyar ‘youths, young men, servants’, iḷaiyavar, iḷaivār ‘young women’, iḷaiyavaṉ ‘younger person, lad, youth, younger brother’, iḷaiyaṉ, iḷaiyāṉ, iḷaiyōṉ ‘younger brother’, iḷaku (iḷaki-) ‘to sprout afresh, to send forth tender shoots’, iḷacu ‘that which is young or tender’, iḷaval ‘younger brother, lad, son’, iḷamai ‘childhood, youth, tenderness, amorousness, immaturity of knowledge and intellect’, iḷantai ‘youth, tender years’; Malayalam iḷa ‘tender, young, weak’, iḷappam ‘state of being young, juvenility, tenderness’, iḷama ‘youth, tender age, junior rāja’, iḷayavan ‘young, younger’; Kota eḷ ‘time of youth; young’; Toda eḷ ‘young; tipcat (the small stick hit in the game)’, eḷk ‘time of youth’; Kannaḍa eḷ, eḷa, eḷe ‘tenderness, youth, weakness, moderation’, eḷaku ‘young age’, eḷatu, eḷadu, eḷedu ‘that is tender, young’, eḷetana ‘tenderness, youth’; Koḍagu ëḷeë ‘youth’; Tuḷu eḷatu̯ ‘tender, green, not fully grown’, lattu̯ ‘young, tender, unripe, green, imperfect’, ellyāye ‘a youth, junior, minor’, lambu ‘tender’, lambè ‘a tender fruit’; Telugu lẽ̄ta, lẽ̄- ‘young, tender, light, delicate, soft’, lẽ̄ka ‘servant’, lẽ̄ga ‘a sucking or young calf’, lēma ‘a woman, tender’, ela ‘young, tender, delicate, slight, gentle’, ela-nāga ‘damsel’, eḍa ‘tender, young’, nelãta, nelãtuka ‘woman’; Kolami le·ŋga ‘calf’; Naiki lēŋga ‘calf’, lēta ‘young (of infants)’; Parji iled

'young man, youth', *ile* 'young woman, girl'; Gadba (Ollari) *ile* 'bride', *iled* 'grown-up girl, woman', *ilenḍ* 'bridegroom'; Koṇḍa *lēŋa* 'calf'; Kui *lāvenju* 'grown-up boy, young man, youth', *lāa* 'grown-up girl, young woman', *leti* 'soft, yielding'; Kuwi *lāa* 'virgin'; Kuṛux *lidum* 'soft'; (?) Brahui *īlum* 'brother'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:50—51, no. 513.

C. Uralic: Proto-Finno-Ugrian **ilmɜ* 'human, human being, man, person' > Finnish *ilminen* (= *ihminen*) 'human, human being, man'; Vogul / Mansi (Konda) *ēlėm-kholės* 'person'. (Cf. Rédei 1986—1988:81—82, under **ilma* 'heaven, weather; God'.)

D. Proto-Chukchi-Kamchatkan **əllæŋju* 'younger (brother)': Chukchi *ətleŋi* (pl. *ətlenjut*) 'younger brother'; Kerek *əlla* 'younger brother (of boy)'; Koryak *əccaŋi*, *əllaŋi* 'younger (brother)'; Alyutor *əllaŋi* (stem *əllaŋju-*) 'younger brother'; Kamchadal / Itelmen (Eastern) *ilulin* 'younger (son or daughter)', (Western) *il*, *ul* 'younger'. Fortescue 2005:340.

Buck 1949:4.71 beget (of father); 14.14 young. Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 713, **giḻ[U]* 'boy, young man'.

784. Proto-Nostratic root **γor-*:
(vb.) **γor-* 'to leave, to go away, to depart; to separate; to abandon';
(n.) **γor-a* 'leaving, departure; separation; abandonment'
Extended form:
(vb.) **γor-V-b-* 'to leave, to go away, to depart; to separate; to abandon';
(n.) **γor-b-a* 'leaving, departure; separation; abandonment'

A. Afrasian: Proto-Semitic **γar-ab-* 'to leave, to go away, to depart' > Arabic *ġaraba* 'to go away, to depart, to absent (oneself), to withdraw (from), to leave (someone, something); to go to a foreign country; to expel from the homeland, to banish, to exile', *ġarba-t* 'removal, departure', *ġurba-t* 'absence from one's homeland; separation from one's native country, banishment, exile; life, or place, away from home'; Mehri *əġtərōb* 'to be abroad, away from home', *ġərbēt* 'strange place, unknown place'; Śḥeri / Jibbāli *aġtéréb* 'to be abroad, away from home', *ġarbét* 'strange, unknown place; abroad'. Perhaps also Punic *ʿrbt* 'desolation' (?) in *ḳl ʿrbt* 'the voice of desolation' (interpretation highly uncertain) (cf. Hoftijzer—Jongeling 1995:887).

B. Dravidian: Gondi *ori-* 'to move aside', *vorke* 'aside'; Tamil *oruvu* (*oruvi-*) 'to abandon, to renounce, to pass over, to escape, to be excepted', *oruvu*, *orūu*, *orūutal* 'leaving, separation, renunciation'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984: 95, no. 993.

C. Proto-Indo-European **ʕi̯orbʰ-* (with non-apophonic *-o-*) 'to be or become separated, abandoned, bereft', **ʕi̯orbʰ-o-s* '(n.) orphan, servant; (adj.) bereft, abandoned, deprived (of)': Sanskrit *árbha-ḥ* 'little, small; child';

Armenian *orb* ‘orphan’; Greek ὀρφανός ‘orphan, without parents, fatherless; (metaph.) abandoned, bereft’; Latin *orbus* ‘bereft, deprived by death of a relative or other dear one; bereaved (of); childless; an orphan’; Old Irish *orb* ‘heir’, *orb(b)e*, *orpe* ‘inheritance’; Gothic *arbi* ‘inheritance’, *arbja* ‘heir’ (f. *arbjō* ‘heiress’); Old Icelandic *arfi* ‘heir, heiress’, *arfr* ‘inheritance, patrimony’, *erfa* ‘to inherit’, *erfð* ‘inheritance’; Old Swedish *arve*, *arver* ‘heir’; Danish *arv* ‘heir’; Norwegian *arv* ‘heir’; Old English *ierfa*, *irfa* ‘heir’, *ierfe* ‘inheritance, bequest, property’, *erfe*, *irfe*, *yrfe* ‘inheritance, (inerited) property’, *irfan*, *yrfan* ‘to inherit’; Old Frisian *erva* ‘heir’, *erve* ‘inheritance, inherited land, landed property’; Old Saxon *erƀi* ‘inheritance’; Middle Dutch *erve* ‘heir’; Old High German *arbi*, *erbi* ‘inheritance’, *arbeo*, *erbo* ‘heir’ (New High German *Erbe* ‘inheritance; heir’); Old Church Slavic *rabъ* ‘servant, slave’; Russian *rab* [раб] ‘slave, serf, bondsman’ (f. *rabá* [раба] ‘slave, serf, bondmaid’); Hittite (3rd sg. pres. act.) *ḫar-ap-zi* ‘to separate oneself and (re)associate oneself elsewhere’. Pokorny 1959:781—782 **orbho-* ‘weak, abandoned; slave, orphan’; Walde 1927—1932.I:183—184 **orbho-*; Mallory—Adams 1997:411 **h₂/h₃orbhos* ‘orphan, heir’; Mann 1984—1987:884 **orbhəkos* ‘young, tender; deprived, blind’, 884 **orbhənikos* ‘young, minor, underage’, 884—885 **orbhət-*, **orbhit-* ‘deprived, bereft; deprivation, bereavement’, 885 **orbhi̯os* adjectival form of **orbhos*, 885 **orbhm̥mos* (**orbhmos*) ‘bereft, deprived’, 885—886 **orbhos*, *-i̯os*, *-i̯ə* ‘deprived, bereft; child, orphan’; Watkins 1985:46 **orbh-* ‘to put asunder, to separate’ (suffixed form **orbh-o-* ‘bereft of father’) and 2000:60 **orbh-* ‘to change allegiance, to pass from one status to another’ (oldest form **ḛ₃erbh-*, colored to **ḛ₃orbh-*) (suffixed form **orbh-o-* ‘bereft of father’ also ‘deprived of free status’); Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1995.I:399, I:651 **orbʰo-* ‘deprived of one’s share, deprived of possessions; orphan; servant, slave’, I:781 **orbʰo-*; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.I:52 and 1986—2001.I:119—120; Beekes 2010.II:1113—1114 **h₃orbʰ-o-*; Boisacq 1950:719 **orbho-s*; Frisk 1970—1973.II:431 **orbho-s*; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:829 **orbho-*; Hofmann 1966:240 **orbhos*; Matirosyan 2008:535—536 **Horbʰ-o-*; Hübschmann 1897:482, no. 335, **orbhos*; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.II:219—220 **orbhos*, **orbhi̯o-*; Ernout—Meillet 1979:466—467; De Vaan 2008:433 **h₃orbʰ-o-*; Derksen 2008:373 **h₃erbʰ-*; Kroonen 2013:33 Proto-Germanic **arbja-* ‘inheritance’ (< **h₃orbʰ-i̯o-*), 33 Proto-Germanic **arbjan-* ‘heir’ (< **h₃orbʰ-i̯on-*); Orël 2003:22 Proto-Germanic **arƀaz*, 22 Proto-Germanic **arƀjaz*; Lehmann 1986:41—42 **orbho-*; Feist 1939:56 **orbhi̯o-*; Falk—Torp 1910—1911.I:34; De Vries 1977:12 and 13; Boutkan—Siebinga 2005:93 **h₃erbʰ-*; Walshe 1951:48; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:170 **orbho-*; Kluge—Seebold 1989:183—184 **orbhijo-*, **orbho-*; Kloekhorst 2008b:311—312 **h₃erbʰ-to*; Puhvel 1984— .3:176—183. Note: Indo-European loan in Uralic (Finno-Ugrian): Proto-Finno-Ugrian **orpa* ‘orphan’ > Finnish *orpo* ‘orphan; orphaned’; Karelian *orboi*

‘orphan’; Saami / Lapp (Northern) *oarbes* ‘without father, without mother, orphan; lonely and deserted’; Ostyak / Xanty *-uri* in *jəŋkuri* ‘orphan’; Mordvin (Erza) *uros*, (Moksha) *urõs* ‘orphan’; Hungarian *árva* ‘orphaned’. Joki 1973:297—298 Proto-Finno-Ugrian **orpa(-s)* ~ **orva(-s)*; Rédei 1986—1988.I:343 Proto-Finno-Ugrian **orpa(sз)* ~ **orwa(sз)* ‘orphan’; Sammallahti 1988:542 Proto-Finno-Ugrian **orpå* ‘orphan’, Proto-Finno-Permian **orpa*; Collinder 1955:134, 1960:413 Proto-Finno-Ugrian **orpo* ‘orphan’, and 1977:145; Aikio 2020:79—80 **orpa* / **orpasi* ‘orphan’ (“A loan from some early reflex PIE **Horbʰo-* …”).

Buck 1949:2.75 orphan; 11.48 heir.

				Eurasiatic			
Proto-Nostratic	Proto-Afrasian	Proto-Dravid.	Proto-Kartvel.	Proto-IE	Proto-Uralic	Proto-Altaic	Proto-Eskimo
y-	y-	y-/Ø-	y-/Ø-	y-	y-		y-
-y-	-y-	-y-		-y-	-y-	-y-	-y-

785. Proto-Nostratic root **yaʔ-* (~ **yəʔ-*):
(vb.) **yaʔ-* ‘to tie, to bind, to gird’;
(n.) **yaʔ-a* ‘binding, bond, bandage; belt, girdle’

A. Afrasian: Egyptian *i͗ɜm* ‘to tie, to bind’, *i͗ɜdt* ‘net’. Gardiner 1957:551; Hannig 1995:24 and 27; Faulkner 1962:9 and 10; Erman—Grapow 1921:6 and 1926—1963.1:31, 1:36.

B. Dravidian: Tamil *yā* ‘to bind, to tie up, to dam up, to confine, to compose (a poem), to tell, to utter, to be inseparable from’, *yākkai* ‘tie, bond, body’, *yāppu* ‘binding, bond, meter, prosody, affection’, *yāttu* ‘stitch’, *yāttār* ‘close friends’, *ā* ‘to bind’, *āppu* ‘bandage, tie, body’, *āttaṉ* ‘friend’, *āttam* ‘friendship, intimacy’, *ākkai* ‘body, strips of fiber used in thatching’; Malayalam *ākka* ‘a strip of fiber used in thatching’; Kota *e·p* ‘long sticks used as outside layer (that is, binding) of bundle of small twigs for firewood’; Kuṛux *hēʔenā* (*hēc-*) ‘to tie, to imprison, to unite in one body’, *hērnā* ‘to be tied, to be put in bonds, to be united together’, *ēp* ‘string, cord, rope’; Malto *eye* (*éc-*) ‘to tie, to bind’, *épu* ‘fibers of a wild plant of which cord is made’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:465, no. 5149.

C. Proto-Indo-European **yoʔ-s-* (> **yōs-*) ‘to gird’: Avestan *yāsta-* ‘girt, girded’, (3rd sg. pres.) *yå̊ŋhayeiti* ‘to gird’; Kafiri (Prasun) *yásẽ* ‘belt’; Greek ζώννῡμι ‘to gird, to gird around the loins’, ζωστός ‘girded’, ζωστήρ ‘girdle’, ζῶμα (< *ζωσ-μα) ‘that which is girded, a girded frock or doublet’, ζώνη (< *ζωσ-νᾱ) ‘belt, girdle’; Albanian *n-gjesh* ‘to gird’; Lithuanian *júosiu*, *júosti* ‘to gird’, *júostas* ‘girded, girt’, *júosta* ‘belt, waistband’, *juosmuõ* ‘waist, loins’, *juosẽti* ‘to wear a belt or girdle’; Old Church Slavic *po-jašǫ*, *po-jasati* ‘to gird’, *po-jasъ* ‘belt’; Czech *pás* ‘belt’; Polish *pas* ‘belt’; Russian *pójas* [поясс] ‘belt’. Perhaps also Sanskrit *rā́snā* ‘girdle’ if from **yās-nā*, with **y- > **r-* under the influence of *raśaná́* ‘rope, cord, strap; vein, bridle, girdle’. Rix 1998a:275—276 **i̯eh₃s-* ‘to gird’; Pokorny 1959:513 **i̯ō[u]s-* : **i̯ūs-* ‘to gird’, **i̯ōs-to-s* ‘girt, girded’, **i̯ōs-men-* ‘girdle, belt’; Walde 1927—1932.I:209 **i̯ōs-*; Mann 1984—1987:452 **i̯ōsi̯ō* (**i̯ōsmi*, **i̯ōsnu-*) ‘to gird, to gird on, to gird oneself’, 452 **i̯ōsmn-* (**i̯ōsmā*, **i̯ōsmo-*) ‘girth, belt’, 453 **i̯ōst-* ‘girt, girdle’; Watkins 1985:79 **yōs-* and 2000:103 **yōs-* ‘to gird’ (oldest form **yeə̯₃s-*, colored to **yoə̯₃s-*, contracted to **yōs-*); Mallory—Adams 1997:223—224 **i̯éh₃s-* ‘to

gird’; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.III:57; Boisacq 1950:312 **jō(u)-s-*; Frisk 1970—1973.I:617—618 Greek ζωστός < **i̯ōs-tos*; Hofmann 1966:104 **i̯ōs-*; Beekes 2010.I:504—505 **ieh₃s-*; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:402 **yōs-*; Huld 1983:99; Orël 1998:299; Smoczyński 2007.1:239; Fraenkel 1962—1965.I:198; Derksen 2008:409 **ie/oh₃s-o-* and 2015:214—215 **ieh₃s-*; Wodtko—Irslinger—Schneider 2008:391—392 **i̯eh₃s-*.

D. Proto-Uralic **yäye* ‘belt, band, strap, girdle’: Votyak / Udmurt *jä* ‘broad girth-strap, band (around a sheaf)’; Zyrian / Komi *ji*, *jy* ‘girth, girdle; band (around a sheaf)’; Yurak Samoyed / Nenets *ni* ‘girdle’, (Forest) *niina*, *wijä*, *niiwija* (*wijä*, *wija* ‘strap’); Tavgi Samoyed / Nganasan *nieja* ‘strap’; Yenisei Samoyed / Enets (Hantai) *niojo*, (Baiha) *ńiejjo* ‘strap’; Selkup Samoyed *küü*, *t'ü*, *ćö* ‘strap’, *kündi-* ‘to put on the girdle’; Kamassian *t'i*, *ʒ́ii* ‘girdle’. Collinder 1955:17—18, 1960:406 **jäje*, and 1977:38; Rédei 1986—1988:90 **jäje*; Décsy 1990:99 **jäjä* ‘belt’; Janhunen 1977b:102 **nˈi* (? **nˈiə̂*). Yukaghir (Southern / Kolyma) *jö:* ‘belt’, *jodo-* ‘to tie, to bind’, *jodul*, *jodu:*, *jodi:* ‘winding’, *jodol* ‘bundle, package’, *jodutə-* ‘to wind, to twist’. Nikolaeva 2006:190 and 192.

Buck 1949:6.57 belt, girdle. Illič-Svityč 1971—1984.I:278—279, no. 143, **jaHU* (or **joHʌ*) ‘bandage, girdle’; Bomhard—Kerns 1994:598—599, no. 472; Hakola 2000:220, no. 988.

786. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **yam-a* ‘water, sea’:

A. Proto-Afrasian **yam-* ‘sea’: Proto-Semitic **yam(m)-* ‘sea’ > Akkadian *yāmu* ‘sea’ (West Semitic loan); Amorite *yammum* ‘sea’; Ugaritic *ym* ‘sea’; Hebrew *yām* [יָם] ‘sea’; Phoenician *ym* ‘sea’; Aramaic *yammā* ‘sea’; Arabic *yamm* ‘open sea’. Murtonen 1989:216; Klein 1987:259. Late Egyptian *ym* ‘sea’ (Semitic loan); Coptic *yom* [ⲓⲟⲙ] ‘sea’. Hannig 1995:47; Faulkner 1962:18; Erman—Grapow 1921:12 and 1926—1963.1:78; Gardiner 1957:556; Vycichl 1983:63; Černý 1976:46. Cushitic: Beja / Beḍawye *yam* ‘water’. Central Chadic **yami-* ‘water’ > Tera *ʔyim* ‘water’; Margi *ʔímí* ‘water’; Higi Nkafa *jiɛmi* ‘water’; Fali Kiria *jiami* ‘water’; Lamang *imi*/*íimí* ‘water’; Matakam (Kaffa) *ìyâm*/*yàm* ‘water’; Sukur *jiam sətə*/*yâm* ‘water’; Gisiga *yam* ‘water’; Musgoy *yim* ‘water’; Daba *jem*/*yɪm* ‘water’; Musgum-Pus *yim* ‘water’. Jungraithmayr—Ibriszimow 1994.II:340—341. Ehret 1995:475, no. 1002, **yam-* ‘body of water’, **yam-* ‘to submerge, to go under water’; Orël—Stolbova 1995:536, no. 2575, **yam-* ‘water, sea’.

B. Uralic: Proto-Samoyed **yama* ‘sea’ > Yurak Samoyed / Nenets *jāmʔ*, (Forest) *jeam* ‘river, sea’; Tavgi Samoyed / Nganasan *jam* ‘sea’. Hajdú 1968:59.

C. Chukchi-Kamchatkan: Proto-Chukotian **jæməlqə(n)* ‘swampy place’ > Koryak *jeməlqən* ‘swamp, wet tundra’; Alyutor *jaməsqən* ‘swamp, wet

tundra'. Fortescue 2005:111. According to Fortescue, **jæməlqə(n)* contains the derivational suffix **-lq(ən)* '(on) top of'.

Buck 1949:1.31 water; 1.32 sea. Illič-Svityč 1971—1984.I:279—280, no. 144, **jamʌ* (?) 'water'; Bomhard—Kerns 1994:598, no. 471; Dolgopolsky 1998:25, no. 13, **yamV* 'water body' ('sea, lake' > 'pond'), 'water' and, 2008, no. 2633, **yämV* 'body of water' ('sea, lake') → 'water'.

787. Proto-Nostratic root **yan-* (~ **yən-*):
(vb.) **yan-* 'to say, to speak';
(n.) **yan-a* 'saying, word, expression'

A. Proto-Afrasian **yan-* 'to say, to speak': Egyptian *ỉn* 'to say'. Hannig 1995:73; Faulkner 1962:22; Gardiner 1957:554; Erman—Grapow 1921:13 and 1926—1963.1:89. Berber: Tuareg *ənn* 'to say', *tinawt* 'act of speaking, speech, discourse, spoken words, comments made with the intention of causing harm', *tənna* 'act of speaking, speech, discourse'; Ghadames *ən* 'to say'; Wargla *ini* 'to say, to ask, to call, to name'; Mzab *ini* 'to say'; Tamazight *ini* 'to say, to tell, to call'; Tashelhiyt / Shilha *ini* 'to say, to tell'; Riff *ini* 'to say, to speak'; Kabyle *ini* 'to say, to ask'; Chaouia *ini* 'to say, to ask'. Highland East Cushitic: Gedeo / Darasa *yaan-em-* 'to talk, to speak'. Hudson 1989:265. Proto-Afrasian apparently had several stems beginning with **y-* with similar meanings: **yan-* 'to say, to speak' (see above), **yo-* 'to say' (cf. Ehret 1995:471, no. 991), **yah-* 'to respond, to speak out in response' (cf. Ehret 1995:472, no. 996), **ya-* 'to call, to speak' (cf. Orël—Stolbova 1995:534, no. 2564).

B. Proto-Dravidian **yaṉ-* 'to say': Tamil *eṉ* (*eṉp-*, *eṉr-*) 'to say, to utter, to express', *eṉkai* 'saying', *eṉpi* 'to make one establish or prove (as a statement)'; Malayalam *ennuka* 'to sound, to say, to think; to sound thus, to appear thus, to be such' (auxiliary verb); Kota *in-* (*iḏ-*) 'to say (so-and-so)'; Toda *ïn-* (*ïḏ-*) 'to say (so-and-so)'; Kannaḍa *en-* (*end-*), *ennu*, *an-* (*and-*), *annu* 'to say, to speak, to call, to name', *enisu*, *ennisu*, *enasu*, *anasu*, *anisu*, *annisu* 'to cause to say, to cause oneself to say, to cause to be called, to cause oneself to be called, to be called, to be spoken of', *embu*, *imbu* 'a saying, a word', *enuha*, *ennike*, *ennuvike*, *annuvike* 'saying, calling, naming'; Koḍagu **enn-* (*emb-*, *end-*) 'to say (so-and-so)'; Tuḷu *anpini*, *inpini* 'to say, to speak', *endruni* 'to say fully'; Telugu *anu* 'to say, to utter, to speak'; Kolami *en-* (*ent-*), *in-* 'to say (so-and-so), to be said to be (so-and-so)'; Naikṛi *en-* (*ent-*) 'to say'; Naiki (of Chanda) *en-* (*enḍ-*) 'to say'; Parji *en-* (*end-*, *ett-*) 'to say (so-and-so)'; Gadba (Salur) *in-* 'to say (so-and-so)'; Gondi *indānā* (*inj-*) 'to say, to call', *ind-* (*itt-*), *in-* 'to say'; Konḍa *in-* (*iʀ-*) 'to say'; Pengo *in-* (*ic-*) 'to say'; Manḍa *in-* (*ic-*) 'to say'; Kui *inba-* (*is-*) 'to say, to be articulate'; Kuwi *injali*, *innai*, *in-* (*icc-*) 'to say'; Malto *áne* 'to think, to say, or do thus'; Kuṛux *ānnā* 'to say, to tell, to

salute as, to point out, to designate'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:84, no. 868. McAlpin (1971:96) reconstructs Proto-Dravidian *$e\underline{n}$- 'to say' and Proto-Elamo-Dravidian **en*- 'to say'. The Elamite (Middle Elamite and Royal Achaemenid Elamite) cognate is *na*- 'to say' (cf. Achaemenid Elamite *na-an-gi* 'I said', *na-an-ri* 'he says; he said', *na-um-be* 'they say; they said', etc.). McAlpin notes: "[p]resumably the P[roto-]El[amite] form is **ena*-".

Buck 1949:18.21 speak, talk; 18.22 say; 18.26 word. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:599—600, no. 473; Illič-Svityč 1971—1984.I:280—281, no. 146, **jAnʌ* 'to talk'; Dolgopolsy 2008, no. 2635, **yän[h|ʔ]V* (or **ʔänh|ʔV* ??) 'to speak, to say'.

788. Proto-Nostratic root **yaw*- (~ **yəw*-):
(vb.) **yaw*- 'to produce young';
(n.) **yaw-a* 'youth, young person, child'; (adj.) 'young'

A. Proto-Afrasian **yaw*- 'to produce young': Egyptian *ỉwr* 'to conceive a child, to become pregnant'; Coptic *ōō* [**ѡѡ**] 'to conceive a child, to become pregnant', (qualitative) *eet* [**ⲉⲉⲧ**] 'to be pregnant'. Hannig 1995:36; Erman—Grapow 1921:9 and 1926—1963.1:56; Gardiner 1957:552; Faulkner 1962:13; Vycichl 1983:248; Černý 1976:227. Proto-Cushitic **yaw*- ~ **yuw*- 'child' > Proto-Rift **ya*- 'child' > Burunge (pl.) *yaʔay* 'children'; K'wadza *yoʔo* 'child'. Ehret 1980:384 (according to Ehret, Alagwa *hati* 'child', *haʔay* 'children' are from a different root). Chadic: Ngizim *ʔyàwú* 'to bear, to give birth (human, animal, plant)'; Hausa *yááròò* 'boy, child', *ʔyáá* 'daughter'; Higi Nkafa *yɛ* 'to give birth'; Matakam *ya* 'to give birth'; Musgoy *ye* 'to give birth'; Kabalay *yəyə* 'to give birth'; Somray *yʌ̀* 'to give birth'. Schuh 1981:178; Jungraithmayr—Ibriszimow 1994.I:193 **yw* ~ **wy* 'to give birth' and II:74—75 and II:160—161. Ehret 1995:476, no. 1004, **yaw*- 'to produce young'.

B. Proto-Indo-European **yew*-/**yow*-/**yu*- '(adj.) young; (n.) youth, young person' in: **yuwen*-, **yuwn̥kʰos* 'young'; **yuwn̥tʰ-eA*, *-os*, *-is* 'youth, young person': Sanskrit *yúvan*-, *yūn*- 'young, youthful; young man', *yuvatí-ḥ* 'young woman', *yuvaká-ḥ* 'youthful'; Avestan *yvan*-, *yūn*- 'youth, young man'; Latin *iuvencus* '(adj.) young; (n.) a young man', *iuvenca* 'a young woman, a maiden', *iuventa* 'youth', *iuvenis* '(adj.) young, youthful; (n.) a young man, a young woman, one in the prime of life (between the ages of 20 and 45)', *iuventās* 'youth, the time of youth', *iuventus* 'youth, prime of life'; Umbrian *iuengar* (acc. pl. *iuenga*, *iveka*) 'a young cow, heifer', (dat. pl.) *iouies* 'young men' (acc. pl. *iouie*); Old Irish *oac*, *óac* 'young' (comparative *óa*, superlative *óam*), *óetiu*, *oítiu* 'youth'; Old Cornish *iouenc* 'young'; Breton *iaouank* 'young' (comparative *iaou*); Welsh *ieuanc* 'young' (comparative *iau*); Gothic *juggs* 'young', *junda*

‘youth’; Old Icelandic *ungr* ‘young’; Faroese *ungur* ‘young’; Norwegian *ung* ‘young’ Swedish *ung* ‘young’; Danish *ung* ‘young’; Old English *ġeong* ‘young, youthful’, *ġeogoþ* ‘(period of) youth; young persons, youth; new-born animals’; Old Frisian *jung* ‘young’, *jogethe* ‘youth’; Old Saxon *jung* ‘young’, *juguđ* ‘youth’; Dutch *jong* ‘young’, *jeugd* ‘youth’; Old High German *jung* ‘young’ (New High German *jung*), *jugund* ‘youth, adolescence’ (New High German *Jugend*); Lithuanian *jáunas* ‘young’; Latvian *jaûns* ‘young’; Old Church Slavic *junъ* ‘young’. Pokorny 1959:510—511 **i̯eu-* ‘young’ (positive **i̯uu̯en-* [: **i̯ūn-*], comparative **i̯eu̯-i̯os*); Walde 1927—1932.I:200—201 **i̯eu-* (positive **i̯uu̯en-* [: **i̯ūn-*], comparative **i̯eu̯-i̯os*); Mann 1984—1987:447 **i̯eunos* (**i̯eu̯n̥os*, **i̯eu̯ənos*, *-is*) ‘young’, 447 **i̯euntā* (**i̯eu̯n̥tā*, **i̯eunətā*, **i̯uu̯n̥tā*) ‘early life, youth’, 448 **i̯eu̯n̥kos* (**i̯ou̯n̥k-*, **i̯uu̯n̥k-*) ‘young creature, young person’; Mallory—Adams 1997:655 **h$_a$i̯eu-* ‘young’ and 655—656 **h$_a$i̯uh$_x$-n̥-k̂ós* ‘youth’; Watkins 1985:79 **yeu-* (suffixed zero-grade form **yuwen-*) and 2000:103 **yeu-* ‘vital force, youthful vigor’ (suffixed zero-grade form **yuwen-*); Vendryès 1959— :O-18; Ernout—Meillet 1979:330—331; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:735—736 **i̯uu̯en-*; De Vaan 2008:317—318; Orël 2003:207 Proto-Germanic **junɣalinɣaz*, 207—208 **junɣaz*, 208 **junɣōn*; Kroonen 2013:274—275 Proto-Germanic **junga-* ‘young’ and 276 **ju(w)unþi-* ‘youth’; Feist 1939:303—304 **i̯uu̯n̥kós*, **i̯uu̯n̥k̂ós* and 304—305 **i̯uu̯n̥tā́*, **i̯uu̯n̥tís*; Lehmann 1986:212 **yeHw-* and 213; De Vries 1977:635 **yuu̯en-*; Falk—Torp 1903—1906.II:414—415; Onions 1966:1021 **juwen-*, **jŭn-*; Klein 1971:838 **yuwn̥kós*; Boutkan—Siebinga 2005:205—206; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:335 **i̯uu̯n̥-kos*; Kluge—Seebold 1989:342 and 343 **ju(w)n̥-*; Derksen 2008:208 **h$_2$i-eu-Hn-o-*; Smoczyński 2007.1:230—231; Fraenkel 1962—1965.I:190—191; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.III:23—24; Bartholomae 1904:1305.

Buck 1949:14.14 young.

789. Proto-Nostratic (Eurasiatic only) (n.) **yiw-a* (~ **yew-a*) ‘grain’:

A. Proto-Indo-European **yewo-* ‘grain’: Sanskrit *yáva-ḥ* ‘grain, barley’; Avestan *yava-* ‘grain’; Greek (f. pl.) ζειαί ‘grain, spelt’; Lithuanian *jãvas* (pl. *javaĩ*) ‘grain, crop’. Pokorny 1959:512 **i̯eu̯o-* ‘grain’; Walde 1927—1932.I:202—203 **i̯eu̯o-*; Mann 1984—1987:448—449 **i̯eu̯os*, *-es-* (**i̯eu̯i̯(ə)-*) ‘a grain (barley, spelt)’; Mallory—Adams 1997:236 **i̯éu̯os* ~ **i̯éu̯om* ‘grain (particularly barley?)’; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.II:655—656, II:928 **i̯eu̯o-* and 1995.I:565, I:821 **yewo-* ‘barley’; Watkins 1985:79 **yewo-* 2000:103 **yewo-* ‘grain’; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.III:9—10; Boisacq 1950:307 **jeu̯-i̯a*; Beekes 2010.I:496—497 **ieuh$_1$-*; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:397; Hofmann 1966:102 **i̯eu̯-i̯a*; Frisk 1970—1973.I:608—

609 *ɟeu̯o-*; Smoczyński 2007.1:232; Fraenkel 1962—1965.I:192; Derksen 2015:210 **ieu-o-*; Wodtko—Irslinger—Schneider 2008:407—409 **ɟeu̯h$_1$-*.

B. Uralic: Proto-Finno-Permian **yewä* (> Proto-Finno-Votyak **yüwä*) 'grain' > Finnish *jyvä* 'grain'; Mordvin *juv* 'husk, chaff; oats'; Votyak / Udmurt *ju*, *d'u* 'grain, crop'. Collinder 1955:130 and 1977:142; Rédei 1986—1988:633—634 **jewä* (> **yüwä*); Joki 1973:265.

Buck 1949:8.42 grain. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:596, no. 469.

790. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **yor-a* 'set of two, group of two; a pair of …' (> 'two'):

A. Dravidian: Tamil *iraṇṭu*, (coll.) *reṇṭu* 'two', *iraṇṭām*, *iraṇṭāvatu* 'second', *iraṇai* 'couple, pair', *iraṭṭai* 'pair, married couple, twins, even numbers', *iraṭṭaiyar* 'twins', *iraṭṭi* '(vb.) to double; (n.) double quantity', *iraṭṭippu* 'double quantity', *iraṭṭu* (*iraṭṭi-*) '(vb.) to double (intr.), to sound alternatively, to wave alternatively (tr.); (n.) doubleness', *iru* (before consonants), *īr* (before vowels) (adj.) 'two', *iru-patu*, *iru-vatu* 'twenty', *iru-nūṟu* 'two hundred', *irumai* 'twofold state', *iruvar* 'two persons', *ivv-iraṇṭu* 'two by two'; Malayalam *raṇṭu* 'two', *raṇṭ-āka* 'to be divided, to be doubled', *raṇṭām* 'second', *raṇṭikka* 'to be divided, to disagree; to double, to multiply', *iraṭṭa* 'double, even', *iraṭṭi* 'double, twice as much', *iraṭṭikka* 'to double, to multiply', *iru* (before consonants), *īr* (before vowels) (adj.) 'two', *iruvar* 'two persons', *iru-patu* 'twenty', *iru-nūṟu* 'two hundred', *ī-raṇṭu* 'by twos'; Iruḷa *raṇḍu*, *reṇḍu* 'two'; Kota *eyḏ* 'two', *ir va·d* 'twenty', *irrva·d* 'by twenties', *i nu·r* 'two hundred'; Toda *e·ḍ* 'two', *ï foθ* 'twenty', *ï nu·ṛ* 'two hundred', *i·r o·ṛ* 'two years', *i·ṭy* 'double, even (of numbers)', *ïm* 'double', *ïmu* 'twins', *ï-štyu·* 'twice'; Kannaḍa *eraḍu*, *erḍu*, *eraṛ* 'two', (adj.) *iru*, *ir*, *ic*, *ik* 'two', *irpattu*, *ippattu* 'twenty', *innūṟu* 'two hundred', *irbar*, *ibbar*, *irvar* 'two persons', *irme*, *imme* 'twice'; Koḍagu *pann-eraṇḍï* 'twelve', *iru-vadï* 'twenty', *in-nu·rï* 'two hundred'; Tuḷu *raḍḍu* 'two things', *raḍḍanè* 'second; middling', *irụ*, *īr* (adj.) 'two, double, both', *ir-nūdu* 'two hundred', *irva* 'twenty', *irbaḍi* 'double', *irverụ* 'two persons', *irvoḷu* 'twice'; Koraga *eyḍɨ* 'two'; Telugu *reṇḍu* 'two things', *reṇḍava* 'second, another', *renca* 'two (in gambling)', *reṇṭa* 'two ways or courses', *reṭṭa* 'double, twofold', *reṭṭi* 'twice as much', *reṭṭincu* 'to double', *reṭṭimpu* 'doubling, double', *panneṇḍu* 'twelve', *iru-vadi*, (coll.) *iru-vai* 'twenty', *in-nūṟu* 'two hundred'; Kolami *irve* 'twenty'; Naikṛi *iddar* 'two men', *iraḷ* 'two women'; Naiki (of Chanda) *ernḍi* 'two things', *iroṭel*, *iroṭer* 'two men', *ira* 'two women', *ir nān* 'two days', *ernḍik* 'two years', *ernḍiḍa* 'twice'; Parji *irḍu* 'two things', *irul* 'two men', *iral* 'two women', (adj.) *ir*, *iroṭ* 'twice'; Gadba (Ollari) *inḍi* 'two things', *irul* 'two men', *iral* 'two women', (adj.) *ir*, *iḍḍig* 'two'; Gondi (in most dialects) *ranḍ* 'two'; Konḍa *riʔ-*/*ri-* 'two', (f. and neut.) *runḍi* 'two', *riʔer* 'two men', *riza* 'twice'; Pengo *ri* 'two', *rikar* 'two men', *rinḍek* 'two women',

(neut.) *rinḍaŋ* ‘two’; Manḍa *ri* ‘two’; Kui *rī* ‘two’ (adj. preceding noun), *rīaru* ‘two men’, *rīnḍe*, *rīnḍi* ‘two women or things’ (adj. following noun), *rīhe* ‘twice’, *riko* ‘on two sides’, (dialect spoken by the Kuṭṭia Kandhs of Northeast Koraput) *ri* (adj.) ‘two’; Kuwi *rī* ‘two’; Kuṛux *irb* ‘two persons’, *irbar*, *irbarim* ‘both’, *ẽ̄ṛ*, *ēṇḍ* ‘two things’; Malto *iwr* ‘two persons’; Brahui *iraṭ* ‘two (entities)’, (adj.) *irā* ‘two’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:46, no. 474; Krishnamurti 2003:46 **īr/*ir-*, 97 **īr*: **ir-u*, 159—160 **īr/*ir-V-*, 197 **īr/*ir-V-*, and 395 **īr/*ir-V*; Caldwell 1913:327. Note: original initial **y-* was lost in the Dravidian daughter languages except in Old Tamil, where it is found before **ā* in about thirty words (cf. Krishnamurti 2003:142—143, §4.5.4.2; Zvelebil 1970:159—160). Consequently, we can envision the following phonetic developments in Pre-Proto-Dravidian: **yor-* > **yĭr-* > **ĭr-* (with a vowel change similar to what is found in Mingrelian *žir-*, *žər-* cited below).

B. Proto-Kartvelian **yor-* ‘two’: Georgian *or-*, *vor-* ‘two’; Mingrelian *žir-*, *žər-* ‘two’; Laz *žu(r)-*, *ǯu(r)-*, *jur-* ‘two’; Svan *jōri*, *jori*, *jerbi* ‘two’. Klimov 1964:149 **jor-* and 1998:144—145 **jor-* ‘two’; Schmidt 1962:129 **jor-i*; Fähnrich 1965, 1994:228, and 2007:323—324 **jor-*; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:267—268 **jor-*; Blažek 1999b:82.

C. Chukchi-Kamchatkan: Proto-Chukotian **-jərʁ(ən)* ‘set, group of’ (< ‘set of two, group of two; a pair of …’) > Chukchi *-jərʔən*, *-jərʔ-* ‘set, group of’; Koryak *-jəcʁən* ‘set or group of -s’; Alyutor *-jərʁən*, (Palana) *-jərʔən* ‘set or group of -s’. Fortescue 2005:411—412.

				Eurasiatic			
Proto-Nostratic	Proto-Afrasian	Proto-Dravid.	Proto-Kartvel.	Proto-IE	Proto-Uralic	Proto-Altaic	Proto-Eskimo
w-	w-	v-/Ø-	w-	w-	w-		v-
-w-	-w-	-v-	-w-	-w-	-w-		-v-

791. Proto-Nostratic 1st person personal pronoun stem **wa-* (~ **wə-*) ‘I, me; we, us’:

A. Proto-Afrasian **wa-* 1st person personal pronoun stem: Egyptian (1st sg. dependent pronoun) *wi̯* ‘I, me; my’. Hannig 1995:179; Gardiner 1957:45, §43, and 560; Faulkner 1962:56; Erman—Grapow 1921:33 and 1926—1963.1:270—271; Loprieno 1995:64. Chadic: Ngizim (1st pl. inclusive) *wà* ‘we, us; our(s)’. Schuh 1981:170. Omotic: Hamer (general, stem-form) *wo* ‘we’, (independent, *a*-form) *wosi*, *wodi*, (dependent, *no*-form) *won*; (possessive, stem-form) *wono* ‘ours’, (possessive, *a*-form) *wontia*, (possessive, *na*-form) *wonna*, (possessive *no*-form) *wonno*. Bender 2000: 196; Lydall 1976:414—415.

B. Proto-Kartvelian **-we-* in: **čk-we-[na]* ‘we’, **čk-we-m-* ‘my’, **čk-we-n-* ‘our’: Georgian *čven* ‘we’ (Old Georgian *čuen*), *čem-* ‘my’, *čven-* ‘our’; Mingrelian *čki*, *čkə* ‘we’, *čkim-* ‘my’, *čkin-*, *čkən-* ‘our’; Laz *čkun*, *čkin*, *šku* ‘we’, *čkim-*, *škim-* ‘my’, *čkun-*, *čkin-*, *škun-*, *škin-* ‘our’; Svan *šgwej* in: (inclusive) *gu-šgwej* ‘our’, (exclusive) *ni-šgwej* ‘our’; *šgwi*, *šgu* in: *mi-šgwi*, *mi-šgu* ‘me’. Jahukyan 1967:96 **č-wen* ‘we’; Schmidt 1962:147 *čkun-*, **čkwen-*; Klimov 1964:219 **čem-* ‘my’, 219—220 **čwen-* ‘we’, 220 **čwen-* ‘our’ and 1998:255 **č(w)em-* ‘my’, 256 **čwen* ‘we’, and 256—257 **čwen-* ‘our’; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:434—435 **čem-* and 436—437 **čwen-*; Fähnrich 2007:539—540 **čem-* and 541—542 **čwen-*; Gamkrelidze—Mačavariani 1982:87 (1st pl. inclusive) **čwe-na*, (1st sg. possessive) **čwe-m-*, (1st pl. possessive) **čwe-n-*; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.I:254 (1st pl. inclusive) **č-we-[na]* ‘we’, (1st sg. possessive) **č-we-m-* ‘my’, (1st pl. possessive) **č-we-n-* ‘our’ and 1995.I:221 (1st pl. inclusive) **č-we-[na]* ‘we’, (1st sg. possessive) **č-we-m-* ‘my’, (1st pl. possessive) **č-we-n-* ‘our’. According to Dolgopolsky (1984:73), **č-* was the marker of genitive and possessive in Proto-Kartvelian: **čem-* ‘my’ (< **č(e)-+m(i)*), **šwen-* ‘thy’ (< **č-+swe-n-*).

C. Proto-Indo-European **we-*/**wo-*, **wey-* 1st person dual and plural personal pronoun stem: Hittite *ú-i-e-eš* ‘we’; Sanskrit (dual) *vā́m* ‘we two’, (pl.) *vayám* ‘we’; Avestan (dual) *vā*, (pl.) *vaēm* ‘we’; Gothic (dual) *wit* ‘we two’, (pl.) *weis* ‘we’; Old Icelandic *vér* ‘we’; Swedish *vi* ‘we’ (Old Swedish *wī(r)*); Danish *vi* ‘we’; Old English *wē* ‘we’; Old Frisian *wi* ‘we’;

Old Saxon *wi*, *we* ‘we’; Dutch *wij* ‘we’ (Old Dutch *wi*, *wü*, *wij*); Old High German *wir* ‘we’ (New High German *wir*); Old Church Slavic (dual) *vě* ‘we two’; Tocharian (pl.) A *was*, B *wes* ‘we, us’, (dual) B *wene* ‘we two’. Verb endings: Luwian (1st sg.) *-wi*; Hieroglyphic Luwian (1st sg.) *-wi*; Palaic (1st pl.) *-wani*; Hittite (1st pl.) *-weni*, *-wani*, *-wen*, *-wašta*, *-waštati*, *-waštat*; Sanskrit (1st dual) *-vas*, *-va*, *-vahe*, *-vahi*; Lithuanian (1st dual) *-va*; Old Church Slavic (1st dual) *-vě*. Brugmann 1904:407 and 593; Szemerényi 1996:217; Fortson 2004:127 **u̯ei-*; Burrow 1973:266 and 313; Pokorny 1959:1114 (dual) **u̯ĕ-*, (pl.) **u̯ei-* ‘we’; Walde 1927—1932.I:220 **u̯e-*; Mann 1984—1987:1505 **u̯eį̂es* ‘we’, 1527 **u̯ēs* (**u̯eį̂es*) ‘we’; Watkins 1985:73 **we-* (suffixed variant form **wei-es*) and 2000:95 **we-* ‘we’ (suffixed variant form **wey-es*); Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.I:292—293 **u̯ei-*, **u̯es-*, **u̯e-* and 1995.I:254 **wei-*, **wes-*, **we-* (Gamkrelidze—Ivanov interpret **wei-*, **wes-*, **we-* as 1st person plural inclusive); Mallory—Adams 1997:454—455 **u̯éi* ‘we’; Kloekhorst 2008b:1004; Orël 2003:460 Proto-Germanic **wez* ~ **wīz*; Kroonen 2013:590—591 Proto-Germanic **wīz* ‘we’; Feist 1939:560 **u̯eį̂-es*; Lehmann 1986:400 **wey-*; De Vries 1977:654 **u̯ei-*; Falk—Torp 1903—1906.II:441; Klein 1971:822; Onions 1966:995—996 **wei*; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:862; Kluge—Seebold 1989:795 **wei-*; Boutkan—Siebinga 2005:446—447; Adams 1999:265—266 **wei-*; Van Windekens 1976—1982.I:547 **u̯ei-*; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.III:147.

Bomhard—Kerns 1994:602, no. 475; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 2555, **wVyV* ‘we’.

792. Proto-Nostratic sentence particle **wa-* (~ **wə-*) ‘and, also, but; like, as’:

A. Proto-Afrasian **wa* sentence particle: ‘and, also, but’: Proto-Semitic **wa* sentence particle: ‘and, also, but’ > Akkadian *u* ‘and’; Hebrew *wə* [וְ] ‘and, also, even, and indeed, with, and in addition, but’; Phoenician *-w* ‘and’; Syriac *wə* ‘and, also, for, but, however, since, because, that, in order that, then, or, even, again’; Ugaritic *w* ‘and’; Arabic *wa* ‘and, and also, with’; Sabaean *w* ‘and, together with, but’; Soqoṭri *wə-* ‘and’; Ḥarsūsi *w(e)-* ‘and’; Mehri *w-* *w*, *əw*, *wə* ‘and’; Geez / Ethiopic *wa-* [***ወ***-] ‘and’; Tigre *wä* ‘and’; Harari *-wa* ‘and’; Gurage (Selṭi, Masqan, Zway) *-wa*, (Wolane) *-wä* ‘and’. D. Cohen 1970— :473—480; Klein 1987:189; Leslau 1963:157, 1979:639, and 1987:602; Zammit 2002:425.
B. Kartvelian: Georgian *-ve* enclitic particle.
C. Proto-Indo-European **we*, **u* sentence particle: ‘and, also, but; like, as’: Sanskrit *va* ‘like, as’, *vā* ‘as, like, just, even, indeed’, *iva* (*i*+*va*) ‘like, so, just so, just, exactly, indeed, very’, *u* ‘and, also, further’, *utá* ‘and, also’; Greek ἠ-ύτε (< *ἠ[ϝ]έ+υτε) ‘as, like as’, εὖτε ‘when, at the time when, whenever, so often as, since, seeing that’; Latin *ut*, *utī* ‘how?, as, when,

while, since, where, that, in order that'; Umbrian *ute*, *ote* 'but'; Gothic enclitic particle *-u*; Tocharian B *wa* 'therefore, nevertheless', *wat* 'or, rather than', *wai* 'and' (conjoins only nouns). Pokorny 1959:73—75 **au-*, **u-* 'that, other'; Walde 1927—1932.I:187—189 **u-* (: **u̯e-*, **u̯o-* and **au-*); Mann 1984—1987:1473 **u* a sentence particle: 'and, also', 1482 **ute*, **utə*, **uti*, **ut* a sentence particle, 1496 **u̯e* (**u̯ē*, **u̯ə*, **u*) enclitic: 'and, but, or, also, so, indeed'; Watkins 1985:4 **au-* and 2000:6 **au-* pronominal base appearing in particles and adverbs; Beekes 2010.I:485 and I:527; Boisacq 1950:299; Hofmann 1966:99; Frisk 1970—1973.I:595 and I:646; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:388—389 and I:418; Feist 1939:508; Lehmann 1986:370 **au-*, **u-*; Adams 1999:575 **wē*, 575—576 **wē+tu*, and 611 **wē* + the particle **e*; Van Windekens 1976—1982.I:540 **u̯ĕ*; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.III:180. Note: The sentence particle **we*, **u* should be differentiated from the pronominal base **hew-* [**haw-*].

D. Yukaghir (Southern / Kolyma) *aj* 'again; also, too', *aji* 'yet, still', (Northern / Tundra) *waaj* 'again; also, too', *waji* 'yet, still', *wajin* 'soon, immediately', *wajide(k)* 'more'. Nikolaeva 2006:450.

E. Chukchi-Kamchatkan: Proto-Chukotian **wælæ(w)* 'at least' > Chukchi *welew* 'at least'; Koryak *walʲu* 'at least'. Chukotian loan in Kamchadal / Itelmen *welknu* 'at least'. Fortescue 2005:325. Proto-Chukotian **wælæð* 'even if?' > Chukchi *weler*, *welet* 'although, enough'; Kerek *walʲaj(ʁam)* 'anyway, even so'; Koryak *walat* 'thanks, fine'; Alyutor *walat* 'even (if)'. Chukotian loan in Kamchadal / Itelmen *welk* 'nonetheless, as if, only'. Fortescue 2005:325—326.

Bomhard—Kerns 1994:603, no. 477; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 2452, **wa* 'also, same' ([in descendant languages] → 'and').

793. Proto-Nostratic root **waʕ-* (~ **wəʕ-*):
(vb.) **waʕ-* 'to call, to cry out, to shout';
(n.) **waʕ-a* 'cry, howl, clamor, shout, noise'

A. Proto-Afrasian **waʕ-* 'to call, to cry out, to shout': Proto-Semitic (reduplicated) **waʕ-waʕ-* 'to cry out, to shout, to howl' > Arabic *waʿwaʿa* 'to howl, to yelp, to bark, to bay'; Geez / Ethiopic *wawwəʿa* [ወወ·ዐ], *wawwəʾa* [ወወ·ኣ] 'to clamor, to raise a shout, to shout loudly, to cry aloud, to howl, to roar, to wail', *wəwwəʿā* [ው·ው·ዓ], *wawwəʿā* [ወወ·ዓ] 'clamor, shout, noise, cry, thunder'; Tigre *wäwʿa*, *wäʿa* 'to cry loudly'; Amharic *wa*, *wawa* 'sound of a crow'; Gurage *wawat* 'crow'. Leslau 1987:623; D. Cohen 1970— :572—573. Egyptian *wʿ3* 'to cry out, to conjure, to curse, to blaspheme'; Coptic *wa* [ⲟⲩⲁ] 'blasphemy'. Hannig 1995:182; Faulkner 1962:57; Erman—Grapow 1926—1963.1:279; Vycichl 1983:229; Černý 1976:208. Proto-East Cushitic **waʕ-* 'to shout, to call, to invite' > Saho *waʿ-* 'to shout, to call, to invite'; Somali *waʿ-* 'to shout, to call, to invite';

Rendille *waħ-* ‘to shout, to call, to invite’; Dasenech *veʔ-* ‘to shout, to call, to invite’; Elmolo *weʔ-* ‘to shout, to call, to invite’; Galla / Oromo *waa-m-* ‘to shout, to call, to invite’; Dullay *oʕ-* ‘to shout, to call, to invite’. Sasse 1979:42; Heine 1978:76. Central Cushitic: Bilin *waʕ y-* ‘to cry, to shout’; Kemant *əw y-* ‘to cry, to shout’; Awngi / Awiya *əwáy n-* ‘to cry, to shout’. Appleyard 2006:50. Proto-Southern Cushitic **waaʕ-* ‘to curse, to revile’ > Asa *waʔam-* ‘to curse, to revile’; Dahalo *waaʕ-* ‘to curse, to revile’. Ehret 1980:313. Proto-Chadic **wa-* ‘to call’ > Bachama *wá* ‘to call’; Mubi *waa* ‘to call’; Tumak *wə̀g* ‘to call’. Newman 1977:23; Jungraithmayr—Ibriszimow 1994.II:58—59. Ehret 1995:470, no. 990, **waaʕ-* ‘to yell’.

B. Dravidian: Tamil *vāṅku* (*vāṅki-*) ‘to call, to abuse, to reproach’; Kannaḍa *bāṅku* ‘cry of a dog’; Telugu *vā̃gu* ‘to sound, to ring, to chatter, to babble’; Gondi *vēṅ-* ‘to sound (bell)’, *vēnc-* ‘to ring (bell)’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:483, no. 5337.

C. Proto-Indo-European **we‿ʕi-* [**wa‿ʕi-*]/**wo‿ʕi-* > **wā-*/**wō-* ‘to call, to cry out’: Greek ἠχή (< **Ϝᾱχᾱ́*) ‘sound, noise’; Latin *vāgiō* ‘to cry, to whimper’; Gothic *wōpjan* ‘to call, to cry out’; Old Icelandic *æpa* ‘to cry, to shout; to call, to cry out (to someone)’, *óp* ‘shout, shouting; crying, weeping’; Old English *wēpan* ‘to weep’ (past participle *wōpen*), *wōp* ‘weeping’; Old Frisian *wēpa* ‘to cry aloud’; Old Saxon *wōpian* ‘to bewail’; Old High German *wuoffen*, *wuofan* ‘to bewail’, *wuof* ‘weeping, sobbing’; Old Church Slavic *vabljǫ*, *vabiti* ‘to call, to entice’. Rix 1998a:606 **u̯eh$_2$g^h-* ‘to call, to cry out, to shriek’; Pokorny 1959:1109 **u̯āb-* ‘to call, to cry’, 1110 **u̯ăg-* ‘to call, to shriek’, and 1110 **u̯ăgh-* ‘to shriek’; Walde 1927—1932.I:217 **u̯ab-*, I:214—215 **u̯ag-*, and I:215 **u̯āgh-*; Mann 1984—1987:1483 **u̯āb̥iō* ‘to shout, to call’; Watkins 1985 **wāb-* and 2000:94 **wāb-* ‘to cry, to scream’; Mallory—Adams 1997:89 **u̯eh$_a$b-* ‘to cry, to scream’; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:418; Frisk 1970—1973.I:646—647; Boisacq 1950:331 **(s)u̯ăg̑h-*; Beekes 2010.I:528 **(s)ueh$_2$g^h-*; Hofmann 1966:110; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.II:725—726 **u̯ăg(h)-*; **u̯ăg-*, **u̯āb-*; Ernout—Meillet 1979:711; De Vaan 2008:651 (?) **u̯eh$_2$-* ‘to cry’; Orël 2003:470 Proto-Germanic **wōpjanan* I, 470 **wōpjanan* II; Feist 1939:572 **u̯ā-*; Lehmann 1986:409 **wā-*; De Vries 1977:419 and 684; Onions 1966:998 Common Germanic **wōp-*; Klein 1971:823 **wap-*, **wāb-*,**ŭp-*, **ŭb-*; Derksen 2008:511—512 **ueh$_2$b-* or **ueh$_3$b-*.

Buck 1949:18.13 shout, cry out. Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 2473, **waHlV* ‘to cry, to speak’; Bomhard—Kerns 1994:605—606, no. 481.

794. Proto-Nostratic root **wad-* (~ **wəd-*):
(vb.) **wad-* ‘to take, to lead, to carry, to bring’;
(n.) **wad-a* ‘the act of taking, leading, carrying, bringing’

A. Proto-Afrasian *_wad-_ ‘to take away, to lead, to carry off, to bring’: Proto-Semitic *_wad-ay-_ ‘to take away, to carry off or away, to lead to, to bring’ > Arabic _wadā_ (inf. _tawdiya-t_) ‘to carry one off; to send, to bring, to lead to’; Śḥeri / Jibbāli _wudi_ ‘to take away’; Ḥarsūsi _awēd_ ‘to turn away’; Mehri _awōdi_ ‘to take away’. D. Cohen 1970— :500. Proto-Southern Cushitic *_wad-_ ‘to carry’ > K’wadza _walit-_ ‘to wear’; Asa _wades-_ ‘to lift, to carry’; Dahalo _wad̲-_, _wad̲at̲-_ ‘to carry’. Ehret 1980:311. [Ehret 1995:455, no. 954, *_wad-_ ‘to move’.]

B. Proto-Kartvelian *_wed-_ ‘to go away’: Georgian _ved-_, _vid-_ ‘to go away’; Mingrelian _id-_ ‘to go away’; Laz _id-_ ‘to go away’. Schmidt 1962:108; Klimov 1964:84 *_wid-_ ‘to start, to leave’ and 1998:51 *_wed-_ : *_wid-_ ‘to go, to walk’; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:130—131 *_wed-_; Fähnrich 2007:158 *_wed-_.

C. Proto-Indo-European *_wed^{h}-_/*_wod^{h}-_ ‘to lead, to bring, to carry’: Hittite (3rd sg. pres.) _ú-i-da-(a-)iz-zi_, _ú-wa-da-az-zi_ ‘to bring, to carry’; Avestan _vāδayeiti_ ‘to lead, to draw, to pull, to drag’; Old Irish _fedid_ ‘to lead, to bring’; Lithuanian _vedù_, _vèsti_ ‘to lead, to guide, to direct, to conduct, to marry’; Old Church Slavic _vedǫ_, _vesti_ ‘to lead, to take’; Russian _vodít'_ [водить] ‘to lead, to conduct’; Czech _vedu_, _vesti_ ‘to lead, to conduct’, _voditi_ ‘to lead, to conduct’. Rix 1998a:600 *_u̯ed^{h}-_ ‘to lead’; Walde 1927—1932.I:255—256 *_u̯edh-_; Pokorny 1959:1115—1116 *_u̯edh-_ ‘to lead’; Mann 1984—1987:1497 *_u̯edh-_ ‘to lead, to bring, to carry’, 1559 *_u̯odhos_, _-ā_; *_u̯odhmn-_ ‘lead, front; leader, head’; Mallory—Adams 1997:346 *_h$_2$u̯ed(h$_x$)-_ ‘to lead, to take to wife’; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.II:756 *_Hu̯ed[^{h}]-_ and 1995.I:658 *_Hwed^{h}-_ ‘to lead away, to carry off a bride (by force)’; Kloekhorst 2008b:1009—1010; Derksen 2008:517 *_ued^{h}-_, 523 *_uod^{h}-_, and 2015:599 *_ued^{h}-_; Smoczyński 2007.1:743—743; Fraenkel 1962—1965.II:1231—1232.

D. Proto-Uralic *_wetä-_ ‘to take, to guide, to lead, to carry’: Finnish _vetä-_ ‘to pull, to draw, to haul, to drag’; Estonian _veda-_ ‘to draw, to pull, to tug, to haul’; Mordvin (Erza) _ved'a-_, _viti-_ ‘to take, to guide, to lead’; Cheremis / Mari _wüde-_, _wide-_ ‘to guide, to lead, to carry’; Hungarian _vezet-_ ‘to lead, to guide’, _vezér_ ‘leader’; (?) Yurak Samoyed / Nenets _waada-_, _wada-_ ‘to pull, to drag; to train, to raise; to produce, to give birth to; to feed, to nourish; to cultivate’, _waadalpi-_, _wadalpa-_ ‘to lead’; (?) Tavgi Samoyed / Nganasan _bada-_ ‘to feed, to nourish (a child)’; (?) Yenisei Samoyed / Enets (Hantai) _bara-_, (Baiha) _bada-_ ‘to feed, to nurture, to breed’; (?) Selkup Samoyed _kuõda-_ ‘to breed, to nurse, to tend’; (?) Kamassian _bœdə-_, _budə-_ ‘to feed, to nourish’. Collinder 1955:67, 1965:32, and 1977:84; Joki 1973:344—345; Rédei 1986—1988:569—570 *_wetä-_; Sammallahti 1988:551 *_wetä-_ ‘to pull’; Janhunen 1977b:172 *_wåtå-_.

Buck 1949:10.61 carry (bear); 10.62 bring; 10.64 lead (vb.); 12.18 leave. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:601, no. 474; Hakola 2000:214, no. 958; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 2462, **wedhA* ‘to cause to go’ (‘to drive, to lead)’.

795. Proto-Nostratic root **waħ-* (~ **wəħ-*):
(vb.) **waħ-* ‘to strike, to stab, to wound’;
(n.) **waħ-a* ‘wound, scar; knife, sword, blade, spear(head)’

A. Proto-Afrasian **waħ-* ‘to strike, to stab, to wound’: Egyptian *wḥ3* ‘to hew or cut stone, to reap (crops), to pluck (flowers, plants)’, *wḥs* ‘to cut off (hair), to kill (rebels), to quell (tumult)’, *wḥʿ* ‘to wound, to stab with a knife, to sting (of a scorpion)’, *wḥỉ-t*, *wḥʿ-t* ‘scorpion’; Coptic *woʔohe* [ⲟⲩⲟⲟϩⲉ] (< **waʒḥa-t* < **waḥḥa-t*) ‘scorpion’. Hannig 1995:209, 210, and 212; Faulkner 1962:66 and 67; Erman—Grapow 1921:39 and 1926—1963.1:346, 1:347, and 1:351; Vycichl 1983:242; Černý 1976:223. Central Chadic: Gisiga *wah-* ‘to break’. Proto-Southern Cushitic **waħar-* ‘large blade’ > Ma’a *kawahá* ‘knife’, *muwahá* ‘sword’; Dahalo *wáraḥa* (with metathesis of *-ḥ-* and *-r-*) ‘spear, spearhead’. Ehret 1980:312, no. 10, **waraḥ-* ‘large blade’. Orël—Stolbova 1995:524, no. 2509, **waḥ-* ‘to break’; Ehret 1995:457, no. 960, **waḥ-* ‘to cut’ (Proto-Cushitic **waḥr-* or **warḥ-* ‘large blade’).

B. Proto-Indo-European **weh̯h̯-* [**wah̯h̯-*]/**woh̯h̯-* > **wā-*/**wō-* ‘to strike, to wound’: Greek ἀάω (< *ἀϝα-) ‘to hurt, to damage’, ἄτη (for *ἀάτη < *ἀϝάτη) ‘bane, ruin’, (Homeric) ὠτειλή (< *ὀϝατελι̯ᾱ́) ‘wound, scar’; Lithuanian *votìs* ‘ulcer’; Latvian *vâts* ‘wound’. Pokorny 1959:1108 **u̯ā-*, **u̯ō-*, **u̯ə-* ‘to strike, to wound’; Walde 1927—1932.I:211 **u̯ā-*, **u̯ō-*, **u̯ə-*; Boisacq 1950:96 and 1084 **au̯ō-*; Hofmann 1966:27 and 431; Frisk 1970—1973.I:2, I:178, and II:1153; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:3 **wā-* and II:1305—1306; Beekes 2010.I:3 **h₂euh₂-* and I:162—163; Smoczyński 2007.1:767—768; Derksen 2015:510 (Derksen rejects the comparison of Lithuanian *votìs* ‘ulcer’ with Greek ἀάω ‘to hurt, to damage’) ; Fraenkel 1962—1965.II:1275.

C. (?) Altaic: Proto-Tungus **wā-* ‘to kill’ > Evenki *wā-* ‘to kill’; Lamut / Even *wā-* ‘to kill’; Negidal *wā-* ‘to kill’; Manchu *wa-* ‘to kill, to slay’; Spoken Manchu (Sibo) *vā-* ‘to kill’; Orok *wā-* ‘to kill’; Nanay / Gold *wā-* ‘to kill’; Oroch *wā-* ‘to kill’; Udihe *wā-* ‘to kill’; Solon *wā-* ‘to kill’. Note: Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak (2003:512—513) derive Proto-Tungus **wā-* ‘to kill’ from Proto-Altaic **ēpo* ‘to hunt, to kill’, assuming that **wā-* = **ebā-*. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak do not reconstruct initial **w-* for Proto-Altaic. The tentative inclusion of the Tungus material here follows Illič-Svityč (1965:330), who reconstructs Proto-Altaic **u̯ā-*.

Buck 1949:4.85 wound (sb.); 9.21 strike (hit, beat). Illič-Svityč 1965:330 *wa/ḥ/ʌ ‘to beat’ (‘бить’); Bomhard—Kerns 1994:617—618, no. 497; Greenberg 2002:188—189, no. 435.

796. Proto-Nostratic root *wak’- (~ *wək’-):
(vb.) *wak’- ‘to rouse, to stir up, to excite’;
(n.) *wak’-a ‘energy, vigor, strength, power, might’

A. (?) Afrasian: Proto-Semitic *wak’-at’ʸ- (~ *yak’-at’ʸ-) ‘to be awake, to awaken, to arouse, to stir up’ > Hebrew *yāḳaṣ* [יָקַץ] ‘to be awake’, *yāḳēṣ* [יָקֵץ] ‘awake’; Ugaritic *yḳẓ* ‘to be alert’; Arabic *yaḳiẓa* ‘to be awake, to wake up, to awaken, to arouse, to stir up, to provoke’; Sabaean *myḳẓ(m)* ‘sleeplessness, insomnia’; Mehri *awōḳəḏ* ‘to awaken’; Śḥeri / Jibbāli *ōḳuḏ* ‘to wake’; Ḥarsūsi *awḳáwḏ* ‘to wake, to awaken’. Murtonen 1989:220; D. Cohen 1970— :604—605 *w/yqṭ; Klein 1987:263.

B. Proto-Indo-European *wek’-/*wok’- ‘to rouse, to stir up, to excite, to awaken’: Sanskrit *vājáyati* ‘to incite’, *vā́ja-ḥ* ‘strength, vigor, energy; contest, conflict, battle’, *vájra-ḥ* ‘(Indra’s) weapon, thunderbolt’; Avestan *vazrō* ‘cudgel’, *vāzišta-* ‘greatly endowed with strength’; Latin *vegeō* ‘to stir up, to quicken, to excite’, *vigilō* ‘to be awake, to keep awake, to watch’, *vegetus* ‘lively, vigorous, fresh’, *vigil* ‘wakeful, watchful, alert’; Gothic *wakan* ‘to wake, to be awake’, *þairh-wakan* ‘to stay awake, to keep watch’, *us-wakjan* ‘to wake up’, *wahtwō* ‘watch’, *wōkains* ‘watch’; Old Icelandic *vaka* ‘to be awake, to keep awake’, *vakna* ‘to awake, to wake up’, *vakr* ‘watchful, alert, wakeful’, *vekja* ‘to awaken, to arouse from sleep’, *vökull* ‘wakeful, vigilant’; Swedish *vaka* ‘to be awake’, *väcka* ‘to awaken’; Danish *vakker* ‘vigorous, fine, brave’; Old English *wacan* ‘to awaken, to arise’, *wacian* ‘to be awake or active, to keep awake, to keep watch’, *wacor*, *wæccer* ‘watchful, vigilant’, *wacol* ‘awake, watchful, vigilant’, *wæcce* ‘keeping awake, vigil; watch’, *wæcen*, *wacon* ‘keeping awake, watching (over), guarding’; Old Frisian *wakia* ‘to be awake’; Old Saxon *wakōn* ‘to be awake’, *wahta* ‘watch, guard’; Dutch *waken* ‘to be awake’, *wakker* ‘awake’; Old High German *wahhēn*, *wahhōn* ‘to be awake’ (New High German *wachen*), *wecchen* ‘to cause to wake up’ (New High German *wecken*), *wachal* ‘awake’, *wahta* ‘watch, guard’ (New High German *Wacht*). Rix 1998a:601—602 *u̯eĝ- ‘to become awake, lively, powerful, strong’; Pokorny 1959:1117—1118 *u̯eĝ- ‘to be lively, to be strong’, *u̯oĝ-ro-s ‘powerful, strong’; Walde 1927—1932.I:246—247 *u̯eĝ-; Mann 1984—1987:1499 *u̯eĝer- (*u̯eĝər-) ‘to rouse; lively’, 1499 *u̯eĝō, -eiō ‘to rouse, to make move, to move’, 1560 *u̯oĝeros (*u̯oĝər-, *u̯oĝr-) ‘alert, lusty, mighty’, 1560 *u̯oĝeiō ‘to rouse, to stir’, 1560 *u̯oĝtos ‘watch, watchful’; Watkins 1985:74 *weg- and 2000:95 *weg- ‘to be strong, lively’; Mallory—Adams 1997:550 *u̯eĝ- ‘strong’; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.II:741 and II:788; Ernout—Meillet 1979:716—717; De Vaan

2008:657—658; Orël 2003:441—442 Proto-Germanic **wakēnan*, 442 **wakjanan*, 442 **waknēnan* ~ **waknōjanan*, 442 **wakōn* 442 **wakraz*, 442 **wakrōjanan*, 442 **wakulaz*; Kroonen 2013:568 Proto-Germanic **wakan-* 'to awaken', 568 **wakjan-* 'to awaken', and 568 **wakra-* 'alert, awake'; Feist 1939:547—548; Lehmann 1986:392; De Vries 1977:639, 639—640, 652, and 673; Falk—Torp 1903—1906.II:421; Klein 1971:819 and 822; Onions 1966:989 and 994; Vercoullie 1898:317; Boutkan—Siebinga 2005:427—428; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:828 and 842; Kluge—Seebold 1989:771 and 780; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.III:126 and III:182.

C. Uralic: Proto-Finno-Ugrian **wäke* 'strength, power' > Finnish *väki* 'people, folk, men; force', *väkevä* 'strong, powerful', *väkevyys* 'strength, power, intensity'; Estonian *vägi* (gen. sg. *väe*) 'power, strength, might; army'; Lapp / Saami *viekkâ* (adv. of degree) 'fairly, rather', (adj.) 'rather large, rather important, strong', (Kola) *víkk* 'power; army' (perhaps influenced by Finnish); Mordvin *vij* 'power; crowd'; Cheremis / Mari *wi*, *wij* 'power'; Votyak / Udmurt *kat'-vi* 'power, force, might'; Vogul / Mansi *wöä*, *waag* 'power'; Ostyak / Xanty *wög* 'power'. Collinder 1955:124—125 and 1977:136; Rédei 1986—1988:563 **wäke*; Décsy 1990:110 **väkä* 'power'; Sammallahti 1988:551 **wäki* 'power'.

Buck 1949:4.63 wake; 4.81 strong, mighty, powerful. Bomhard—Kerns 1994: 621—622, no. 499; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 2464, **wäkʕ̲ê* (= **wäkʕê* ?) 'strong, vigorous; strength'; Illič-Svityč 1965:364 **wäkʌ* 'strong' ('сильный').

797. Proto-Nostratic root **wal-* (~ **wəl-*):
(vb.) **wal-* 'to be or become strong';
(n.) **wal-a* 'strength, power'

A. Afrasian: Highland East Cushitic: Sidamo *walk'á* 'strength, power', *walk'a-beelo* 'lacking strength, tired, weak'. Hudson 1989:400.

B. Dravidian: Tamil *val* 'strong, hard, forceful, skilful', *vallamai*, *vallam*, *vallai* 'strength', *vali* '(vb.) to be strong, hard; to compel; (n.) strength, power', *valiya* 'strong, big', *valuppu* 'firmness, strength', *valu* '(vb.) to be strong or hard; (n.) strength, skill, ability'; Malayalam *val*, *valu*, *valiya* 'strong, powerful, great', *valluka* 'to be able, strong'; Kannaḍa *bal* 'to grow strong or firm', *bali* 'to increase; to grow; to grow strong, stout; to become tight, firm, hard; to increase (tr.); to make strong, firm', *bal(u)*, *bolu* 'strength, firmness, bigness, greatness, abundance, excess', *balisu* 'to make strong'; Tuḷu *bala* 'strength', Koḍagu *bala* 'strength, power', *ballyë* 'great'; Telugu *vali* 'big, large', *valamu* 'largeness, stoutness', *baliyu* 'to grow fat, to increase', *baluvu* 'strength, intensity; heavy, great, excessive, big, strong, severe'; Gadba *valan* 'thick, stout'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:476—477, no. 5276; Krishnamurti 2003:394 **wal* 'strong'.

C. Proto-Indo-European *_wal-_ ‘to be strong’: Latin _valeō_ ‘to be strong’; Old Irish _faln-_, _foln-_ (in deponent forms) ‘to rule’, _flaith_ (< *_wlati-_) ‘lordship’; Welsh _gwledig_ ‘prince’, _gwlad_ ‘country’; Gothic _waldan_ ‘to rule, to govern’; Old Icelandic _valda_ ‘to wield, to rule over’, _vald_ ‘power, authority’; Swedish _våla_ ‘to cause, to be the cause of’; Old English _geweald_ ‘power’, _wealdan_ ‘to have control over, to wield (weapon); to govern; to possess; to cause’, _gewealden_ ‘under control, subjected’, _wealdend_ ‘ruler, king, controller’, _gewieldan_ ‘to overpower, to subdue, to domesticate’, _wielde_ ‘strong, victorious’; Old Frisian _walda_ ‘to have power over, to rule over’, _wald_ ‘power, control’; Old Saxon _waldan_ ‘to rule, to have control over, to govern’, _giwald_ ‘power, control’; Old High German _waltan_ ‘to rule, to govern’ (New High German _walten_), _giwalt_ ‘power, control’ (New High German _Gewalt_); Lithuanian _valdaũ_, _valdýti_ ‘to govern’, _valdõnas_ ‘ruler, lord, master’; Old Church Slavic _vladǫ_, _vlasti_ ‘to rule’, _vlastь_ ‘power’; Tocharian A _wäl_, B _walo_ ‘king’, A/B _wlāw-_ ‘to control’, B _wawlāwar_, _wlāwalñe_ ‘control’. Rix 1998a:617—618 *_u̯elH-_ ‘to be strong, to have control or power over’; Pokorny 1959:1111—1112 *_u̯al-_, *_u̯al-d(h)-_ ‘to be strong’; Walde 1927—1932.I:219 *_u̯al-_; Mann 1984—1987:1488 *_u̯al-_ ‘good, strong, able’, 1488 *_u̯aldh-_, 1509—1510 *_u̯el-_ ‘big, great; greater, stronger; to be big, to be strong, to be able; greatly, strongly, very’, 1552 *_u̯l̥dh-_ ‘to grow strong, to thrive’, 1570—1571 *_u̯oldh-_ ‘to rule, to control, to possess’; Watkins 1985:73—74 *_wal-_ and 2000:95 *_wal-_ ‘to be strong’; Mallory—Adams 1997:490 *_u̯al-_ ‘to be strong, to rule’; De Vaan 2008:651—652; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.II:727—728; Ernout—Meillet 1979:711—712 *_wºlē-_; Orël 2003:443 Proto-Germanic *_walđan_, 443 *_walđanan_, 443 *_walđaz_, 443 *_walđiǯaz_ ~ *_walđuǯaz_, 443 *_walđiz_, 443 *_walđjan_, 443 *_walđōn_; Kroonen 2013:569 Proto-Germanic *_waldan-_ ‘to rule over, to have authority over’; Feist 1939:548 *_u̯al-_; Lehmann 1986:392 *_wal-_, *_wal-dh-_; De Vries 1977:640; Onions 1966:1006 *_wal-_; Klein 1971:827—828 *_wal-dh-_, extended form of *_wal-_; Boutkan—Siebinga 2005:428; Kluge—Mitzka 1977:835—836 *_u̯al-_; Kluge—Seebold 1989:776; Adams 1999:581—582 and 617 *_wl-eh$_a$-w-_; Van Windekens 1976—1982.I:554 *_u̯el-_ and I:576—577 *_u̯$_e$lā_; Fraenkel 1962—1965.II:1188—1189; Smoczyński 2007.1:730—731; Derksen 2008:524, 526, and 2015:485—486 *_uolh$_1$-d^h-_.

D. Yukaghir (Northern / Tundra) _wola-_ ‘to force’. Nikolaeva 2006:457.

Buck 1949:4.81 strong, mighty, powerful; 19.31 rule (vb.), govern. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:610—611, no. 487; Illič-Svityč 1971—1984.II:109—110, no. 350, *_wol<a>_ ‘big’; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 2469, *_walV_ ‘to be strong, to be able’.

798. Proto-Nostratic root *_wal-_ (~ *_wəl-_):
(vb.) *_wal-_ ‘to pull (out)’;
(n.) *_wal-a_ ‘pulling, dragging’

A. Dravidian: Tamil *vali* ‘to draw, to pull, to row’, *vali*, *valippu* ‘pulling, dragging, spasm, convulsion’; Malayalam *vali* ‘drawing, pull, tug, spasm’, *valikka* ‘to draw, to drag, to row, to have spasms’, *valippikka* ‘to cause to pull’, *valippu* ‘drawing, pulling, spasm’, *valiyuka* ‘to be drawn, to extend, to have spasmodic pain’; Koḍagu *bali-* ‘to snatch, to pull’; Koraga *bali-* ‘to pull’; Kui *velba* (*ves-*) ‘(vb.) to pull, to pull up; (n.) pulling’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:477, no. 5282.

B. Proto-Indo-European **wel-*/**wol-*/**wl̥-* ‘to draw, to pull, to tear out’: Latin *vellō* ‘to pluck, to pull, to tear out’; Lithuanian *velkù*, *vilkti* ‘to drag, to pull’; Old Church Slavic *vlěkǫ*, *vlěšti* ‘to draw, to drag’; Avestan (in compounds) *varək-* ‘to draw’; (?) Gothic *wilwan* ‘to plunder’, *wilwa* ‘robber’. Rix 1998a:620 **u̯elk-* ‘to drag, to draw, to pull’; Pokorny 1959:1144—1145 **u̯el-* ‘to tear’, 1145 **u̯elk-* ‘to pull’; Walde 1927—1932.I:304—305 **u̯el-* and I:305 **u̯elk-*; Mann 1984—1987:1509 **u̯el-* ‘to snatch, to tug’, 1511 **u̯elk-* ‘to pull, to tug, to jerk’, 1512 **u̯elu̯mn-* ‘pull, tear, jerk; fleece’, 1512 **u̯elu̯ō*, *-i̯ō* ‘to snatch, to pluck, to rob’, 1572 **u̯olk-*; Watkins 1985:76 **wel-* and 2000:98 **wel-* ‘to tear, to pull’; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.II:492, fn. 1, **u̯el-* and 1995.I:413, fn. 1, **wel-* ‘to lacerate, to tear apart; to wound; to kill’; Mallory—Adams 1997:471 **h₄u̯elk-* ‘to pull’; Ernout—Meillet 1979:718 **wel-*; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.II:744—745 **u̯el-*; De Vaan 2008:659; Orël 2003:454 Proto-Germanic **welwanan*; Feist 1939:564—565 **u̯el-*; Lehmann 1986:404 **wel-* ‘to tear, to rob; to wound’; Derksen 2008:514; Fraenkel 1962—1965.II:1253; Smoczyński 2007.1:753—754.

C. Yukaghir (Northern / Tundra) *walitid'aa-* ‘stubborn’, *walaa-* ‘to carry along, to be keen on (tr.)’. Nikolaeva 2006:451.

Buck 1949:9.28 tear (vb. tr.); 9.33 draw, pull. Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 2480, **[ʹ]w[A]l[iy]V* (or **[ʹ]wôl[iy]V* ?) ‘to draw, to pull (out, off)’; Bomhard—Kerns 1994:608—609, no. 485.

799. Proto-Nostratic root **wal-* (~ **wəl-*):
(vb.) **wal-* ‘to cry out, to call out, to shout’;
(n.) **wal-a* ‘sound, noise, cry, wail, lamentation, howl, hubbub’

A. Proto-Afrasian **wal-* ‘to cry out, to call out, to lament’: Proto-Semitic **wal-* (**wal-al-*, **wal-wal-*) ‘to lament, to wail’ > Arabic *walwala* ‘to cry “woe”, to lament, to wail, to howl, to break into loud wails’, *walwala* (pl. *walāwil*) ‘wailing, wails’; Hebrew *yelel* [יְלֶל] (base *yll* [ילל] ‘to wail, to howl, to lament’ [< **wll*]) ‘wailing, howling, lamenting’; Imperial Aramaic **yll* ‘to wail, to lament’. D. Cohen 1970— :542—544; Klein 1987:259; Murtonen 1989:215. Berber: Tuareg *awal* ‘speech, language; birdsong, croaking of frogs, hissing of snakes’, *siwəl* ‘to speak’, *əməssəwəll* ‘talkative, chatty, wordy’; Siwa *siwəl* ‘to speak’; Nefusa *awal* ‘speech’,

siwəl ‘to speak, to call’; Ghadames *awal* ‘speech, language’; Mzab *awal* ‘speech, word’; Wargla *awal* ‘speech, word’; Tamazight *awal* ‘speech, word, expression, language, gossip, story’; Riff *awal* ‘speech, word, discourse, conversation’, *siwəl*, *siwər* ‘to speak’; Tashelhiyt / Shilha *awal* ‘speech’, *sawəl* ‘to speak’; Kabyle *awal* ‘speech, word; proverb’, *siwəl* ‘to call; to say; to resonate, to resound’, *sawwal* ‘to make an echo’; Chaouia *awal* ‘word, speech’, *awəl* ‘to speak, to talk’, *ssiwəl* ‘to interpret, to call’; Zenaga *awəğ* ‘speech, word, language’, *siwəğ* ‘to speak’. West Chadic **wal-*/**wil-* ‘cry, sob’ > Angas *wāl* ‘cry, sob’; Chip *wil* ‘cry, sob’. East Chadic **wal-* ‘funeral song’ > Sokoro *olu* ‘funeral song’. Orël—Stolbova 1995:526, no. 2519, **wal-* ‘lamentation, weep’.

B. Dravidian: Tamil *vali* ‘(vb.) to say, to tell, to narrate; (n.) sound’; Koraga *valli* ‘to bark’; Gondi *vallih-* ‘to call, to invite’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:477, no. 5283. Tamil *vaḷavaḷappu* ‘talkativeness, wordiness, vain talk, babbling’, *vaḷavaḷa* ‘to be talkative, wordy; to babble’; Malayalam *vaḷavaḷā* ‘the sound of babbling’; Tuḷu *baḷakè* ‘boasting’; Telugu *vaḷāvaḷi* ‘noise, fuss, hubbub’, *vaḷāvaḷikāḍu* ‘a noisy or fussy man, babbler’; Gondi *vaṛk-* ‘to say, to speak’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:480, no. 5310.

C. Proto-Indo-European **wal-* ‘to shout’: (?) Greek ἀλαζών ‘(n.) vagabond, false pretender, imposter, quack; (adj.) swaggering, boastful, braggart’ (according to Chantraine 1968—1980.I:53, Frisk 1970—1973.I:62, Beekes 2010.I:60, and Hofmann 1966:11, ἀλαζών is derived from the Thracian tribal name ’Αλαζῶνες), ἀλαζονικός ‘boastful, braggart’, ἀλαζονεύομαι ‘to make false pretensions’; Czech *volat* ‘to shout’; Old Icelandic *völva* (also spelled *völfa*) ‘prophetess, sibyl, wise woman, witch’. Mann 1984—1987:1488 **u̯al-* ‘to shout’; De Vries 1977:674.

D. Uralic: Finno-Volgaic: Finnish *vala* ‘oath, vow’, *valitta-* ‘to complain, to moan, to groan, to bewail’, *valitus* ‘complaint’; Lapp / Saami *vaalloot-* ‘to complain’; Mordvin (Erza, Moksha) *val* ‘word’. Rédei 1986—1988:812 Finno-Volgaic **wala* ‘word’. Yukaghir (Southern / Kolyma) *almə* ‘shaman’, *almo-* ‘to be a shaman’, *almad'e* ‘practicing witchcraft’, *aldu-* ‘to conjure’, *aldud'a:-* ‘to conjure, to practice magic; to swear’, *alγədaj-* ‘to say invocations (tr.)’, (Northern / Tundra) *wolme* ‘shaman’, *wolmonaa-* ‘to practice shamanism’. Nikolaeva 2006:451.

E. (?) Proto-Altaic **ūlo-* ‘to cry, to howl’: Proto-Mongolian **uli-* ‘to cry, to howl (of dogs, wolves, etc.)’ > Written Mongolian *uli-* ‘to howl (of dogs, wolves, etc.)’; Khalkha *uli-* ‘to cry, to howl’; Buriat *uli-* ‘to cry, to howl’; Kalmyk *uĺ-*, *ulə-* ‘to cry, to howl’; Ordos *uli-* ‘to cry, to howl’; Shira-Yughur *olo-* ‘to cry, to howl’. Proto-Turkic **ūlï-* ‘to cry, to howl’ > Old Turkic (Old Uighur) *ulï-* ‘to cry, to howl’; Karakhanide Turkic *ulï-* ‘to cry, to howl’; Turkish *ulu-* ‘to howl’, *uluma* ‘the howling of dogs’; Gagauz *ulu-* ‘to cry, to howl’; Azerbaijani *ula-* ‘to cry, to howl’; Turkmenian *ūlï-* ‘to cry, to howl’; Uighur *ulu-* ‘to cry, to howl’; Karaim *ulu-* ‘to cry, to howl’; Tatar *ula-* ‘to cry, to howl’; Bashkir *ŭlŭ-* ‘to cry, to howl’; Kirghiz *ulu-* ‘to

cry, to howl'; Kazakh *ŭlï-* 'to cry, to howl'; Noghay *ulï-* 'to cry, to howl'; Oyrot (Mountain Altai) *ulu-* 'to cry, to howl'; Tuva *ulu-* 'to cry, to howl'; Chuvash *ъʷlaχ-* 'to neigh'; Yakut *uluy-* 'to cry, to howl'; Dolgan *uluy-* 'to cry, to howl'. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:1493—1494 **ūlo* 'to cry, to howl'.

Buck 1949:18.13 shout, cry out; 18.21 speak, talk; 18.41 call (vb. = summon). Bomhard—Kerns 1994:611, no. 488; Hakola 2000:207, no. 928.

800. Proto-Nostratic root **wal-* (~ **wəl-*):
(vb.) **wal-* 'to go, to go away, to depart';
(n.) **wal-a* 'departure, flight, escape'

A. Proto-Afrasian **wal-* 'to go, to go away, to depart': (?) Semitic: Geez / Ethiopic *walaga* [ወለገ] 'to sneak away from a task, to slip away'; Amharic *wälläga*, *wallägä* 'to sneak away from a task'. D. Cohen 1970— :545; Leslau 1987:613. Proto-Highland East Cushitic **waal-* 'to come' > Gedeo / Darasa *waal-* 'to leave (something), to divorce'; Hadiyya (imptv. pl.) *waalle* 'come!'; Kambata *waal-* 'to come'. Hudson 1989:43.
B. Dravidian: Tamil *valacai*, *valacal* 'emigration, flight from home; crowd'; Kannaḍa *valase*, *valise*, *olase* 'flight, removal from home for fear of a hostile army, emigration'; Telugu *valasa* 'emigration, migration, flight or removal from one's country to another'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:477, no. 5278.
C. Proto-Kartvelian **wal-*/**wl-* 'to go': Georgian *val-*/*vl-* 'to go'; Mingrelian *ul-* (< **vul-*), *ur-* 'to go'; Laz *ul-* 'to go'. Schmidt 1962:108; Klimov 1964:84—85 **wl-* and 1998:49 **wal-*/**wl-* 'to go'; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:126—127 **wal-*; Fähnrich 2007:154 **wal-*. Proto-Kartvelian **wl-a-* 'to walk': Georgian *svla-* 'to walk'; Mingrelian *ula-* 'to walk'; Laz *ulva-*, *ülva-* 'to walk'. Klimov 1998:54 **wl-a-* 'to walk'. Proto-Kartvelian **wlt'-* 'to run away, to escape': Georgian *vlt'-* (3rd sg. *i-vlt'-i-s*) 'to run away, to escape', *si-vlt'-o-la* 'running away, escape'; Mingrelian *rt'-*, *nt'-* 'to run away, to escape'; Laz *rt'-*, *mt'-* 'to run away, to escape'; Svan *li-t'w* 'to run away, to escape' (*t'w-* < **wlt'-* with loss of *-l-* and metathesis of *wt'-* to *t'w-*). Note: The Mingrelian and Laz forms have lost the initial *w-* and have replaced the resulting *lt'-* with more common clusters. Klimov 1964:85 **wlṭ-* and 1998:54 **wlṭ-* 'to run away, to escape'; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:136 **wlṭ-*; Fähnrich 2007:164—165 **wlṭ-*.
D. Uralic: Proto-Finno-Ugrian **walka-* 'to go, to go away, to depart' > Finnish *valka(ma)* 'landing-place, harbor, small haven' (earlier 'departure' ?); Lapp / Saami *vuol'ge-* 'to go, to start, to depart; to go, to leave (home)'; Mordvin *valgo-* 'to descend, to go down (of stars); to come down and sit (of birds)'; Cheremis / Mari *wale-*, *wole-* 'to descend; to lower (in price); to go down (of the sun)'; Vogul / Mansi *jol-wagl-* 'to descend' (*jol-*

'down')'; Ostyak / Xanty *vygəl-*, (Southern) *wagət-* 'to descend, to sink, to come down'; Hungarian *vál-* 'to part, to split off (intr.); to divorce; to become; to redound to'. Collinder 1955:122 and 1977:135; Rédei 1986—1988:554 **walka-* 'to descend, to go down'; Sammallahti 1988:551 **wɨlkå-* 'to descend'.

Buck 1949:10.47 go; 10.48 come; 10.49 go away, depart. Hakola 2000:204—205, no. 915.

801. Proto-Nostratic root **wal-* (~ **wəl-*):
(vb.) **wal-* 'to flow, to wet, to moisten';
(n.) **wal-a* 'flow, trickle; wetness, moisture, dampness'; (adj.) 'wet, damp'

A. Afrasian: Semitic: Arabic *waliḥa-t* 'well-watered, rich in vegetation'. D. Cohen 1970— :550. (?) Highland East Cushitic: Burji *wáall-a* 'cloud, fog'. Sasse 1982:186—187 (Sasse notes that *wáall-a* may be a loan from Omotic). For the semantics, cf. Old High German *wolchan*, *wolkan* 'cloud' cited below.

B. Dravidian: Tamil *oliyal* 'river'; Malayalam *oliyuka* 'to flow', *olikka* 'to flow, to run (as water, blood from wounds)', *olippu* 'flowing, looseness of bowels', *olivu* 'flowing', *ōluka* 'to flow, to ooze out', *ōla* 'trickling', *ōli* 'a spring, temporary well', *ōlōla* 'falling in drops, trickling'; Kota *oyl* 'waterfall in channel or river'; Toda *waṣy* 'waterfall'; Iruḷa *uli* 'waterfall'; Telugu *oluku* 'to be spilled, to run, to flow, to overflow, to gush out'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:96, no. 999. Kannaḍa *ōl-āḍu* 'to sport in water, to swim, to bathe'; Telugu *ōl-āḍu*, *ōlal-āḍu* 'to sport in water'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:101, no. 1068. Tamil *vāli* 'drizzle'; Malayalam *vāluka* 'to run, to drip, to be strained, to be distilled', *vāl* 'spittle'; Tuḷu *bāluni* 'to run over, to go out'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:486, no. 5367.

C. Proto-Kartvelian **wlt'-* 'to wet, to become wet': Georgian *vlt'-*, *lt'-* in *da-vlt'-ob-a*, *vlt'-ob-a* 'to wet, to become wet'; Mingrelian *rt'-* 'to wet, to become wet'. Klimov 1964:122 **lṭw-* and 1998:110 **lṭw-* (also possible **wlṭ-*) 'to wet, to get wet'; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:137 **wlṭ-*; Fähnrich 2007:164—165 **wlṭ-*.

D. Proto-Indo-European **wel-k^h-*/**wol-k^h-*/**wl̥-k^h-*, **wel-k'-*/**wol-k'-*/**wl̥-k'-*, and **wel-g^h-*/**wol-g^h-*/**wl̥-g^h-* 'to wet, to moisten': Old Irish *folc* 'washing, rain, downpour', *folcaim* 'I wash, I bathe'; Welsh *golchi* (< **gwolchi*) 'to wash'; Old English *wealg* 'lukewarm', *wlæc*, *wlacu* 'lukewarm', *weolcen*, *wolc*, *wolcen* 'cloud'; Old Frisian *wolken*, *wulken* 'cloud'; Old Saxon *wolkan* 'cloud'; Dutch *wolk* 'cloud'; Old High German *welh* 'wet', *welc*, *welch* 'damp, wet' (New High German *welk*), *wolchan*, *wolkan* 'cloud' (New High German *Wolke*); Old Prussian *welgen* 'cold (in the head)'; Lithuanian *vìlgau*, *vìlgyti*, *válgyti* 'to moisten'; Latvian *valĝs* 'wet'; Old Church Slavic *vlaga* 'moisture'; Russian *vólglyj* [волглый]

‘damp, humid’. Pokorny 1959:1145—1146 *u̯elk-, *u̯elg- ‘damp, wet’; Walde 1927—1932.I:306 *u̯elq-, *u̯elg-; Mann 1984—1987:1510 *u̯elgos ‘damp, soaked, flaccid’, 1551 *u̯liqu̯- ‘wet, liquid’, 1552—1553 *u̯l̥g- ‘(adj.) wet, damp; (vb.) to dampen’, 1571 *u̯olghos, -is ‘lukewarm, damp, moist’, *u̯olk- ‘to wet, to soak, to wash’; Watkins 1985:76 *welg- and 2000:98 *welg- ‘wet’; Mallory—Adams 1997:639 *u̯elk-, *u̯elg- ‘wet’; Orël 2003:474 Proto-Germanic *wulk(a)nan; Onions 1966:999 *wolg-, *welg-, *wl̥g-; Klein 1971:824 *welg-; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:851 *u̯elg-, *u̯elk- and 867 *u̯elg-; Kluge—Seebold 1989:786 and 798 *wl̥g-; Derksen 2008:524—525; Fraenkel 1962—1965.II:1251; Smoczyński 2007.1:716—717.

E. Uralic: Proto-Finno-Volgaic *wala- ‘to pour’ > Finnish vala- ‘to pour’; Karelian vala- ‘to pour’; Estonian vala- ‘to pour’, valang ‘downpour; outpour, outpouring, effusion’; Mordvin valo- ‘to pour; to spill’. Rédei 1986—1988:812 *wala-. Note also Finnish valu- ‘to flow, to run, to drip’.

Buck 1949:1.72 cloud; 10.32 flow (vb.); 15.83 wet, damp’. Illič-Svityč 1965:333 *wiłʌ ‘moist’ (‘влажный’); Möller 1911:265; Bomhard—Kerns 1994:626—627, no. 504.

802. Proto-Nostratic root *wal- (~ *wəl-):
(vb.) *wal- ‘to set fire to, to burn, to heat up, to warm’;
(n.) *wal-a ‘heat, warmth, boiling’

A. Afrasian: Semitic: Arabic waliʿa ‘to catch fire, to burn; to kindle, to light, to set fire (to)’; Tigrinya wälläʿa ‘to kindle, to set fire (to)’; Tigre wälləʿa ‘to kindle’. D. Cohen 1970— :553.

B. Dravidian: Telugu oliki ‘a funeral pyre’; Parji olŋgam ‘blaze of fire’, olip- (olit-) ‘to char, to scorch’; Kuṛux ōlnā ‘to be on fire, (crop) to be scorched by excessive heat’, olᵒdnā ‘to set fire to, to scorch’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:96, no. 1001.

C. Proto-Indo-European *wel-/*wol-/*wl̥- ‘to heat, to warm, to boil’: Armenian gol ‘heat’, golanam ‘to warm oneself’; Albanian valë ‘heat, boiling’, vloj ‘to boil, to ferment, to seethe’; Gothic wulan ‘to be aglow with, to seethe’; Old Icelandic vella ‘to bubble, to boil’, ylja ‘to warm’, ylr (< Proto-Norse *wuljaʀ) ‘warmth’, olmr (< Proto-Norse *wulma-) ‘furious’; Old Danish valm, volm ‘boiling, cooking’; Old English weallan ‘to boil, to be hot’, wielm ‘boiling, surging, raging (of fire)’, wyllan ‘to boil’; Old Frisian walla ‘to surge, to well, to boil up’; Old Saxon wallan ‘to surge, to well, to boil up’; Old High German walm ‘boiling, fervor’, wallan ‘to bubble, to simmer; to boil, to seethe’ (New High German wallen), walī ‘heat’, (adv.) walō ‘hotly’; Middle High German wellen ‘to boil, to steam, to simmer’; Lithuanian (inf.) vìlditi ‘to make lukewarm’. Rix 1998a:618 *u̯elH- ‘to bubble, to simmer; to boil, to seethe’; Pokorny 1959:1140 *u̯el-

‘lukewarm, warm’ (?); Walde 1927—1932.I:302; Mann 1984—1987:1550 *$\underset{\sim}{\mu}$ul$\bar{\underset{\sim}{\imath}}$$\bar{o}$ (*$\underset{\sim}{\mu}$$\underset{\circ}{\text{u}}l\bar{\underset{\sim}{\imath}}$$\bar{o}$) ‘to surge, to seethe’, 1569 *$\underset{\sim}{\mu}$ol- (*$\underset{\sim}{\mu}$olis, -$\underset{\sim}{\imath}$*ə*) ‘heat, surge, boiling, ferment’; Mallory—Adams 1997:264 *$\underset{\sim}{\mu}$el- ‘to warm, to heat’; Orël 1998:494 and 2003:444 Proto-Germanic *walljōn ~ *walljaz, 444 *walljanan, 444 *walmiz, 453 *wellanan II, 453 *wellōn; Kroonen 2013:571 Proto-Germanic *wallan- ‘to well up, to boil, to seethe’; Feist 1939:575—576 *$\underset{\sim}{\mu}$el-; Lehmann 1986:411 “[e]tymology difficult; probably based on PIE *wel-, *wel-ʔ- ‘turn, roll’…”; De Vries 1977:418, 641, 653, and 678; Klein 1971:824; Onions 1966:999 West Germanic *wallan, besides *wellan found in Old Icelandic *vella*, Middle High German *wellen*; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:835 *$\underset{\sim}{\mu}$el- ‘to twist, to turn’; Kluge—Seebold 1989:775 *wel- ‘to roll, to rotate, to turn’. Note: The Germanic forms are both phonologically and semantically ambiguous. Some of them may belong with Proto-Nostratic (vb.) *wel^{y}- ‘to well up, to surge, to flow forth, to flood’; (n.) *wel^{y}-*a* ‘deluge, flood, inundation; surge, wave’ instead.

Buck 1949:1.85 burn (vb.); 1.86 light (vb.), kindle; 5.22 boil. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:616—617, no. 495.

803. Proto-Nostratic root *wal- (~ *wəl-):
(vb.) *wal- ‘to crush, to grind, to wear out; to rub, to press; to be worn out, weak; to fade, to wither, to waste away’;
(n.) *wal-*a* ‘distress, pain, difficulty; weakness, hunger, starvation’

A. (?) Afrasian: Proto-Semitic (reduplicated) *wal-wal- ‘to wipe off, to wipe, to polish’ > Tigre *(ʾa)wälwälä* ‘to wipe off, to wipe, to polish’; Tigrinya *wälwälä* ‘to wipe off, to wipe, to polish’; Amharic *wäläwwälä* ‘to wipe off, to wipe, to polish’; Gurage *wəläwälä* ‘to wipe off, to wipe, to polish’. D. Cohen 1970— :550; Leslau 1979:653.

B. Dravidian: Tamil *vali* ‘(vb.) to be painful; (n.) pain, ache, trouble, difficulty’; Malayalam *valayuka* ‘to be straitened, pressed, distressed’, *valekka* ‘to distress, to vex, to imprison’, *valaccal* ‘distress, poverty’; Telugu *valiya* ‘to be tired, to become thin or reduced’; Tuḷu *balepuni* ‘to be distressed, vexed’; Kui *valga* (*valgi-*) ‘to become emaciated, thin, withered’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:477, no. 5281. Tamil *olku* (*olki-*) ‘to grow weak or faint, to pine, to be disheartened; to become reduced, slender, thin, emaciated’, *o$\underset{\sim}{\text{r}}$ku* (*o$\underset{\sim}{\text{r}}$ki-*) ‘to be deficient, to be wanting, to fall short, to droop’, *o$\underset{\sim}{\text{r}}$kam* ‘poverty, indigence, destitution, weakness, feebleness, deficiency, dearth’, *olli* ‘thin person, thinness, slenderness’; Malayalam *olkuka* ‘to grow weak, to contract’, *ollāṭi* ‘a thin, slender person’; Telugu *ollā-bōvu* ‘to faint, to grow or turn pale, to fade’; Tuḷu *olandala*, *olandale* ‘swoon, faintness’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:96, no. 1004.

C. Proto-Indo-European **wel-/*wol-/*wl̥-* ‘to crush, to grind, to wear out; to press; to be worn out, weak; to fade, to wither, to waste away’: Tocharian A **walts-*, B *wālts-*, **wälts-* ‘to press, to crush’; Welsh *gwlydd* ‘mild, soft, tender, gentle’; English (dial.) *welk* ‘to wilt, to wither’, *wilt* ‘to fade, to wither, to droop’; Old High German *(ir)welhēn* ‘to become weak, faded, withered’, *welh* ‘weak, faded, withered’; Middle High German *welken* ‘to fade, to decay’ (New High German *welken*), *welc* ‘withered’ (New High German *welk*). Mann 1984—1987:1509 **u̯el-* ‘to press, to squeeze’, 1510 **u̯eld-* ‘to suppress, to be suppressed’, 1552 **u̯l̥dh-* ‘mild, lukewarm’; Mallory—Adams 1997:142 **u̯eld-* ‘to crush, to grind, to wear out; to be worn out’; Orël 2003:453 Proto-Germanic **welkaz*; Onions 1966:999 and 1007; Klein 1971:824 **welg-* and 828; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:851 **u̯elg-*, **u̯elk-*; Kluge—Seebold 1989:786; Adams 1999:597 **wel-s-* ‘to press, to squeeze’; Van Windekens 1976—1982.I:542—543 **u̯el-*, **u̯ol-*, **u̯l̥-*.

D. Proto-Altaic **ŏli-* (~ *-e-*) ‘to be weak from hunger, to starve to death; to die, to fade, to wither’: Proto-Tungus **(χ)olbu-* ‘soul of the dead; shadow’ > Evenki *elbu*, *olbu-n* ‘soul of the dead; shadow’. Proto-Mongolian **öl-* ‘to be weak from hunger, to starve to death’ > Written Mongolian *ölüs-* ‘to suffer starvation, famine; to become or feel hungry’, *ölüŋ* ‘(n.) starvation, famine, hunger; (adj.) starving, hungry’, *ölübür* ‘weak, having poor health’; Khalkha *öls-* ‘to be hungry’, *ölön* ‘hungry’; Buriat *üld-* ‘to be hungry’, *ülen* ‘hungry’; Kalmyk *öls-* ‘to be hungry’; Ordos *ölödö-* ‘to be hungry’, *öl* ‘hunger’; Moghol *üläsu-* ‘to be hungry’; Dagur *(χ)unsu-* (< **ulsu-* < **öles-*), *ulese-*, *ulsu-* ‘to be hungry’; Shira-Yughur *öl* ‘hunger’; Monguor *losə-* ‘to be hungry’. Poppe 1955:50, 55, 89, and 156. Proto-Turkic **öl-* ‘to die, to fade, to wither’, (causative) **öl-tür-* ‘to kill’ > Old Turkic (Old Uighur) *öl-* ‘to die’, *ölür-* ‘to kill’; Karakhanide Turkic *öldür-* ‘to kill’; Turkish *öl-* ‘to die, to fade, to wither, to lose freshness, to suffer great grief or anxiety’, *öldür-* ‘to kill, to render soft or tender’, *ölüm* ‘death’, *ölmüş* ‘dead’, *ölmez* ‘undying, immortal’, *ölü*, *ölük* ‘dead; feeble, lifeless; faded, withered; corpse’, *ölücü* ‘mortal’, *ölgün* ‘faded, withered; enervated, calm (sea)’; Gagauz *jöl-* ‘to die’, *öldür-* ‘to kill’; Azerbaijani *öl-* ‘to die’, *öldür-* ‘to kill’; Turkmenian *öl-* ‘to die’, *öldür-* ‘to kill’; Uzbek *ụl-* ‘to die’, *ụldir-* ‘to kill’; Uighur *öl-* ‘to die’, *öltür-* ‘to kill’; Karaim *oĺ-* ‘to die’, *oĺder-* ‘to kill’; Tatar *ül-* ‘to die’, *üter-* ‘to kill’; Bashkir *ül-* ‘to die’, *ülter-* ‘to kill’; Kirghiz *öl-* ‘to die’, *öltür-* ‘to kill’; Kazakh *öl-* ‘to die’, *öltı̱r-* ‘to kill’; Noghay *öl-* ‘to die’, *öltir-* ‘to kill’; Sary-Uighur *jül-* ‘to die’, *jülïr-* ‘to kill’; Oyrot (Mountain Altai) *öl-* ‘to die’, *öltür-* ‘to kill’; Tuva *öl-* ‘to die’, *ölür-* ‘to kill’; Chuvash *vil-* ‘to die’, *vъʷler-* ‘to kill’; Yakut *öl-* ‘to die’, *ölör-* ‘to kill’; Dolgan *öl-* ‘to die’, *ölör-* ‘to kill’. Décsy 1998:121 *öl-* ‘to die’. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:1049 **ŏli* (~ *-e*) ‘to die; to be hungry, exhausted’; Poppe 1960:108 and 125; Street 1974:22 **öl-* ‘to be sick, to starve, to die’.

Buck 1949:4.75 die; dead; death; 4.82 weak; 5.14 hunger (sb.). Bomhard—Kerns 1994:628—629, no. 506.

804. Proto-Nostratic root *wal^y- (~ *$wəl^y$-):
(vb.) *wal^y- ‘to turn, to roll, to revolve’;
(n.) *wal^y-*a* ‘circle, circumference; turn, rotation’; (adj.) ‘round’

A. Proto-Afrasian *wal- ‘to revolve’: Proto-Semitic *wal-ay- ‘to turn to or towards, to turn away, to turn around’ > Arabic *waliya* ‘to turn (to or towards); to turn away, to avoid, to shun; to turn around, to turn back, to wheel around, to flee’; Ḥarsūsi *wel* ‘towards’; Śḥeri / Jibbāli *ōli* ‘to turn towards, to guide someone towards’; Mehri *həwlū* ‘to turn back, to go back to, to come back, to direct oneself to’. D. Cohen 1970— :544 and 549—550. Proto-Semitic *wal-ab- ‘to turn’ > Tigre *wälläbä* ‘to turn’. D. Cohen 1970— :544; Littmann—Höfner 1962:428—429. Berber: Tuareg *awəl* ‘to turn, to change direction; to be turned; to leap (animal)’, *tawila* ‘bearing, deportment (way of turning physically [said of women])’, *wələnwilət* ‘to spin’, *wəliwəl* ‘to be spun around; to wobble; to spin by itself’; Nefusa *uləlli* ‘spider’; Wargla *əlli* ‘to surround, to encircle; to be surrounded’, *awnənni* ‘spider’; Mzab *twala* ‘side, direction’, *awləlli* ‘spider’, *əmlilləy* ‘to have vertigo’; Tamazight *lləy* ‘to turn, to swing; to stir up the air; to have vertigo’, *timləllay* ‘vertigo’, *illəy* ‘to move, to depart; to make room; to approach, to draw near’; Tashelhiyt / Shilha *mlilli* ‘to have vertigo’, *timlillay* ‘vertigo’; Riff *əmlulli*, *əmruğği* ‘to turn round, to revolve; to be overturned’; Kabyle *əwləli* ‘to spin, to rotate’, *timləllay* ‘vertigo’; Chaouia *iwləlli* ‘spider’. Proto-Southern Cushitic *wel- or *wal- ‘to go round and round, to revolve’ > Iraqw *harwel* ‘to surround’; Dahalo *walam-* in *wálampáni* ‘whirlwind’. Ehret 1980:314. [Ehret 1995:460, no. 968, *wel- or *wal- ‘to go round’.]

B. Dravidian: Tamil *vaḷai* ‘to surround, to hover around, to walk around, to move about (as fetus in the womb)’, *veḷaivu* ‘circle, circumference’, *vaḷaiyam* ‘ring, circle, bracelet, ambit’, *vaḷāvu* (*vaḷāvi-*) ‘to surround’, *vaḷākam* ‘enclosing, surrounding’; Malayalam *vaḷayuka* ‘to surround’, *vaḷekka* ‘to enclose’, *vaḷaccal* ‘enclosing’, *vaḷayal* ‘surrounding’, *vaḷa* ‘ring, bracelet’; Kota *vaḷc-* (*vaḷc-*) ‘to walk in a circle, to make round’, *vaḷ* ‘bangle’, *vaḷ ca·rym* ‘all around’; Kannaḍa *baḷasu* ‘(vb.) to go in a circle or round, to walk or wander about, to be surrounded, to surround; (n.) act of surrounding or encompassing, what surrounds, state of being circuitous, one round or turn (as of a rope, etc.)’, *baḷe* ‘ring, armlet, bracelet’; Telugu *balayu* ‘to surround’, *valayu* ‘to turn around (intr.)’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:480, no. 5313.

C. Proto-Indo-European *wel-/*wol-/*$wl̥$- ‘to turn, to roll, to revolve’: Sanskrit *válati*, *válate* ‘to turn, to turn around, to turn to’; Armenian *gelum* ‘to twist, to press’, *glem* ‘to roll’, *glor* ‘round’; Greek εἰλέω (< *Ϝελ-ν-έω)

'to roll up, to pack close, to wind, to turn around, to revolve', εἰλύω 'to enfold, to enwrap'; Latin *volvō* 'to roll, to wind, to turn around, to twist around'; Old Irish *fillid* 'to fold, to bend'; Gothic *af-walwjan* 'to roll away', *at-walwjan* 'to roll to'; Old Icelandic *valr* 'round', *velta* 'to roll', *válka* 'to toss to and fro, to drag with oneself', *válk* 'tossing to and fro (especially at sea)'; Old English *wielwan* 'to roll', *wealwian* 'to roll', *wealte* 'a ring', *wealcan* 'to roll, to fluctuate (intr.); to roll, to whirl, to turn, to twist (tr.)', *wealcian* 'to roll (intr.)', *gewealc* 'rolling', *welung* 'revolution (of a wheel)'; Middle English *walken* 'to walk, to roll, to toss', *walkien* 'to walk'; Middle Dutch *welteren* 'to roll', *walken* 'to knead, to press'; Old High German *walzan* 'to roll, to rotate, to turn about' (New High German *wälzen*), *walken*, *walchen* 'to knead, to roll paste'; Tocharian B *wäl-* 'to curl'. Rix 1998a:616 **u̯el-* 'to turn, to twist, to revolve, to rotate'; Pokorny 1959:1140—1144 **u̯el-*, **u̯elə-*, **u̯lē-* 'to turn, to roll'; Walde 1927—1932.I:298—304 **u̯el-*; Mann 1984—1987:1508—1509 **u̯el-* '(vb.) to turn, to bend, to twist, to revolve, to deceive; (n.) turn, bending, deceit', 1150 **u̯ĕlənos*, *-ā* (**u̯elen-*) 'roller, cylinder', 1510 **u̯elər-* (**u̯eli̯ər-*) 'twisted, bent; twist, bend, curved', 1511 **u̯elu̯el-*, 1511—1512 **u̯elu̯mn-* 'turn, twist, curve, bend', 1512 **u̯elu̯ō*, *-i̯ō* 'to twist, to turn, to bend, to roll', 1555 **u̯u̯u̯nt-* (?) 'roll, ball, round, twist, bend', 1555—1556 **u̯u̯u̯ō*, *-i̯ō* 'to roll', 1556 **u̯u̯u̯os*, *-ā*, *-i̯ə* 'twist, turn, wrap, twisted', 1556 **u̯u̯utā*, *-is* (**u̯u̯utā*, *-is*) 'roll, scroll, wind', 1569 **u̯ol-* (**u̯olos*) 'turn, roll, cylinder', 1569—1570 **u̯ōl-* (**u̯ōlos*) 'turn', 1571—1572 **u̯ōli̯ō*, **u̯oleu̯i̯ō* 'to roll, to overturn, to ruin'; Mallory—Adams 1997:607 **u̯el-* 'to turn, to wind, to roll'; Watkins 1985:75—76 **wel-* and 2000:98 **wel-* 'to turn, to roll'; Boisacq 1950:224—225 **u̯elu-*; Frisk 1970—1973.I:457—458 and I:461—462 **u̯u̯-ne-u-(ti)*; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:319—320 **Ϝελ-* 'to turn' and I:320—321 **welu-*; Hofmann 1966:72—73 **u̯elu-*, extended form of **u̯el-*; Beekes 2010.I:384—385 **uel-*; De Vaan 2008:689—690; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.II:832—834; Ernout—Meillet 1979:752; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.III:161; Orël 2003:443 Proto-Germanic **walaz* I, 444 **walkanan*, 444 **walkōjanan*, 444 **waltjanan*, 444 **waltō*, 445 **walwjanan*, 453 **wellanan* I; Kroonen 2013:570 Proto-Germanic **walkan-* 'to roll' and 570 **walk/gōn-* 'to roll'; Lehmann 1986:9 **welˀ-*, **welw-*, etc.; Feist 1939:13 **u̯el-*; De Vries 1977:641, 642, and 653 **u̯el-*; Klein 1971:820 **walg-*; Onions 1966:989 Germanic **walk-*, of unknown origin; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:836 **u̯el-*; Kluge—Seebold 1989:776 **wel-*; Adams 1999:596 **wel-* 'to wind, to twist, to bend'; Van Windekens 1976—1982.I:555 **u̯el-*.

D. Yukaghir (Northern / Tundra) *wej-* 'to turn, to move'. Nikolaeva 2006:455.

E. Chukchi-Kamchatkan: Proto-Chukotian **wæltə-* 'to twist face' > Kerek *waltə-* 'to twist face'; Koryak *weltə(tku-)* 'to twist face'. Fortescue 2005: 326.

Buck 1949:10.12 turn (vb.); 10.13 turn around (vb.); 10.14 wind, wrap (vb.); 10.15 roll (vb.). Bomhard—Kerns 1994:609—610, no. 486; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 2477, **wAḷ|ĺ[V][h]V* ‘to turn, to roll, to revolve’.

805. Proto-Nostratic root **walʸ-* (~ **wəlʸ-*):
(vb.) **walʸ-* ‘to blaze, to shine, to be bright’;
(n.) **walʸ-a* ‘whiteness, glitter, luster, brightness, light’; (adj.) ‘shining, bright, white’

A. Dravidian: Tamil *oḷi* ‘light, brightness, splendor, sun, moon, star, fire, sunshine, lamp, beauty’, *oḷir*, *oḷiṟu* (*oḷiṟi-*) ‘to shine’, *oḷiyavaṉ*, *oḷiyōṉ* ‘sun’, *oḷirvu*, *oḷiṟu* ‘brightness’; Malayalam *oḷi* ‘splendid, bright; the light’, *oḷima*, *oḷivu* ‘brightness’, *oḷayuka*, *oḷiyuka* ‘to shine, to glitter’; Kannaḍa *oḷa*, *oḷapu* ‘to shine, to blaze’, *uḷku* ‘to shine, to blaze, to appear’, *uḷku*, *uḷuku* ‘a shining substance, a meteor’; Tuḷu *oḷi* ‘light, splendor’; Koṇḍa *oṛini(ka)* ‘white, bright’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:98, no. 1016. Tamil *vāḷ* ‘luster, splendor, brightness, fame’; Telugu *vālu* ‘to increase, to rise, to swell, to flourish; to be splendid, to shine’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:487, no. 5377.

B. Proto-Kartvelian **wel-* ‘to flash (lightning)’: Georgian *el-* ‘to flash (lightning)’, *elva* ‘lightning’; Mingrelian *val-* ‘to flash (lightning)’; Laz *val-* ‘to flash (lightning)’; Svan *el-*, *hel-*, *hl-* in: *hel* ‘lightning’, *li-el-e* (< **li-hel-e* ?) ‘to flash (lightning)’, *li-hl-āl-i* ‘to flash forth (lightning)’. Schmidt 1962:106; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:131 **wel-*; Fähnrich 2007:158—159 **wel-*; Klimov 1964:78—79 **el-* and 1998:46—47 **el-* ‘to sparkle (of lightning)’.

C. Uralic: Proto-Finno-Ugrian **walʸkɜ* ‘shining, white, light (of color)’ > Finnish *valkea* ‘white, light (of color); fire’, *valkaise-* ‘to whiten, to bleach’, *valko-* ‘white’; Estonian *valge* ‘white, light (of color), blond’; (?) Lapp / Saami *viel'gâd*, (attr.) *vil'gis* ‘white or light, pale’, *vielgok* ‘white or light, pale, quadruped’; Cheremis / Mari *walgõdõ*, *wolgõdõ* ‘(adj.) light, bright; (n.) light, brightness’, *walgalta-*, *wolgalta-* ‘to shine, to dawn, to get light’; (?) Hungarian *világ* ‘light, world’. Collinder 1955:122—123, 1960:414 **wal'ka*, and 1977:135; Rédei 1986—1988:554—555 **walkɜ*; Sammallahti 1988:551 **wɨlki-* ‘light’. Proto-Finno-Ugrian **walʸɜ-* ‘to shine, to gleam’ > Finnish *vaalea* ‘light (of color), pale, fair’, *valo* ‘light’; Zyrian / Komi *vol'al-* ‘to shine’; Votyak / Udmurt *val'*, *val'i* in: *čil-val'*, *čili-val'i* ‘luster’ (*čil'* ‘shining, radiant’), *val'k*, *val't* ‘resplendent, lustrous’; Vogul / Mansi *wol'g-* ‘to shine’; Hungarian *villám* ‘(flash of) lightning’. Collinder 1955:122—123 and 1977:135; Rédei 1986—1988:555—556 **wal'ɜ*.

Buck 1949:1.55 lightning; 15.51 see; 15.52 look (vb.), look at; 15.53 sight (subj.); 15.543 sight (obj.), look (obj.), appearance; 15.56 shine; 15.57 bright;

15.61 color (sb.); 15.64 white. Illič-Svityč 1965:363 **w/a/l'(ḳ)ʌ* ‘bright, light’ (‘светлый’); Bomhard—Kerns 1994:614—616, no. 494; Hakola 2000:208, no. 931; Pudas-Marlow 1974:158, no. 742; Dolgoplsky 2008, no. 2484, **walḴ[a]* ‘to be bright/white, to shine’.

806. Proto-Nostratic root **wam-* (~ **wəm-*):
(vb.) **wam-* ‘to eject, to spit out, to spit up’;
(n.) **wam-a* ‘spittle, vomit’

A. Dravidian: Tamil *umi* ‘to spit, to gargle’, *uminīr* ‘spittle, saliva’, *umivu* ‘spitting’, *umiṛ* ‘to spit, to gargle, to emit, to vomit’; Malayalam *umiyuka*, *umikka* ‘to spit out’, *umi*, *umiṛu* ‘spittle’, *umiṛka* ‘to spit, to emit’; Koraga *umi* ‘saliva’; Kannaḍa *ummalu*, *ummulu* ‘phlegm, mucus’; Telugu *umiyu* ‘to spit, to spit out’, *ummi* ‘spittle, saliva’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:61, no. 636.
B. Proto-Indo-European **wem-*/**wom-*/**wm̥-* ‘to vomit, to spit up’: Sanskrit *vámiti*, *vamati* ‘to vomit, to spit up, to eject, to emit’; Avestan *vam-* ‘to vomit’; Greek ἐμέω ‘to vomit, to throw up’; Latin *vomō* ‘to vomit, to throw up’; Old Icelandic *váma* ‘qualm, ailment’, *vámr* ‘a loathsome person’, *væma* ‘nausea, sea sickness’; Lithuanian *vemiù*, *vémti* ‘to vomit, to throw up’. Rix 1998a:621 **u̯emh₁-* ‘to vomit’; Pokorny 1959:1146 **u̯em-*, **u̯emə-* ‘to vomit’; Walde 1927—1932.I:262—263 **u̯em-*, **u̯emē-*; Mann 1984—1987:1512 **u̯emō*, *-i̯ō* ‘to vomit’; Watkins 1985:76 **wem-* and 2000:98 **wemə-* ‘to vomit’ (oldest form **wemə₁-*); Mallory—Adams 1997:536 **u̯émhₓmi* ‘to spew, to vomit’; Boisacq 1950:247 **u̯emē-*; Frisk 1970—1973.I:504—505; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:343; Sihler 1995:41, §42, **wemH₁-*; Hofmann 1966:80—81 **u̯emə-*; Beekes 2010.I:416—417 **uemh₁-*; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.II:835 **u̯emō*; Ernout—Meillet 1979:752—753; De Vaan 2008:690; Orël 2003:445 Proto-Germanic **wamman*, 445 **wammaz*; De Vries 1977:642; Smoczyński 2007.1:734; Fraenkel 1962—1965.II:1222; Derksen 2015:497 **uemh₁-*; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.III:146.

Buck 1949:4.56 spit (vb.); 4.57 vomit (vb.). Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 2492, **wûmHV* (or **hûmhV* ?) ‘to spit out, to vomit’; Bomhard—Kerns 1994:612, no. 490.

807. Proto-Nostratic root **wan-* (~ **wən-*):
(vb.) **wan-* ‘to stay, to remain’;
(n.) **wan-a* ‘abode, dwelling’

A. Proto-Afrasian **wan-* ‘to stay, to remain’: Arabic *wanaka* ‘to dwell amongst’. D. Cohen 1970— :562. Egyptian *wn*, *wnn* ‘to be, to exist’; Coptic *won* [ⲟⲩⲟⲛ] ‘to be’. Hannig 1995:194; Faulkner 1962:62; Gardiner

1957:561 (supplies missing parts of *i̯w* ‘is, are’); Erman—Grapow 1921:36 and 1926—1963.1:308—309; Vycichl 1983:233; Černý 1976:212—213. Central Cushitic: Bilin *wān-* ‘to be’, *wā́ntā* ‘existence’; Xamir *wən-* ‘to be’; Kemant *wan-* ‘to be’. Appleyard 1984:50 and 2006:29; Reinisch 1887:357.

B. Kartvelian: Georgian *van-* ‘dwelling’; Mingrelian *on-* name of a city in Rača; Svan *wan* ‘plain, lowland, flat mountain’. Blažek 1992a:141, no. 29.

C. Indo-European: Proto-Germanic **wunan* ‘to dwell, to abide, to remain’ > Old Icelandic *una* ‘to be content in a place; to dwell, to abide’; Old English *wunian* ‘to dwell, to remain, to continue (in time and space); to inhabit, to remain in’, *wuna* ‘habit, custom’, *wunung* ‘dwelling (act and place)’; Old Frisian *wonia*, *(w)unia* ‘to dwell, to remain’; Old Saxon *wunōn*, *wonōn* ‘to dwell, to remain’; Old High German *wonēn*, *wonan*, *wanēn* ‘to dwell, to remain’ (New High German *wohnen*), *wonunga* ‘dwelling’ (New High German *Wohnung*). Orël 2003:475 Proto-Germanic **wunēnan*; Kroonen 2013:599 Proto-Germanic **wunēn-* ‘to be used to’; De Vries 1977:634; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:867 **u̯en-*; Kluge—Seebold 1989:797. Note: this stem is distinct from Proto-Indo-European **wen(H)-* ‘to strive for, to wish for, to desire’ (cf. Pokorny 1959:1146—1147).

Sumerian *unu*, *únu*, *unu₇* ‘dwelling, residence; dwelling-place, place of residence’.

Buck 1949:7.11 dwell; 9.91 be. Bomhard 1996a:213, no. 612; Blažek 1992a: 141, no. 29. Different etymology in Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 2495a, **wV[ʕV]NV* ‘to stay’.

808. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **wan-a* ‘share, portion, period (of time)’:

A. Proto-Afrasian **wan-* ‘period (of time)’: Egyptian *wnwt* ‘hour, division of time’; Coptic *unu* [ⲟⲩⲛⲟⲩ] ‘hour’. Hannig 1995:196—197; Faulkner 1962:61; Erman—Grapow 1921:36 and 1926—1963.1:316—317; Gardiner 1957:561; Vycichl 1983:233; Černý 1976:214. Highland East Cushitic: Kambata *wannuri* ‘next year’. Hudson 1989:343.

B. Dravidian: Kannaḍa *ontu*, *vantu*, *vanti* ‘a turn, time’, *ontu* ‘share, portion’; Tuḷu *onti* ‘a turn, time’, *ontu* ‘a turn, time; once’, *ontigè* ‘a contribution’; Telugu *vantu* ‘share, portion, a turn by rotation, a round’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:93, no. 979.

C. Proto-Kartvelian **wona-* ‘time’: Georgian (Moxevian) *ona-ze* ‘very fast’; Svan *(w)ona* ‘time’. Fähnrich 2007:165 **wona-*.

Buck 1949:14.11 time. Bomhard 1996a:216—217, no. 620.

809. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **wan-a* ‘first, first-born, eldest’:

A. Afrasian: Proto-Highland East Cushitic **wanaa* ‘first’ > Burji *wanáy* ‘first-born’, *wanawwa* ‘elder sister’, *wanay*, *wonáy* ‘elder brother’; Kambata *wana(a) beetu* ‘first-born’ (*beetu* = ‘child’), *wanabii* ‘first’. Sasse 1982:190; Hudson 1989:225, 226, 342, and 343.
B. Dravidian: Kolami *vanna* ‘brother’s wife’; Naikṛi *vanna* ‘older brother’s wife’; (?) Konḍa *oni* ‘older brother’s wife, maternal uncle’s daughter (older than person concerned)’; Pengo *oni* ‘older brother’s wife’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:474, no. 5251.
C. Uralic: Proto-Finno-Permian **wanša* ‘old’ > Finnish *vanha* ‘old’, *vanhemmat* ‘parents’; Estonian *vana* ‘old’; Votyak / Udmurt *vuž* ‘old’; Zyrian / Komi *važ* ‘old’. Rédei 1986—1988:813 **wanša*; Sammallahti 1988:554 Proto-Finno-Permian **vanša* ‘old’. (?) Proto-Finno-Ugrian **wɜ̌nɜ* ‘old’ > Zyrian / Komi *vener* ‘old’; Hungarian *vén* ‘old’. Rédei 1986—1988:589—590 **wɜ̌nɜ*.

Buck 1949:13.34 first; 14.15 old. Bomhard 1996a:271, no. 621. Different etymology in Dolgopolsky 1998:89, no. 112, **[ħ|χV]wän|nV* ‘relative (of a younger/the same generation) of the opposite exogamous moiety’ (> ‘brother/sister-in-law, son-in-law’) and 2008, no. 2494, **wänV* ¬ **[XV]wänV* ‘relative (of a younger/the same generation) of the opposite exogamous moiety’ ([in descendant languages] → ‘brother/sister-in-law, son-in-law’).

810. Proto-Nostratic root **wan-* (~ **wən-*):
(vb.) **wan-* ‘to bend’;
(n.) **wan-a* ‘bend, curve’; (adj.) ‘crooked, bent, curved’

A. Proto-Afrasian **wan-* ‘to bend, to twist; to be bent, twisted, crooked’: Proto-Semitic **wan-aw/y-* ‘to twist, to press, to deceive’ > Old Akkadian *wanāʾum* ‘to press, to oppress; to deceive, to trick’; Hebrew *yānāh* [יָנָה] ‘to oppress, to tread down, to trample underfoot; to deceive, to trick, to cheat, to delude, to bamboozle, to mistreat, to vex, to annoy, to irritate’; Aramaic *yənī* ‘to oppress, to take advantage of’; Arabic *wanā* ‘to be or become faint, weak, tired, dispirited, despondent, sapless, effete; to lose vigor, to flag, to languish’. D. Cohen 1970— :562; Murtonen 1989:216; Klein 1987:260; Zammit 2002:442. Egyptian *wn* ‘to do wrong, to commit a sin or a fault’, *wn* ‘defect, error, fault, mistake, offense’, *wnnwy* ‘evildoer’, *wn-ty* ‘transgressor, offender’, *wn* ‘a sinful or erring man, one who cheats’, *wn-ỉb* ‘an evil-hearted man’. Hannig 1995:196; Gardiner 1957:561; Faulkner 1962:61; Erman—Grapow 1921:36 and 1926—1963.1:314.
B. Dravidian: Tamil *vaṅki* ‘a kind of armlet; a kind of iron hook or curved instrument’; Kannaḍa *vaṅki*, *oṅki* ‘hook, gold armlet of a curved shape’; Tuḷu *oggi*, *uggi* ‘handle, hook’, *oṅki*, *vaṅki* ‘a bracelet worn on the arms’; Telugu *vaṅkī* ‘curved ornament worn by women on the upper arm’, *oṅkiya*, *oṅke* ‘hook or peg fixed in a wall’; Gondi *vakonjee* ‘an elephant goad’.

Burrow—Emeneau 1984:471, no. 5210. Tamil *vaṇaṅku* (*vaṇaṅki-*) ‘to bend, to yield, to be submissive; to worship, to salute respectfully’, *vaṇakku* (*vaṇakki-*) ‘to bend (tr.), to make flexible (as the body), to make submissive’, *vaṇakkam*, *vaṇakku* ‘bending, worship, submission’, *vaṇar* ‘to bend (intr.), to curl (as the hair)’, *vaṇar* ‘vault’, *vaṇai* ‘to bend (intr.)’; Malayalam *vaṇaṅṅuka* ‘to bend, to bow, to salute respectfully’, *vaṇakkam* ‘obeisance, reverence’, *vaṇakkuka* ‘to bend (tr.)’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:473, no. 5236. Tamil *vāṅku* (*vāṅki-*), *vēṅku* (*vēṅki-*) ‘to bend (intr., tr.), to sink, to subside, to move to one side, to withdraw’, *vāṅku* ‘bending’, *vāṅkal* ‘bending, curve, inclination’, *vākku* ‘bend, irregularity’; Malayalam *vāṅṅuka* ‘to bend, to shrink, to draw back’; Kota *vag-* (*vagy-*) ‘to be slightly bowed down, to crouch, to be obedient to orders’, *vak-* (*vaky-*) ‘to bend (intr.), to be cowed’; Kannaḍa *bāgu* ‘to bend (intr.), to bow, to incline, to stoop; to bend (tr.)’, *bāgu* ‘bending, inclination, curve’, *bāgisu* ‘to bend (tr.), to cause to bend’, *baṅku* ‘to be crooked, bent’, *baggu*, *boggu* ‘to bend, to bow, to become submissive’, *baggisu*, *boggisu* ‘to bend (tr.)’, *baṅkane* ‘in a bending or bent way’, *bokka* ‘with a turn, bend, or bow’; Koḍagu *ba·ŋg-* (*ba·ŋgi-*) ‘to become bent, to slope’, *bagg-* (*baggi-*) ‘to stoop, to bend down’; Tuḷu *bāguni*, *bāṅguni* ‘to bow, to stoop, to lean on one side’, *bāṅgāvuni* ‘to cause to bend or stoop’; Telugu *vaṅgu* ‘to bend, to stoop, to bow, to become crooked, to become low or humbled’, *vancu*, *vampu* ‘to bend, to cause to stoop, to subdue, to humble, to overpower’, *vampu* ‘(n.) bend, curve, crookedness; (adj.) bent, curved, crooked’, *vāncu* ‘to bend the head, to cause to bend’, *vã̄ka* ‘crooked’; Kolami *vaŋg-* (*vaŋkt-*) ‘to bend (intr.)’, *vaŋgip-* (*vaŋgipt-*) ‘to bend (tr.)’; Naikṛi *vaŋg-* ‘to bend (intr.)’; Parji *vaŋg-* ‘to bend (intr.)’; Gondi *vak-*, *vaŋg-* ‘to bend (intr.)’, *vaŋgānā* ‘to be bent’, *vaŋkor*, *vaŋko* ‘bent, crooked’; Konḍa *vaŋ-* ‘to bend, to become bent’, *vak-* ‘to bend (tr.)’; Kuwi *vwāngali* ‘to be crooked’, *vwakhali* ‘to bend’; Kuṛux *beŋknā*, *beŋkaʔānā* ‘to turn (tr.) from a straight line, to bend, to curve’, *beŋkō*, *beŋkā* ‘crooked, bent, curved’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:482—483, no. 5335.

C. Proto-Indo-European **wen-d^h-*/**won-d^h-*/**wn̥-d^h-* ‘to bend, to twist, to turn’: Sanskrit *vandhúra-m* ‘wicker carriage’; Armenian *gind* ‘ring’; Gothic *bi-windan* ‘to wrap, to wind’, *wandjan* ‘to turn’, *inwinds* ‘perverse, unjust’; Old Icelandic *vinda* ‘to twist, to wring, to wind, to squeeze’, *venda* ‘to wend, to turn; to change, to pervert’; Norwegian *vinda* ‘to twist, to turn, to wind, to plait’; Swedish *vinda* ‘to twist, to turn, to wind, to plait’; Danish *vinde* ‘to twist, to turn, to wind, to plait’; Old English *windan* ‘to wind, to twist, to turn, to weave, to plait, to curl’, *wendan* ‘to turn, to convert, to change; to go’; Old Frisian *winda* ‘to wind, to twist, to turn’; Old Saxon *windan* ‘to wind, to twist’; Old High German *wintan* ‘to wind, to wrap’ (New High German *winden*); Tocharian A/B *wänt-* ‘to cover, to envelop’, B *wente* ‘covering’ (?). Rix 1998a:623 **u̯end^h-* ‘to turn, twist, or wind (around)’; Pokorny 1959:1148 **u̯endh-* ‘to twist, to turn’; Walde

1927—1932.I:261 **u̯endh-*; Mann 1984—1987:1513 **u̯endh-* ‘to turn’, 1556—1557 **u̯n̥dhos*, *-is*, *-i̯ə* ‘twist, turn, curl, bend’, 1575 **u̯ondh-* ‘bend, turn; switch, rod, hook’; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.II:729, fn. 1, **u̯end[ʰ]-* and 1995.I:632, fn. 39, **wendʰ-* ‘to weave, to plait’; Watkins 1985:76 **wendh-* and 2000:99 **wendh-* ‘to turn, to wind, to weave’; Mallory—Adams 1997:607 **u̯endh-* ‘to wind, to twist’; Orël 2003:446 Proto-Germanic **wanđjanan*, 454 **wenđanan*; Kroonen 2013:587 Proto-Germanic **windan-* ‘to wind’; Feist 1939:98 **u̯endh-*; Lehmann 1986:74 **wendh-*; De Vries 1977:653 and 665; Falk—Torp 1903—1906.II:448; Onions 1996:1000, and 1007—1008; Klein 1971:828 **wendh-*, **wn̥dh-*; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:852 and 861; Kluge—Seebold 1989:787 and 793—794; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.III:143; Van Windekens 1976—1982.I:556 **u̯endh-*; Adams 1999:592 **wendʰ-* and 608 **wondʰo-*. Indo-European **wen-kʰ-*/**won-kʰ-*/**wn̥-kʰ-* ‘to bend, to twist, to turn’: Sanskrit *váñcati* ‘to go crookedly, to totter, to stagger, to waver’, (causative) *vañcayati*, *vañcayate* ‘to cause to go astray, to deceive, to cheat, to defraud of’, *vaṅkate* ‘to be crooked, to go crookedly’, *vakra-ḥ* ‘crooked, curved, bent, twisted, wry’, *vaṅka-ḥ*, *vaṅkara-ḥ* ‘the bend of a river’, *vaṅkú-ḥ* ‘going crookedly or hurriedly’, *váṅkri-ḥ* ‘a rib’; Gothic **un-wāhs* ‘blameless’ (nom. pl. n. *un-wāha*); Old English *wōh* ‘(adj.) crooked, perverse, wrong, unjust; (n.) error, wrong, wickedness’; Old Saxon *wāh* ‘evil’. Rix 1998a:624 **u̯enk-* ‘to go crookedly, to totter, to stagger, to waiver’; Pokorny 1959:1134—1135 **u̯ek-*, **u̯e-n-k-* ‘to bend’; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.III:127; Mann 1984—1987:1491—1492 **u̯ankos*, *-ā*, *-us* ‘crooked, bent; crook, bend’; Orël 2003:447 Proto-Germanic **wanxaz*; Lehmann 1986:379 **wek-*, **we-n-k-* ‘to bend’, **wonko-* ‘cooked’; Feist 1939:525 Gothic **un-wāhs* (< **n̥ u̯aɴko-*). Proto-Indo-European **wen-k’-*/**won-k’-*/**wn̥-k’-* ‘to curve, to bend’: Sanskrit *váṅgati* ‘to go lamely, to limp’; Old Icelandic *vakka* (< Proto-Germanic **wankōn*) ‘to stray, to hover about’, *vanka* ‘to rove, to stroll about as if disturbed in mind; to wink’; Old English *wincian* ‘to shut the eyes, to blink, to wink’, *wancol* ‘unstable’, *wincel* ‘corner’, *wince* ‘winch, pulley’; Old Saxon *wincan* ‘to nod, to wink’; Middle Dutch *winken* ‘to nod, to wink’; Old High German *winchan* ‘to sway, to stagger, to nod’ (New High German *winken*), *winkel* ‘corner’ (New High German *Winkel*); Lithuanian *véngiu*, *véngti* ‘to avoid, to shun’, *vangùs* ‘idle, lazy’, *vìngis* ‘bend, curve’, *vingrùs* ‘twisty’. Rix 1998a:623 (?) **u̯eng-* ‘to bend, to be bent’; Pokorny 1959:1148—1149 **u̯e-n-g-* ‘to be bent’; Walde 1927—1932.I:218 **u̯a-n-g-* ‘to be bent’; Mann 1984—1987:1514 **u̯eng-* ‘to turn, to bend’, 1514 **u̯engʰ-*, 1557 **u̯n̥gos*, *-is*, *-i̯os*, *-i̯ə* ‘bend, twist, turn’, 1575 **u̯ong-* ‘(n.) bend, curve; (adj.) bent, curved, twisted’; Watkins 1985:76 **weng-* and 2000:99 **weng-* ‘to curve, to bend’; Mallory—Adams 1997:63 **u̯eng-* ‘to bend; to make a sudden veering motion’; Fraenkel 1962—1965.II:1223; Smoczyński 2007.1:734—735; Orël 2003:447 Proto-Germanic **wankōjanan* 455 **wenkjanan*; De Vries

1977:639; Onions 1966:1007 **weŋg-* and 1008 **weŋg-*, **woŋg-*; Klein 1971:828 and 829 **wag-* ‘to bend’; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:861 **u̯eng-*; Kluge—Seebold 1989:794. Proto-Indo-European **wen-g^{h}-*/**won-g^{h}-*/**wn̥-g^{h}-* ‘to turn, to twist, to go crookedly’: Sanskrit *vaṅghate* ‘to go, to set out, to begin, to move swiftly; to blame, to censure’; Swedish *vingla* ‘to stroll; to wangle, to cheat’; English *wangle* ‘to accomplish or obtain by irregular or insidious means’. Mann 1984—1987:1514 *u̯engh-* ‘to go, to move’; Onions 1966:991; Klein 1971:820 “prob. rel. to *wankle*”.

D. (?) Uralic: Proto-Finno-Permian **waŋka* ‘bent or curved object: hook, handle, knob, lever, elbow, etc.’ > Finnish *vanko*, *vanka*, *vanku* ‘hook, lever used for rolling burning logs across a burn-beaten clearing’; Estonian *vang* (gen. sg. *vanga*, *vangu*) ‘bent piece of wood or metal; handle, door-handle; bend, curve’, *käe-vang* ‘elbow’ (*käe* = gen. sg. of *käsi* ‘hand, arm’); Votyak / Udmurt *vug* ‘bent handle or ear of a vessel’; Zyrian / Komi *vug* ‘handle, knob’. These forms are usually considered to be loans from Indo-Iranian (cf. Joki 1973:335—336). Collinder 1955:139 and 1977:149; Rédei 1986—1988:814 **waŋka*; Sammallahti 1988:554 **vëŋka* ‘handle’.

E. Chukchi-Kamchatkan: Proto-Chukotian **wən-* ‘to bend’ > Chukchi *wənentat-* ‘to bend (intr.)’; Koryak *wən-*, *wənə-tko-* ‘to bend’. Fortescue 2005:335.

Buck 1949:9.14 bend (vb.); 12.74 crooked; 16.68 deceit; 16.74 wrong; 16.75 sin; 16.76 fault, guilt. Illič-Svityč 1965:336 **wankʌ* ‘to bend’ (‘гнуть’); Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 2505, **wäŋka* ‘to bend’; Bomhard—Kerns 1994:618—621, no. 498; Hakola 2000:208—209, no. 933.

811. Proto-Nostratic root **waŋ-* (~ **wəŋ-*):
(vb.) **waŋ-* ‘to strike, to stab, to wound, to cut’;
(n.) **waŋ-a* ‘cut, slash, gash, wound; harm, injury; dagger, knife’

A. Dravidian: Malayalam *vaṅki* ‘a certain dagger’; Kannaḍa *vaṅki* ‘a sort of knife or sword’, *vaṅkuḍi*, *baṅkuḍi* ‘dagger’; Telugu *vaṅki*, *vaṅkiṇi* ‘dagger’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:471, no. 5211.

B. Proto-Kartvelian **wn-* ‘to injure, to harm’: Georgian *vn-* ‘to injure, to harm’; Mingrelian *n-* (< **vn-*) ‘to injure, to harm’. Klimov 1998:54—55 **wn-* ‘to inure, to harm; to torment, to suffer’; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:137 **wn-*; Fähnrich 2007:165 **wn-*.

C. Proto-Indo-European **wen-*/**won-*/**wn̥-* ‘to wound’: Gothic *wunds* ‘wounded’, *ga-wundōn* ‘to wound’, **wundufni* ‘plague, illness’ (only in acc. pl. *wundufnjōs*); Old Icelandic *und* ‘wound’, *undaðr* ‘wounded’; Old English *wund* ‘wound’, *wundian* ‘to wound’; Old Frisian *wunde* ‘wound’; Old Saxon *wund* ‘wounded’, *wunda* ‘wound’; Old High German *wunt* ‘wounded’ (New High German *wund*), *wunta* ‘wound’ (New High German *Wunde*); (?) Armenian *vandem* ‘to destroy’. Pokorny 1959:1108 **u̯en-* ‘to

strike, to wound'; Walde 1927—1932.I:212 **u̯en-*; Mallory—Adams 1997:548—549 **u̯en-* 'to strike, to wound'; Watkins 1985:76 **wen-* and 2000:98—99 **wen-* 'to beat, to wound'; Orël 2003:474 Proto-Germanic **wunđaz*, 474 **wunđiz* ~ **wundō*, 474 **wunđōjanan*; Kroonen 2013:599 Proto-Germanic **wunda-* 'wounded'; Feist 1939:577—578 **u̯n̥-tó-*; Lehmann 1986:413; De Vries 1977:634 **u̯en-*; Klein 1971:832; Onions 1966:1013—1014; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:869; Kluge—Seebold 1989:800.

D. Uralic: Proto-Finno-Ugrian **waŋɜ-* (Proto-Ugrian **waŋkɜ-*) 'to strike, to cut' > (?) Votyak / Udmurt *vand-* 'to cut, to cut off, to cut up, to strike'; (?) Zyrian / Komi (Sysola, Permyak) *vundi̮-*, (East Permyak) *vundi·-* 'to cut, to strike; to stab'; Ostyak / Xanty (Vah) *waγ-*, (Upper Demyanka) *waŋχ-*, (Obdorsk) *waŋ-* 'to hew'; Vogul / Mansi (Tavda) *waŋk-*, (Middle Konda, Pelymka) *woŋk-* 'to strike', (Upper Lozva) *wooŋχap* 'hammer'; Hungarian *vág-* 'to cut, to hew down (wood or timber), to chop; to slaughter', *vágás* 'cutting; cut, slash, gash; slaughtering, killing; stroke, blow', *vagdalt* 'chopped (up)', *vágott* 'cut, chopped' (*vágott seb* 'wound made by cutting'). Rédei 1986—1988:558 Proto-Finno-Ugrian **waŋɜ-* (Proto-Ugrian **waŋkɜ-*).

Buck 1949:4.85 wound (sb.); 9.21 strike (hit, beat); 11.28 harm, injure, damage (vb.). Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 2502, **waŋE* 'to hit, to injure'.

812. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **war-a* 'man, male, male animal':

A. Proto-Afrasian **war-* 'man, male, male animal': Semitic: Tigre *wärʿe* 'mountain goat'. D. Cohen 1970— :616; Littmann—Höfner 1962:435. Egyptian *wr* 'a kind of cattle', (f.) *wrt* 'sacred cow', *wr* 'animal'. Hannig 1995:204 and 205; Faulkner 1962:64; Erman—Grapow 1926—1963.1:331. Highland East Cushitic: Sidamo *war-aamo* 'older male calf; ox, bull', *wa'r-icco* 'female calf', *warbá* 'brave, strong'; Burji (pl.) *warbanna* 'young sheep, lamb', *warbi* 'ram; young sheep, lamb'; Hadiyya *waraad-icco* (pl. *waraada*) 'young man'. Hudson 1989:225, 302, and 400. West Chadic **warar-* 'vicious bull' > Hausa *waaraarii* 'vicious bull'. Orël—Stolbova 1995:527, no. 2527, **war-* 'bull, cow' (the Semitic and Highland East Cushitic forms are not in Orël—Stolbova).

B. Proto-Kartvelian **werǯ-* 'male, ram': Georgian *verʒ-* 'ram'; Mingrelian *erǯ-* 'male, ram' (cf. *šxuriši erǯi* 'male of sheep', *erǯ-ak'-a* 'lamb'). Schmidt 1962:109; Klimov 1964:84 **werʒ$_1$-* and 1998:52 **werʒ$_1$-* 'male, ram'; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:133 **werʒ$_1$-*; Fähnrich 2007:160—161 **werʒ$_1$-*.

C. Proto-Indo-European **wers-*/**wr̥s-* 'man, male, male animal': Sanskrit *vṛṣa-ḥ* 'man, male, husband, bull', *vŕ̥ṣan-* 'male, manly, any male animal, bull, stallion', *vṛṣṇí-ḥ* 'ram'; Latin *verrēs* 'boar'; Lithuanian *veršis* 'calf'; Latvian *versis* 'ox'. Pokorny 1959:81 **u̯r̥sen-*, **u̯ersē/i-* 'male'; Walde

1927—1932.I:269 **u̯er-s-*; Mann 1984—1987:1519 **u̯erĥ̂s-* (**u̯r̥ĥ̂s-*) ‘young animal’, 1521 **u̯ers-* ‘young of animal’, 1521 **u̯ersēn-* ‘male of animal’; Mallory—Adams 1997:363 **u̯érsēn-* ‘male (as sire)’; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.II:761 **u̯ers-*; Ernout—Meillet 1979:724; De Vaan 2008:666; Derksen 2015:498 **uers-*; Fraenkel 1962—1965.II:1228—1229; Smoczyński 2007.1:740; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.III:251—252; Wodtko—Irslinger—Schneider 2008:722—724 **u̯ers-*.

Buck 1949:2.23 male (human); 3.12 male (animal); 3.20—3.24 (3.21 bull; 3.22 ox; 3.23 cow; 3.24 calf); 3.26 ram. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:563—564, no. 427; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 2530, **w[i]RʒV* ‘young herbivorous animal (calf, lamb, etc.)’.

813. Proto-Nostratic root **war-* (~ **wər-*):
(vb.) **war-* ‘to look, to watch out for, to observe, to care for’;
(n.) **war-a* ‘watch, vigil, guardianship, care; watchman, guard, keeper, warder’

A. Afrasian: Egyptian *wrš* ‘to spend the day, to spend one’s time, to be awake’, *wršy* ‘guard, sentry’, *wršt* ‘watch, vigil’; Coptic *werše* [ⲟⲩⲉⲣϣⲉ] ‘watch, watch-tower’. Hannig 1995:206 and 207; Faulkner 1962:65; Gardiner 1957:562; Erman—Grapow 1921:38 and 1926—1963.1:335, 1:336; Černý 1976:215—216; Vycichl 1983:12 and 237.

B. Proto-Indo-European **wer-*/**wor-*/**wr̥-* ‘to look, to watch out for, to observe, to care for’: Gothic **wardja* ‘guard, watchman’; Old Icelandic *varr* ‘aware; wary, cautious’, *vörðr* ‘ward, warder; guard, watch’ (*halda vörð* ‘to keep watch or guard’); Old English *warian* ‘to beware, to warn, to guard’, *wær* ‘wary, cautious’, *weard* ‘watchman, sentry, guardian’, *bewarian* ‘to watch over, to guard’, *weardian* ‘to watch over, to guard’; Old Saxon *ward* ‘guard’; Old High German *biwarōn* ‘to beware’ (New High German *bewahren* ‘to guard, to keep, to look after, to mind’), *wartēn* ‘to guard’ (New High German *warten* ‘to wait, to stay, to abide’), *wart* ‘keeper, warder’ (New High German *Wart*), *warto* ‘guard, watchman’, *giwar* ‘careful, attentive’ (New High German *gewahr* in: *werden gewahr* ‘to become aware of, to see, to perceive, to notice, to observe, to discern, to catch sight of’); Hittite *ú-e-ri-te-ma-aš* ‘anxiety’; Latin *vereor* ‘to have respect for, to revere’; Latvian *véru*, *vērt* ‘to look at, to notice’; Tocharian B *yärp-* ‘to oversee, to observe, to take care of’. Perhaps also Hittite (nom. sg. c.) *wa-ar-ri-iš* ‘helpful; help’; Luwian *[w]a-ar-ra-ḫi-ta-aš-ši-iš* ‘being of help’; Hieroglyphic Luwian *wariya-* ‘to help’. Rix 1998a:626 **u̯er-* ‘to observe, to watch; to look after, to protect’; Pokorny 1959:1160—1162 **u̯er-* ‘to observe, to watch, to notice’; Walde 1927—1932.I:280—283 **u̯er-*; Mann 1984—1987:1516 **u̯er-* ‘to look, to watch, to observe, to care for’, 1517 **u̯ereu̯ō* ‘to look, to watch, to observe, to care for’, 1520 **u̯ēros*

'watchful, watch', 1576 **u̯or-* 'watch, guard', 1577 **u̯orāi̯ō* (**u̯oreu̯ō*, **u̯oriu̯ō*) 'to watch, to observe', 1578 **u̯oreu̯ō* (**u̯orāi̯ō*, **u̯oriu̯ō*) 'to watch, to observe'; Watkins 1985:77 **wer-* and 2000:99—100 **wer-* 'to perceive, to watch out for'; Mallory—Adams 1997:417 **u̯er-* 'to perceive, to give attention to', **u̯er-b(h)-* 'to observe, to protect'; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.II:808—809 **u̯er-* and 1995.I:709 **wer-* 'to look, to pay attention, to be careful', I:645, I:780 **wer-* 'to defend (oneself), to save (oneself), to protect (oneself)'; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.II:757—758; Ernout—Meillet 1979:723 **wer-*; De Vaan 2008:665; Orël 2003:447—448 Proto-Germanic **waraz*, 448 **warđaz* II, 448 **warđjanan*, 448 **warđō(n)*, 448 **warđōjanan*; Kroonen 2013:574 Proto-Germanic **wara-* 'aware'; Feist 1939:551 **u̯er-*; Lehmann 1986:394 **wer-* 'to give heed to'; De Vries 1977:647 **u̯er-* and 675; Onions 1966:992 West Germanic **warðo* and 992 Common Germanic **war-*, **wer-* 'to observe, to take care'; Klein 1971:821 **wer-* 'to guard, to keep safe, to protect' and 821 **wer-* 'to be or become aware of; to guard, to keep safe, to protect'; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:832 **u̯er-*; Kluge—Seebold 1989:773 **werə-* 'to pay attention to, to take notice of'; Adams 1999:499 **wer-w-*; Van Windekens 1976—1982.I:593—594; Kloekhorst 2008b:962—963 and 1003—1004.

C. Uralic: Proto-Ugric **warɜ-* 'to watch over, to look after, to tend, to attend to, to keep, to guard, to wait for, to wait on' > Vogul / Mansi *oor-*, *uur-* 'to watch over, to look after, to tend, to attend to, to keep, to guard, to wait for, to wait on'; Hungarian *vár-* 'to wait, to be waiting, to wait for, to await, to look out for', *váró* 'waiting'. Rédei 1986—1988:898—899 **warɜ-*. Yukaghir (Southern / Kolyma) *arpə-* 'cautious, careful', *arpəš-* 'to take care of, to warn (tr.)', *arpo:l'bo:-* 'careful, cautious', (Northern / Tundra) *worpe-* 'cautious, careful', *worperi-* 'to pasture', *warečuore-* 'to take care of (tr.)', *worperiče*, *worperije* 'guard', *ward'e* 'herd'. Nikolaeva 2006:453.

Buck 1949:11.24 preserve, keep safe, save; 16.14 care (sb.); 19.58 help, aid (verbs). Bomhard—Kerns 1994:604—605, no. 480; Hakola 2000:209, no. 935; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 2511, ** ˈwarV* 'to look, to watch'.

814. Proto-Nostratic root **war-* (~ **wər-*):
(vb.) **war-* 'to comb';
(n.) **war-a* 'comb'

A. Dravidian: Tamil *vār* 'to comb (as hair)', *vāru* (*vāri-*) 'to comb (as hair), to play upon the strings of a lute', *vāri* 'a comb'; Malayalam *vāruka* (*vārnt-*), *vāṟuka* (*vāṟi-*) 'to comb'; Kannaḍa *bācu*, *bārcu* 'to comb', *bācaṇige* 'a comb'; Tuḷu *barcuni*, *bācuni*, *bāruni* 'to comb', *barcanè*, *bāraṇè*, *bāranè*, *bācaṇigè*, *bārpaṇi* 'a comb'; Kuṛux *bāgnā* 'to comb', *bāg^{i}rkā* 'wooden comb worn by boys and girls'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:485, no. 5357.

B. Proto-Kartvelian **warcx-* ‘to comb; a comb’: Georgian *varcxn-* ‘to comb’, *sa-varcx-al-* (< **sa-varcx-ar-*) ‘a comb’; Mingrelian *orcx-onǯ-*, *orcx-ond-* ‘a comb’; Laz *oncx-oǯ-* (< **orcx-* < **warcx-*), *ocx-oǯ-* ‘a comb’. Klimov 1998:49 **warcx-wn-* ‘to comb’; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:128 **warcx-*; Fähnrich 2007:155 **warcx-*.

Buck 1949:6.91 comb. Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 2516, **waHrV* ~ **warHV* ‘to comb, to scrape’.

815. Proto-Nostratic root **war-* (~ **wər-*):
(vb.) **war-* ‘to stretch, to extend, to expand’;
(n.) **war-a* ‘width, breadth, length’; (adj.) ‘wide, broad’
Probably identical to:
(vb.) **war-* ‘to raise, to elevate, to grow, to increase’;
(n.) **war-a* ‘uppermost, highest, or topmost part’

A. Proto-Afrasian **war-* ‘(vb.) to stretch, to extend, to expand; (adj.) wide, broad; (n.) width, breadth’: Semitic: Arabic *warafa* ‘to stretch, to extend, to become long (shadow)’; (?) Tigre *wärfä* ‘to do more than necessary (for instance, drink)’. D. Cohen 1970— :632. Geez / Ethiopic *ward* [ⷠⷈⷄ], *warad* [ⷠⷉⷄ] ‘breadth, length’; Tigrinya *wärdi* ‘breadth, length’; Amharic *wärd* ‘breadth, length’. D. Cohen 1970— :619. According to Leslau (1987:617) the Ethiopian forms are from Arabic *ʿarḍ* ‘breadth, length’. Leslau notes that this form is also found in Cushitic: Saho *warde* ‘breadth, length’. Egyptian *wr*, *wrr* ‘great; much, many’, *wr* ‘greatness (of size), sufficiency, excess’, *wrt* ‘greatness (of rank)’, *wr* ‘great one, magnate; chief’, *wr* ‘how much?’; Coptic *wēre* [ⲟⲩⲏⲣⲉ] ‘great’, *wēr* [ⲟⲩⲏⲣ] ‘how much?, how many?’. Hannig 1995:201—202 and 204; Faulkner 1962:63 and 64; Gardiner 1957:561; Erman—Grapow 1921:37, 38 and 1926—1963.1:326—331; Vycichl 1983:236; Černý 1976:214 and 215. Chadic: Angas *war-ŋ* ‘big’; Ankwe *warr* ‘strength’; Galambu *war-* ‘to surpass’. [Orël—Stolbova 1995:528, no. 2529, **war-/*ʔur-* ‘to be big, to be strong’; Ehret 1995:463, no. 974, **war-/*wir-* ‘to grow (person, animal)’.]

B. Dravidian: Tamil *vār* ‘length, elongation; height, straightness’; Kannaḍa *bār(u)* ‘length’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:485, no. 5358.

C. Proto-Kartvelian **wr̥č-* ‘to be broad, wide’: Georgian *vrc-* ‘to widen’; Mingrelian [*pirč-*] ‘to be broad’; Laz [*pirč-*] ‘to be broad’. Klimov 1998:55 **wrc$_1$-* ‘to be broad, wide’; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:137—138 **wrc$_1$-*; Fähnrich 2007:165—166 **wrc$_1$-*. Proto-Kartvelian **wr̥č-el-* ‘broad, wide’: Georgian *vrcel-* ‘wide, vast’; Mingrelian *pirča-* ‘with wide-open eyes, branchy (of trees)’; Laz [*pirče-*] ‘broad, wide’ in: *leke-pirče-* ‘spot’. Klimov 1964:85—86 **wr̥c$_1$e-l-* and 1998:55 **wrc$_1$-el-* ‘broad, wide’.

D. Proto-Indo-European **wer-/*ur-* ‘(vb.) to stretch, to extend; (adj.) wide, broad, extended, great, large’: Sanskrit *urú-ḥ* ‘wide, broad, spacious,

extended, great, large, much', *váras-* 'width, breadth, expanse, room, space'; Avestan (in compounds) *vouru-* 'wide, broad'; Greek εὐρύς (< *ἐ-Ϝρύς or through metathesis *Ϝερύς [cf. Frisk 1970—1973.I:592—593]) 'wide, broad', εὖρος 'breadth, width'; Tocharian A *wärts*, B *aurtse* ~ *wartse* 'wide, broad', *aurtsesa* 'fully', *aurtsäññe* 'breadth'. Pokorny 1959:1165 **u̯er-* 'wide'; Walde 1927—1932.I:285 **u̯er-*; Mann 1984—1987:255 **eurus* (**ur-*) 'wide'; Watkins 1985:77 **werə-* and 2000:100 **werə-* 'wide, broad' (oldest form **werə₁-*); Mallory—Adams 1997:83 **u̯érhₓus* 'wide, broad'; Boisacq 1950:297—298 (Sanskrit *urú-ḥ* < **u̯ŕru-*) **eu̯er-*; Hofmann 1966:99 (Sanskrit *urú-ḥ* < **u̯ₑrú-*); Chantraine 1968—1980.I:387—388 **wr̥rus-*, **weros*; Prellwitz 1905:164; Frisk 1970—1973.I:592—593 **u̯r̥rú-s*, **u̯éros-*; Beekes 2010.I:483—484 **h₁urH-u-* (?); Mayrhofer 1956—1980.I:110 and III:150; Burrow 1973:182; Adams 1999:133; Van Windekens 1976—1982.I:562—563 (according to Van Windekens, Tocharian A *wärts*, B *aurtse* ~ *wartse* are from Proto-Indo-European **u̯r̥dh-to-s*, as in Sanskrit *vṛddhá-ḥ*).

Buck 1949:12.55 large, big (great); 12.61 wide, broad. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:606—607, no. 482. Slightly different etymology in Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 2523, **w[i]rh[ü|u]* 'to be wide/broad, to expand, to spread'.

816. Proto-Nostratic root **war-* (~ **wər-*):
(vb.) **war-* 'to raise, to elevate, to grow, to increase';
(n.) **war-a* 'uppermost, highest, or topmost part'
Probably identical to:
(vb.) **war-* 'to stretch, to extend, to expand';
(n.) **war-a* 'width, breadth, length'; (adj.) 'wide, broad'

A. Afrasian: Proto-Semitic **war-am-* 'to raise, to elevate, to grow, to increase, to swell' > Arabic *warima* 'to be swollen; to swell, to become swollen; to cause to swell, to inflate', *waram* 'swelling, intumescence, tumor', *tawarrum* 'swelling, rising, intumescence'; Syriac *ʔawrēm* 'to magnify, to raise to honor'; Mandaic *iwrama* 'high ground; strong, violent (wind)'; Tigrinya *wäram* 'balloon'. D. Cohen 1970— :630—631. Berber: Tuareg *tawrirt* 'cone-shaped pile (of wheat, dates, grain, sand, etc.)'; Mzab *awrir* 'mountain, large hill', *tawrirt* 'hill, mound'; Tashelhiyt / Shilha *tawrirt* 'hill'; Tamazight *awrir* 'high ground, hill, knoll, hillock', *tawrirt* 'hill'; Kabyle *awrir* 'high ground, knoll, hillock', *tawrirt* 'hill, knoll, hillock'; Chaouia *tawrirt* 'hill'.
B. Dravidian: Tamil *varai* 'mountain, peak, slope of hill'; Kannaḍa *bare* 'steep, slope'; Koḍagu *bare* 'steep slope'; Tuḷu *bare* 'steep precipice'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:476, no. 5274.
C. Proto-Indo-European **wer-dʰ-*/**wor-dʰ-*/**wr̥-dʰ-* 'to raise, to elevate; to grow, to increase': Sanskrit *várdhati*, *várdhate*, *vṛdháti* 'to increase, to

augment, to strengthen, to cause to prosper or thrive; to elevate, to exalt, to gladden, to cheer, to exhilarate; to grow, to grow up, to increase, to be filled or extended; to become longer or stronger; to rise, to ascend', *vṛddhá-ḥ* 'grown, become larger or longer or stronger, increased, augmented, great, large', *vṛ́ddhi-ḥ* 'growth, increase, rise, augmentation, advancement, extension, welfare, prosperity, success, fortune', *várdha-ḥ* 'increasing, augmenting, gladdening', *ūrdhvá-ḥ* 'rising or tending upwards, raised, elevated, erected, erect, upright, high, above', *ūrdhva-m* 'height, elevation'; Pāḷi *uddhaŋ* (adv. and prep.) 'high up, on top, above'; Avestan *varəd-* 'to grow, to increase'; Greek ὀρθός (< *ϜορθϜός, cf. Doric βορθό-) 'upright, erect; straight, right', ὀρθόω 'to set upright, to set up, to raise up, to make straight'. Rix 1998a:627 **u̯eRd^{h}-* 'to become great, strong'; Pokorny 1959:1167 **u̯erdh-*, **u̯redh-* 'to grow, to increase; high'; Walde 1927—1932.I:289—280 **u̯eredh-*, **u̯erədh-*; Mann 1984—1987:1578 **u̯ordhos* (**u̯ordhros*) 'grown, full-grown, upright, tall', 1598 **u̯ṛ̆dh-* 'raised, upright, tall'; Mallory—Adams 1997:269 **u̯órh$_{x}$dhus* 'upright, high'; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.I:117 and III:157—158; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:818—819; Boisacq 1950:711—712 **u̯ṝdhu̯ó-s*; Frisk 1970—1973.II:415—416; Hofmann 1966:237 **u̯eredh-*; Beekes 1969:241 **u̯$_{e}$rh$_{3}$dhu-* or **u̯orhdhu-* and 2010.II:1101 **h$_{3}$rd^{h}uo-*. Proto-Indo-European **wer-s-/*wor-s-/*wr̥-s-* 'highest, uppermost, or topmost part': Sanskrit *varṣmán-* 'height, top', *várṣman-* 'height, top, surface, uppermost part', *varṣiman-* 'height, length, width, breadth', *várṣiṣṭha-ḥ* 'highest, uppermost, longest, greatest'; Avestan *varəšō* 'forest'; Lithuanian *viršùs* 'top, head, upper part', *viršininkas* 'superior, boss', *viršˇ* 'over, beyond, above'; Old Church Slavic *vrьxъ* 'summit'; Russian *verx* [верх] 'top, head; height, summit'. Pokorny 1959:1151—1152 **u̯er-* 'raised place'; Walde 1927—1932.I:266—268 **u̯er-*; Watkins 1985:76 **wer-* and 2000:99 **wer-* 'to raise, to lift, to hold suspended'; Mann 1984—1987:1519 **u̯erĥs-* 'top', 1601—1602 **u̯r̥ks-* (**u̯r̥ksos*, *-us*, *-i̯os*) 'tip, top, summit'; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.III:160—161; Mallory—Adams 1997:416 **u̯ers-* 'peak'; Fraenkel 1962—1965.II:1262—1263; Smoczyński 2007.1:759; Derksen 2008:538 **urs-u-* and 2015:506 **urs-u-*. Perhaps also Armenian *ger* (< **wer-*) 'up, upon'. Mann 1984—1987:1516 **u̯er-* (?) 'up, upon'.

D. Uralic: Proto-Finno-Ugrian **wärä* '(wooded) hill or mountain' > Finnish *vaara* 'hill, mountain, (especially) wooded hill'; Estonian *vaar* 'hillock, mound'; Lapp / Saami *varre*/*vare-* 'mountain', (Kola) 'forest'; (?) Votyak / Udmurt *vyr* 'hill'; (?) Zyrian / Komi *võr* 'forest'; Vogul / Mansi *wœœr* 'forest'; Ostyak / Xanty (Northern) *wŭr* (*wər*) 'wooded mountain ridge; dense (hardwood) forest'. Collinder 1955:121—122 and 1977:134; Sammallahti 1988:551 **wårå* 'hill; forest'. Hakola (2000:204, no. 912, **wārɜ* 'hill, mountain') proposes a different etymology: Finnish *vaara* 'hill, mountain', *varustaa* 'to equip, to provide, to fortify', *varustus* 'equipment, fortification', *vare* 'pile of stones'; Estonian *vare* 'pile of

stones, stone ruin'; Hungarian *vár* 'fortress, stronghold, castle, citadel', *város* 'town, city, municipality'.

Buck 1949:1.22 mountain; hill; 12.31 high; 12.33 top; 12.58 tall. Illič-Svityč 1965:337 **wärʌ* 'mountain' ('ropa'); Bomhard—Kerns 1994:622—623, no. 500; Hakola 2000:204, no. 912; Tyler 1968:809, no. 115. Different (improbable) etymologies in Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 2515, **waʕrê* 'wooded hill/mountain' and, no. 2526, **woRdV* 'to grow (trans.)', 'to raise, to bring up (children/animals)'.

817. Proto-Nostratic root **war-* (~ **wər-*):
(vb.) **war-* 'to burn, to blaze';
(n.) **war-a* 'blaze, flame, heat, warmth'

A. Proto-Afrasian **war-* 'to burn, to blaze': Semitic: Arabic *warā* (base *wry* [وری]) 'to kindle, to fire, to strike fire; to burn, to blaze'. Zammit 2002: 431—432. Egyptian *wrt* 'flame, fire', (reduplicated) *wɜwɜt* 'fire, glow'. Erman—Grapow 1926—1963.1:250 and 1:332; Faulkner 1962:53 *wɜwɜt* 'fiery one' (?); Hannig 1995:172. Central Chadic **war-* 'to roast' > Zime *wor-* 'to roast'. Southern Cushitic: Iraqw *warʔes-* 'to flash (of lightning)'. Ehret 1980:312. Orël—Stolbova 1995:528, no. 2528, **war-* '(vb.) to burn; (n.) flame'; Ehret 1995:462, no. 973, **war-* 'light'.
B. Dravidian: Tamil *uru* 'to burn, to smart, to be angry', *urumam* 'heat (as of the sun, of the atmosphere), sultriness, noon'; Kannaḍa *uri* 'to burn, to blaze; to glow; to burn with fever, rage, envy; to burn or smart (as a wound, as mouth with pepper)', *uripu*, *urisu* 'to cause to burn, to inflame', *uru*, *urapu*, *uripu*, *urupu*, *uruvu*, *urpu* 'burning, flame'; Tuḷu *uri* 'blaze, flame, heat, acute pain, wrath', *uriyuni* 'to burn; to blaze; to feel a burning sensation; to be angry, envious, (belly) hungry'; Telugu *uriyu* 'to burn (intr.), to be afflicted, to grieve', *uralu* 'to burn (intr.), to be ablaze'; Kui *ruta* (*ruti-*) 'to set fire, to ignite'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:63, no. 656.
C. Proto-Kartvelian **war-* 'to glow, to light, to blaze; to glitter, to flash': Georgian (reduplicated) *var-var-* 'to glow, to light, to blaze'; Svan (reduplicated) *war-wāl* 'to glitter, to flash, to glance'. Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:127 **war-*; Fähnrich 2007:155 **war-*.
D. Proto-Indo-European **wer-/*wor-* 'to burn': Hittite (3rd sg. pres.) *wa-a-ra-i* 'to kindle, to light', *wa-ra-a-ni* 'is burnt'; Armenian *vaṙim* 'to burn', *vaṙ* 'glow'; Gothic *warmjan* 'to warm'; Old Icelandic *varmr* 'warm', *vermi* 'warmth', *verma* 'to warm'; Swedish *varm* 'warm'; Danish *varm* 'warm'; Old English *wearm* 'warm', *wierman*, *wyrman* 'to warm, to make warm'; Old Frisian *warm* 'warm'; Old Saxon *warm* 'warm', *wermian* 'to warm'; Dutch *warm* 'warm', *warmen* 'to warm'; Old High German *warma* 'warm' (New High German *warm*), *wirma* 'warmth, heat' (New High German *Wärme*), *wermen* 'to warm' (New High German *wärmen*); Old Church

Slavic *varъ* ‘boiling water, heat’; Russian *varít'* [варить] ‘to boil’; Tocharian A *wrātk-* ‘to cook’. Rix 1998a:630 **u̯erH-* ‘to be hot’; Pokorny 1959:1166 **u̯er-* ‘to burn’; Watkins 1985:77 **wer-* and 2000:100 **wer-* ‘to burn’; Mallory—Adams 1997:88 **u̯er-* ‘to burn’; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.II:683 **u̯er-* and 1995.I:590 **wer-* ‘to burn’; Orël 2003:449 Proto-Germanic **warmaz*, 449 **warmjanan*; Kroonen 2013:575 Proto-Germanic **warma-* ‘warm’ (< **g^{wh}or-mo-*); Feist 1939:552; Lehmann 1986:394—395 **wer-* ‘to burn, to cook’; Falk—Torp 1903—1906.II:428; De Vries 1977:646 and 656; Klein 1971:821; Onions 1966:992—993 Common Germanic **warmaz*, with variant **werm-*; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:838 **u̯er-*, **u̯or-*; Kluge—Seebold 1989:777 Germanic **warma-*; Kloekhorst 2008b: 923—925; Derksen 2008:512—513.

Sumerian (reduplicated) *ur$_4$-ur$_4$* ‘to burn up, to consume, to flicker, to flame, to glitter, to glisten’.

Buck 1949:1.85 burn (vb.); 15.85 hot, warm. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:612—613, no. 491; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 2508, **wAr[i]* ‘to burn, to heat’.

818. Proto-Nostratic root **war-* (~ **wər-*) and/or **wir-* (~ **wer-*):
(vb.) **war-* and/or **wir-* ‘to say, to speak, to tell, to point out, to make known’;
(n.) **war-a* and/or **wir-a* ‘news, report, gossip, speech’

A. Proto-Afrasian **war-* ‘to say, to speak, to tell, to point out, to make known’: Proto-Semitic **war-ay-* ‘to say, to speak, to tell, to point out, to make known’ > Arabic *warā* (base *wry* [وری]) ‘to show’; Sabaean *wry* ‘to make known, to announce’; Geez / Ethiopic *waraya* [ወረየ] ‘to tell news, to narrate’, *ware* [ወሬ] ‘news’; Tigrinya *wäre* ‘notice, fame’; Tigre *wära* ‘to announce’, *wäre* ‘communication’; Amharic *wäre* ‘news’. Leslau 1987:618. Arabic (reduplicated) *warwara* ‘to sharpen one’s look, to look sharply at; to speak fast’. D. Cohen 1970— :623—624. Egyptian (Demotic) *wꜣḥ* ‘message, matter, news’; Coptic *wō* [ⲟⲩⲱ] ‘news, report’. Vycichl 1983:230; Černý 1976:210. Proto-East Cushitic **war-* ‘to make known, to tell news’ > Burji *waar-iy-* ‘to tell’; Saho-Afar *war-e* ‘news’; Somali *war* ‘news’; Sidamo *waar-* ‘to gossip, to tell (news), to talk, to speak’, *wor-e* ‘noteworthy thing’; Hadiyya *wor-e* ‘fame’; Galla / Oromo *war-ee* ‘fame’. Sasse 1979:42 and 1982:187; Hudson 1989:225 and 399. Proto-East Cushitic (caus. mid.) **war-s-t-* ‘to inquire about news’ > Burji *wors-ad-* ‘to ask’; Afar *war-is-*, *war-s-it-* ‘to tell news’; Somali *war-s-ad-* ‘to get news’; Rendille *war-s-ad-*, *wor-s-ad-* ‘to ask’. Hudson 1989:22; Sasse 1979:42 and 1982:181. Chadic: Ngizim *wə̀řdú* ‘to cry out’. Omotic: Mocha *wóro* ‘news’. Ehret 1995:462, no. 972, **war-*/**wir-* ‘to call out’.

B. Proto-Dravidian *ve<u>rr</u>- ‘to say, to speak, to tell’: Gondi *vehānā* ‘to tell’; Koṇḍa *veʀ-* ‘to speak, to tell’; Pengo *vec-* (*vecc-*) ‘to speak’; Manḍa *veh-* ‘to tell, to say’; Kui *vespa* (*vest-*) ‘to say, to speak, to tell’; Kuṛux *bārnā* ‘to be called, termed; to have a title’; Malto *báce* ‘to relate, to tell’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:502, no. 5514.

C. Proto-Indo-European **wer-* ‘to say, to speak, to tell’: Greek εἴρω (< **Ϝερι̯ω*) ‘to say, to speak, to tell’; Hittite (3rd sg. pres.) *ú-e-ri-ya-zi* ‘to invite, to summon, to name’; Palaic (3rd sg. pres.) *ú-e-er-ti* ‘to say, to call’; Latin *verbum* ‘word’; Gothic *waurd* ‘word’; Old Icelandic *orð* ‘word’, *orðigr* ‘wordy’, *yrða* ‘to speak’; Old English *word* ‘word’, *ge-wyrd(e)* ‘conversation’, *wordig* ‘talkative’; Old Frisian *word* ‘word’; Old Saxon *word* ‘word’; Dutch *woord* ‘word’; Old High German *wort* ‘word’ (New High German *Wort*); Old Prussian (nom. sg. m.) *wīrds*, *wirds* ‘word’ (acc. sg. m. *wirdan*); Lithuanian *vařdas* ‘name’. Pokorny 1959:1162—1163 **u̯er-* ‘to speak’; Walde 1927—1932.I:283—284 **u̯er-*; Mann 1984—1987:1516 **u̯er-* (**u̯erō*, *-i̯ō*) ‘to speak’; Watkins 1985:77 **wer-* (also **werə-*) and 2000:100 **werə-* (also **wer-*) ‘to speak’ (oldest form **wreH$_1$-*, with variant [metathesized] form **wreH$_1$-*, contracted to **wrē-*); Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.I:231 **u̯er-* and 1995.I:200 **wer-*, **wr-eH-* ‘to call, to talk’; Rix 1998a:630—631 **u̯erh$_1$-* ‘to say’; Mallory—Adams 1997:535 **(s)u̯er-* ‘to say, to speak’; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:325—326 **wreH$_1$-*/**wrē-*; Frisk 1970—1973.I:469—471; Hofmann 1966:74 **u̯er-*; Boisacq 1950:229—230 **u̯er-*; Beekes 2010.I:393 **uerh$_1$-*; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.II:756—757 **u̯ere-*, **u̯erē(i)-*; Ernout—Meillet 1979:723; De Vaan 2008:664—665; Orël 2003:475 Proto-Germanic **wurđan*, 475 **wurđiǯaz*, 475 **wurđjan*, 475 **wurđjanan*, 475—476 **wurđōjanan*; Kroonen 2013:600 Proto-Germanic **wurda-* ‘word’; Feist 1939:554 **u̯erdh-*, extended form of **u̯er-*; Lehmann 1986:396 **wer-* ‘to speak’; De Vries 1977:419 **u̯er-* and 679; Klein 1971:831 **werdh-*, extended form of **wer-*, **were-*, **werē-*; Onions 1966:1012 **wr̥dho-*, **werdh-*, based on **wer-*; Boutkan—Siebinga 2005:430—431; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:868 **u̯r̥dho-*; Kluge—Seebold 1989:799 **werdho-*; Derksen 2015:489 **u(e/o)rd^h-o-*; Smoczyński 2007.1:721; Fraenkel 1962—1965. II:1198; Kloekhorst 2008b:1002—1003; Wodtko—Irslinger—Schneider 2008:729—730 **u̯r̥d^h-ó-*, **u̯ord^h-o-* ‘word’. Note: Hittite (1st sg. pres. act.) *ḫu-u-wa-ar-taḫ-ḫi* ‘to curse’, (nom. sg.) *ḫur-ta-iš*, *ḫur-ta-aš*, *ḫur-da-a-iš*, *ḫu-u-ur-ta-iš* ‘curse’ do not belong here.

Buck 1949:18.21 speak, talk; 18.22 say. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:613—614, no. 492, and 1996a:233—234; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 2513, **werV* ‘to speak; communication’.

819. Proto-Nostratic root **was^y-* (~ **wəs^y-*):
(vb.) **was^y-* ‘to be or become worn out, tired, weary, fatigued, exhausted’;

(n.) *was^{y}-*a* ‘weariness, fatigue, exhaustion’
Identical to:
(vb.) *was^{y}- ‘to crush, to grind, to pound, to wear out; to wither, to fade, to rot away, to waste away, to dry up, to decay’;
(n.) *was^{y}-*a* ‘the act of crushing, grinding, pounding; wasting away, decay, decomposition’

A. Proto-Afrasian *was^{y}- ‘to be or become worn out, tired, weary, fatigued, exhausted’: Proto-Semitic *was^{y}-*in*- ‘to sleep, to go to sleep, to be asleep’ (originally ‘to be tired, weary, fatigued, exhausted, sleepy’) > Hebrew **yāšēn* [יָשֵׁן] ‘to sleep, to go to sleep, to be asleep’, *yāšēn* [יָשֵׁן] ‘sleeping’; Ugaritic *yšn* ‘to sleep’; Arabic *wasina* ‘to sleep, to slumber’, *wasan* ‘deep sleep, slumber, nap’, *wasnān* ‘in deep sleep, slumbering, sleepy, lazy’. D. Cohen 1970— :647 (Cohen notes that Fronzaroli thought it necessary to posit two separate stems for Proto-Semitic: **wašin*- ‘asleep’ and **šin-at*- ‘sleep’); Klein 1987:266; Murtonen 1989:223—224; Zammit 2002:434. Berber: Tuareg *iwhar* ‘to be old’, *zəwhər* ‘to cause to become old, to cause to age’, *tuhere* ‘old age’; Tawlemmet *ucar* ‘to grow old’, *tucəray* ‘old age’; Nefusa *usər* ‘to be old’, *awəssar* ‘old’; Ghadames *usər* ‘to be old’, *awəssar* ‘an old man’ (f. *tawəssart*); Mzab *əwsər* ‘to be or become old’, *awəssar* ‘old’; Tamazight *wsir* ‘to be old, to grow old’, *ssəwir* ‘to cause to become old, to cause to age’, *tusər* ‘old age, decrepitude’, *awəssar* ‘old’; Tashelhiyt / Shilha *iwsir* ‘to grow old’, *tawssərt* ‘old age’; Riff *usər* ‘to be old, to grow old’, *tussər* ‘old age’, *awəssar* ‘old; old man’ (f. *tawəssart*); Kabyle *iwsir* ‘to be old, to be very old, to be decrepit’, *awəssar* ‘old, decrepit’; Chaouia *usər* ‘to be old’, *tuser* ‘old age, senility’, *awəssar* ‘old, old man’ (f. *tawəssart*).
B. Dravidian: Kannaḍa *baccu* ‘to be tired’, *baccelu* ‘tiredness’, *basvəḷi* ‘to be fatigued’; Tuḷu *baccuni* ‘to be wearied, tired, fatigued’, *baccāvuni* ‘to tire, to fatigue’, *baccelu̯* ‘fatigue, weariness, tiredness’, *baccaṅgelu̯* ‘tiredness, fatigue’; Pengo *vāh*- (*vāst*-) ‘to be or become tired’; Kui *vaha* (*vahi*-) ‘(vb.) to be tired, exhausted; to tire, to faint; (n.) weariness, exhaustion’; Kuwi *vwahali*, *wahinai* ‘to be tired’, *vāh*- ‘to be tired, to become tired’, *vāhu* ‘weariness’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:471, no. 5215. Tamil *vēcăṭai* ‘sorrow’, *vēcaṟu* (*vēcaṟuv*-, *vēcaṟṟ*-) ‘to be weary, fatigued, vexed, distressed’, *vēcaram*, *vēcaṟikkai*, *vēcaṟavu* ‘sorrow, weariness, fatigue’, *vēcāṭal* ‘mental agitation’, *vēcaṟu* (*vēcaṟi*-) ‘to be weary, fatigued, vexed, distressed; to be consoled; to rest’, *vēcāṟal* ‘weariness, sorrow; becoming consoled or pacified, rest’; Malayalam *vēcāṟu* ‘anxiety’; Koḍagu *be·ja·ra* ‘sorrow’; Kannaḍa *bējāru* ‘weariness (from fatigue, pain, vexation), annoyance’, *bēsaṟ(u)* (*bēsatt*-) ‘to grow weary or fatigued, to become tired of, to be disgusted or vexed’, *bēsaṟa*, *bēsaṟake*, *bēsaṟike* ‘weariness, fatigue’, *bēsaṟisu* ‘to cause to be weary’; Telugu *vēsaṭa* ‘fatigue, weariness’, *vēsaramu* ‘trouble, fatigue’, *vēsăru* ‘to be troubled or fatigued;

to be disgusted', *vēsarincu* 'to trouble'; Tuḷu *bĕjārụ* 'weariness, fatigue, disgust; fatigued, weary'; Koraga *bisirige* 'homesickness'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:504, no. 5524.

C. Uralic: Proto-Finno-Permian **wäsʸä-* 'to be or become tired, weary, fatigued, exhausted' > Finnish *väsy-* 'to become tired, weary, exhausted', *väsähtä-* 'to become (a little) tired, to be overcome with weariness'; Estonian *väsi-* 'to become tired, weary, exhausted'; Lapp / Saami (Northern) *viessâ-/viesâ-* 'to get a little tired, fatigued, languid', *viesse* 'that easily gets tired'; Votyak / Udmurt *viś-* 'to ache, to be sick'. Rédei 1986—1988:818 **wäśä*.

Buck 1949:4.61 sleep (vb., sb.); 4.84 sick; sickness; 4.91 tired, weary. Illič-Svityč 1965:370 **wä/s/ʌ* 'to become tired (of)' ('уставать'); Bomhard—Kerns 1994:623—624, no. 501; Hakola 2000:210, no. 941, **wäsɜ-* 'to become tired'.

820. Proto-Nostratic root **wasʸ-* (~ **wəsʸ-*):
(vb.) **wasʸ-* 'to crush, to grind, to pound, to wear out; to wither, to fade, to rot away, to waste away, to dry up, to decay';
(n.) **wasʸ-a* 'the act of crushing, grinding, pounding; wasting away, decay, decomposition'
Identical to:
(vb.) **wasʸ-* 'to be or become worn out, tired, weary, fatigued, exhausted';
(n.) **wasʸ-a* 'weariness, fatigue, exhaustion'

A. Afrasian: Egyptian *wš* 'to fall out (of hair), to be destroyed', *wšr* 'to dry up, to be barren, to be despoiled'. Hannig 1995:218 and 221; Faulkner 1962:70; Erman—Grapow 1921:41 and 1926—1963.1:368, 1:374; Gardiner 1957:562.

B. Dravidian: Tuḷu *ujjĕrụ*, *ujverụ* 'a pestle', *ujiḍe*, *jiḍḍe* 'a small mortar'; Belari *ijḍe* 'mortar', *ijgerɨ* 'pestle'; Parji *uyp-* to husk (rice)'; Gadba (Ollari) *uyup-* (*uyut-*) 'to pound (rice, etc.)'; Gondi *ussānā*, *us-*, *usānā* 'to pound with a pestle, to husk rice', *uskāl* 'a big pestle, rice-pounder', *uskal*, *usval*, *usmal*, *uspal* 'pestle'; Pengo *uh-* (*ust-*) 'to husk (rice)'; Manḍa *uhka-* 'to pound'; Kui *uhpa* (*uht-*) '(vb.) to strike against, to impress, to make a mark, to write; (n.) the act of writing against, marking, writing'; Kuwi *ūssali*, *us-* (*uht-*) 'to pound paddy', *uh'nai* 'to pound with a pestle'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:571, no. 583.

C. Proto-Indo-European **wes-* 'to crush, to grind, to pound, to wear out; to wither, to fade, to rot away, to waste away, to dry up, to decay': Hittite *wešuriya-*, *wišuriya-* 'to press, to oppress'; Old Icelandic *vesall* 'poor, destitute, wretched', *visna* 'to wither', *visinn* 'withered'; Swedish *vissna* 'to wither', *vissen* 'withered, faded'; Danish *visne* 'to fade, to wither, to droop', *vissen* 'faded, withered, dry, arid'; Old English *wisnian*, *weosnian* 'to dry up, to wither', *forwesan* 'to wither away, to fade, to decay'; Old

High German *wësanēn* ‘to wither, to fade’, *firwësan* ‘to destroy, to decay’ (Middle High German *verwësen*, New High German *verwesen* ‘to putrefy, to decompose, to decay, to molder, to rot’). Mann 1984—1987:1524—1525 **u̯es-* ‘to wither, to fade, to rot, to waste away’; Mallory—Adams 1997:142 **u̯es-* ‘to crush, to grind, to pound, to wear out; to wither, to fade’; Orël 2003:458 Proto-Germanic **wesalaz*, 467 **wīsanan*; De Vries 1977:657 and 668; Falk—Torp 1903—1906.II:452—453; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:819—820 Middle High German *verwësen* < Proto-Germanic **wĭ̄s-*; Kluge—Seebold 1989:764.

Buck 1949:5.56 grind; 11.27 destroy; 15.84 dry.

821. Proto-Nostratic root **waš-* (~ **wəš-*):
(vb.) **waš-* ‘to add (to), to augment, to increase, to heap up’;
(n.) **waš-a* ‘augmentation, increase, addition, increment’; (adj.) ‘increased, augmented, heaped up, filled, full’

A. Proto-Afrasian **was-* ‘to add (to), to augment, to increase, to heap up’: Proto-Semitic **was-ak-* ‘to add (to), to augment, to increase, to heap up’ > Geez / Ethiopic *wassaka* [**ወሰከ**] ‘to add, to join to, to augment, to supplement, to increase’, *wassəkot* [**ወስኮት**] ‘increase, increment’, *wəssāke* [**ው·ሳኬ**] ‘addition, increment, increase, extra amount’; Tigrinya *wässäk̲ä* ‘to add’; Tigre *wässäkä* ‘to add’; Amharic *wässäkä* ‘to add’; (?) Akkadian *esēḫu* (Mari *esēku*) ‘to assign, to apportion (lots)’. D. Cohen 1970— :568; Leslau 1987:619—620. Proto-Semitic **was-ak’-* ‘to add (to), to augment, to increase, to heap up’ > Arabic *wasaḳa* ‘to store, to heap up, to load freight’. D. Cohen 1970— :571—572; Zammit 2002:433. Egyptian *wsr* ‘to be rich, wealthy; to be strong, mighty, powerful’, *wsr* ‘a wealthy man’, *wsrw* ‘strength, power, might’, *wsrw-t* ‘strength, power, might’, (causative) *swsr* ‘to make powerful’. Hannig 1995:215; Faulkner 1962:69; Erman—Grapow 1921:40 and 1926—1963.1:360—363; Gardiner 1957:562.
B. Proto-Kartvelian **weš-*/**wš-* ‘to fill, to be filled’, **(š)a-wš-e-* ‘full’: Georgian *vs-* ‘to fill, to be filled’, *sa-vs-e-* ‘full’; Mingrelian *(p)š-* ‘to fill, to be filled’, *o-pš-a-*, *e-pš-a-*, *go-pš-a-* ‘full’; Laz *pš-* ‘to fill, to be filled’, *(j)o-pš-a-* ‘full’; Svan *gweš-*/*gwš-* ‘to fill, to be filled’, *gweš-i*, *goš-i* ‘full’ (initial *g-* is secondary). Klimov 1964:86 **ws$_1$-* and 1998:52—53 **wes$_1$-* : **ws$_1$-* ‘to fill, to be filled’, 173—174 **(s)a-ws$_1$-e-* ‘full, complete’; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:133—134 **wes$_1$-*, **s$_1$a-ws$_1$-e*; Fähnrich 2007:161—162 **wes$_1$-*, **s$_1$a-ws$_1$-e*; Schmidt 1962:110.

Buck 1949:4.81 strong, mighty, powerful; 11.42 wealth, riches; 11.51 rich; 13.21 full. Bomhard 1996a:208, no. 606.

822. Proto-Nostratic root **wat^h-* (~ **wət^h-*):

(vb.) *wat^h- ‘to pass (of time); to grow old, to age’;
(n.) *wat^h-*a* ‘year, age’; (adj.) ‘old’

A. Afrasian: Proto-Semitic *wat-ar- ‘to continue (for a long time)’ > Ugaritic *wtr-hd* ‘everlasting’; Arabic *watara*, *ʔawtara* ‘to follow in uninterrupted succession, to continue regularly’; Epigraphic South Arabian *wtr-ʔl* ‘everlasting God’; Geez / Ethiopic *ʔawtara* [**ኦው·ተረ**] ‘to do something with attention, to direct attention to, to pursue earnestly, to fix (the eyes upon), to persevere, to continue, to be assiduous’, *watr* [**ወትር**] ‘uninterrupted time, continuous period of time’, *watra* [**ወትረ**] ‘continually, perpetually, assiduously, frequently, always, often’, *wətura* [**ው·ቱረ**] ‘continuously, entirely’; Tigrinya *wätru* ‘always, continuously’; Amharic *wätro* ‘always, continually, as in the past’; Gurage (Muher) *(a)zwättärä* ‘to do something often’ (denominative from [Geez / Ethiopic] *za-watr* [**ዘ-ወትር**] ‘often’). Leslau 1979:718 and 1987:622; D. Cohen 1970— :654; Zammit 2002: 426—427. Egyptian *wtỉ* ‘to be old’, *wtw*, *wtwtỉ* ‘oldest son’. Hannig 1995:223; Erman—Grapow 1926—1963.1:377 and 1:378. Probably also: Highland East Cushitic: Hadiyya *watara* ‘young of animals’; Kambata *watara*, (f.) *watara-t*, (f. pl.) *watarra-t* ‘young of animals’, *waataan-cu* ‘calf, young; new-born’. Hudson 1989:172—173. Semantic development as in Sanskrit *vatsá-ḥ* ‘yearling, calf, the young of any animal’ cited below.

B. Proto-Indo-European *wet^h- ‘(vb.) to pass (of time); to grow old, to age; (adj.) old; (n.) year, age’: Hittite (acc. sg.) *ú-it-tan* ‘year’; Sanskrit *vatsará-ḥ* ‘a year’, *vatsá-ḥ* ‘yearling, calf, the young of any animal’; Albanian *vit*, *vjet* ‘year’, (adv.) *vjet* ‘last year’, *viç* ‘calf’, *vjeç* ‘years old’; Sogdian *wtšnyy* ‘old’; Greek Ϝέτος, ἔτος ‘year’; Latin *vetus* ‘old, ancient, of long standing (that is, not new or young)’, *veterō* ‘to grow old’, *vitulus* ‘a bull-calf’; Gothic *wiþrus* ‘lamb’; Old Icelandic *veðr* ‘wether’; Norwegian *veder* ‘wether’; Swedish *vädur* ‘wether’; Danish *væder* ‘wether’; Old English *weþer* ‘wether, sheep’; Old Saxon *withar*, *wethar* ‘wether’; Dutch *weder* ‘wether’; Old High German *wider*, *widar* ‘wether’ (New High German *Widder* ‘ram’); Old Lithuanian *vẽtušas* ‘old’; Old Church Slavic *vetъxъ* ‘old’. Pokorny 1959:1175 *u̯et- ‘year’; Walde 1927—1932.I:251 *u̯et-; Mann 1984—1987:1530—1531 *u̯etesi̯os, *u̯etsi̯os (*u̯etsos) ‘year-old animal; yearling’, 1531 *u̯etəlos, -om ‘year-old, yearling’, 1531 *u̯etos, -es- ‘year, age’; Watkins 1985:78 *wet- and 2000:101 *wet- ‘year’; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.II:783 *u̯et[^{h}]o- and 1995.I:685 *wet^ho- ‘old’; Mallory—Adams 1997:654 *u̯et- ‘year’; Boisacq 1950:293; Frisk 1970—1973.I:583—584 *u̯et-, *u̯etes-, *u̯etes-o-, *u̯ets-i-, *u̯et-o-, *u̯etuso-; Hofmann 1966:97—98; Beekes 2010.I:476—477 *uet-os; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:382—383 *wet-; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.II:776—777; Ernout—Meillet 1979:730 *wet-; De Vaan 2008:672—673; Orël 1998:509 and 2003:459—460 Proto-Germanic *weþruz ~ *weþraz; Kroonen 2013:584 Proto-Germanic *weþru- ‘(male) lamb, yearling’; Feist

1939:571 **u̯ét-os*; Lehmann 1986:408 **wet-*, **wetos-* ‘year’; De Vries 1977:649 **u̯etos*; Falk—Torp 1903—1906.II:460; Onions 1966:1000 Common Germanic **weƀruz*; Klein 1971:825 **wet-* ‘year’; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:856 **u̯et-* ‘year’; Kluge—Seebold 1989:790 **wet-* ‘year’; Walshe 1951:250; Derksen 2008:517 **uet-us-o-* and 2015:500 **uet-us-o-*; Smoczyński 2007.1:745; Fraenkel 1962—1965.II:1233; Huld 1984:129—130; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.III:133.

C. Proto-Altaic **ōtʰe* ‘old’: Proto-Tungus **(χ)ut-* ‘old; earlier, before; old age’ > Evenki *utakān* ‘old age’, *utu* ‘old’, *utēle* ‘earlier, before’; Lamut / Even *ute* ‘old’, *ɔ̄tel* ‘earlier, before’; Negidal *utēle* ‘earlier, before’; Udihe *uteli* ‘earlier, before’; Solon *utaci* ‘grandfather’. Proto-Mongolian **öte-* ‘(vb.) to grow old; (adj.) old; (n.) old man’ > Written Mongolian *ötel-* ‘to age, to grow old’, *ötelül* ‘the state of being old, aging, senility’, *ötegü* ‘old man, senior’; Khalkha *ötöl* ‘old’, *ötgös* ‘elders, seniors’; Buriat *ütelhe(n)* ‘old’, *ütɔ̄* ‘old man’; Kalmyk *ötl* ‘old’, *ötəgə* ‘old man’; Ordos *ötöl-* ‘to grow old’; Moghol *ütäγū* ‘old man’; Dagur *utel* ‘constantly, traditionally’, *utele-* ‘to grow old’, *utāči* ‘old man’; Monguor *sdōli-* ‘to grow old’, *sdōgu* ‘old man’. Proto-Turkish **ɔ̄tü-* ‘old’ > Old Turkic (Orkhon) *ötüken* name of the homeland of the Turks (‘old country’); Karakhanide Turkic *ötüken* name of the homeland of the Turks (‘old country’); Tuva *ötükän* name of a mountain ridge in Tuva; Chuvash *vadъ* ‘old’; Yakut *ötöχ* ‘old, abandoned house’; Dolgan *ötök* ‘everything old’. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:1067—1068 **ōtʻe* ‘old’; Poppe 1960:51 and 108; Street 1974:22 **öte* ‘old (of people)’.

Buck 1949:14.15 old; 14.73 year. Illič-Svityč 1965:337 **w/e/ṭʌ* ‘year’ (‘год’) and 1966b:316, no. 1.33; Bomhard—Kerns 1994:625—626, no. 503; Takács 2004a:214, no. 1714; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 2550, **weṭV* ‘year’ (and/or ‘long time’ [→ ‘old’] ??).

823. Proto-Nostratic root **watʰ-* (~ **wətʰ-*):
(vb.) **watʰ-* ‘to say, to speak, to be talkative’;
(n.) **watʰ-a* ‘sound, cry, chatter, babble, report’

A. Proto-Afrasian **wat-* ‘to call, to speak’: West Chadic **wat-* ‘to call’ > Pero *wat-* ‘to call’. Central Chadic **wat-* ‘to call’ > Tera *wat-* ‘to call’. Omotic **wat-*/**yat-* ‘to say, to speak’ > Ometo *ot*, *yot*, *iwet-* ‘to say, to speak’; Yemsa / Janjero *it-* ‘to say, to speak’; Bench / Gimira *ayṭ-* ‘to say, to speak’. Orël—Stolbova 1995:529, no. 2534, **wat-* ‘to call, to speak’.

B. Dravidian: Tamil *vataṟu* (*vataṟi-*) ‘to chatter, to prate, to be talkative, to lisp, to abuse’; Kannaḍa *odaṟu* ‘to sound, to cry aloud, to shout, to shriek, to howl’ (causative *odaṟisu*), *odaṟuvike* ‘sounding, crying aloud’; Telugu *vadaru*, *vaduru* ‘to prattle, to prate, to babble, to chatter, to jabber’,

vabarũbōtu ‘prattler, babbler’, *odaru* ‘to prattle, to prate, to abuse’; Tuḷu *badaritana* ‘defamation’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:473, no. 5244.

C. Proto-Indo-European **wet^{h}H-*/**wot^{h}H-* ‘to say, to speak’: Latin *vetō* ‘to forbid, to prohibit’ (Old Latin *votō*); Old Welsh (3rd sg. rel.) *guet-id* ‘says’; Middle Welsh *dy-wed-* ‘to speak’, *dy-wawt* ‘said’ (Modern Welsh *gwad-* in: *gwadaf na* ‘I do not say that, I deny that’). Rix 1998a:634—635 **u̯eth$_{2}$-* ‘to say, to speak’; Ernout—Meillet 1979:730; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.II:776 (**u̯ot-* in Welsh *gwadu* ‘to deny’); De Vaan 2008:672; Morris Jones 1913:369—370 **u̯at-* (**u̯$_{e}$t-*), **u̯et/d-* ‘to say’.

D. Uralic: Finnish *vatustaa* ‘to be harping, to chatter’; Estonian *vada* ‘to prattle, to chatter, to jabber’.

E. Proto-Altaic **ŏt^{h}e-* (~ *-t-*) ‘to say, to recite; to ask, to request, to pray; to sing’: Proto-Tungus **(χ)ot-* ‘to shout, to cry’ > Evenki *otutka-* ‘to shout, to cry’. Proto-Mongolian **öči-* ‘to report; to pray; to sing a song’ > Written Mongolian *öči-* ‘to say, to answer, to testify; to pray, to offer (Buddhist)’; Khalkha *öč-* ‘to report; to pray’; Kalmyk *öčə-* ‘to report; to pray’; Ordos *öčö-* ‘to recite loudly (prayer)’; Dagur *učule-* ‘to sing a song’. Proto-Turkic **öt-* ‘to sing (of birds); to say; to ask, to request’ > Old Turkic (Old Uighur) *öt-* ‘to sing (of birds)’, *ötün-* ‘to ask, to request’; Karakhanide Turkic *öt-* ‘to sing (of birds)’, *ötün-* ‘to ask, to request’; Turkish *öt-* ‘to sing (of birds)’; Turkmenian *ötün-* ‘to ask, to request’; Uighur *ötün-* ‘to ask, to request’; Tatar *öten-* ‘to ask, to request’; Chuvash *avъt-* ‘to sing (of birds)’; Yakut *et-* ‘to say’; Dolgan *et-* ‘to say’. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:1068 **ŏt‘e* (~ *-t-*) ‘sound’; Poppe 1960:51 and 135; Street 1974:22 **öti-* ‘to inform, to pray’.

Buck 1949:18.21 speak, talk; 18.22 say. Hakola 2000:211, no. 944; Illič-Svityč 1965:336 **watʌ* ‘to speak’ (‘говорить’).

824. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **wat’^{y}-a* ‘the belly, stomach, bowels; womb; the interior or inside of anything’:

A. Proto-Dravidian **vac(-Vr̲)-* ‘the belly, stomach, bowels; womb; the interior or inside of anything’: Tamil *vayir̲u* ‘belly, stomach, paunch, womb, center, heart of a tree, interior, inner space, mind’, *vayin̲* ‘belly, stomach’, *vayā* ‘fetus, womb’; Malayalam *vayar̲u* ‘belly, stomach, inside, receptacle of fruit-seeds’, *vayar̲am* ‘big-bellied’; Kannaḍa *basar̲(u)*, *basir̲*, *basur̲(u)*, *basr̲u* ‘belly, abdomen, womb, pregnancy, embryo, the inside, hold of a ship’, *basar̲i*, *basur̲i* ‘pregnant woman’; Kota *vi·r* ‘belly, pregnant’; Tuḷu *bañji* ‘stomach, belly, womb, interior or inner part (as of a tree), mind, heart’, *basuri*, *basuru* ‘pregnancy’; Koṇḍa *vaski* ‘small intestines’; Pengo (pl.) *vahiŋ* ‘intestines’; Maṇḍa *vahiŋ* ‘intestines’; Kui *vahi* ‘intestines, entrails, bowels’; Kuwi *vwāhi* ‘entrails’, *wahi* ‘stomach, intestines’.

Krishnamurti 2003:484 **wac-Vt̲* ‘stomach, fetus’; Burrow—Emeneau 1984:474, no. 5259.

B. Proto-Indo-European **wet’-er-o-/*ut’-er-o-* ‘the belly, stomach, bowels; womb; the interior or inside of anything’: Sanskrit *udára-m* ‘the belly, stomach, bowels; womb; the interior or inside of anything’; Avestan *udara-* ‘belly, stomach’; Greek (Hesychius) ὅδερος· (with ὁ- for ὑ-) ‘stomach’ (cf. Attic ὕδερος ‘dropsy’), (Hesychius) ὕστρος· ‘stomach’, (Attic) ὑστέρα, (Ionic) ὑστέρη (< *$ud^{s}terā$) ‘the womb’; Latin *uterus* (with *-t-* for *-d-*; perhaps, as suggested by Thurneysen, from **udris*) ‘the womb’; Old Prussian *weders* ‘insides, stomach’; Lithuanian *vėdaras* ‘insides, stomach’; Latvian *vêders*, *vêdars* ‘stomach’; Tocharian B *wästarye* ‘liver’. Pokorny 1959:1104—1105 **udero-*, **u̯ēdero-* ‘belly’; Walde 1927—1932.I:190—191 **udero-*, **u̯ēdero-*; Mann 1984—1987:1474 **uderos*, *-om* ‘belly, stomach’; Watkins 1985:72 **udero-* and 2000:94 **udero-* ‘abdomen, womb, stomach’; Mallory—Adams 1997:2 **udero-* ‘abdomen, stomach’, *$ud^{s}tero/eh_{a}$- ‘abdomen, stomach’; Frisk 1970—1973.II:956 **udero-*, **u̯ēdero-* and II:975—976 **ud-terā*; Boisacq 1950:1008 (Latin *uterus* < **udero-s*); Chantraine 1968—1980.II:1151 and II:1162; Hofmann 1966:387 **ud-tero-*; Beekes 2010.II:1526 **udero-* and II:1539 **ud-tero-*; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.I:104; De Vaan 2008:647 **(H)ud-ér-o-* ‘outer, sticking out’; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.II:846 **udris*; **ud-tro-*, **udero-*; Ernout—Meillet 1979:757; Van Windekens 1976—1982.I:565; Adams 1999:598 *$ud^{s}tryo$-, **ud-tero-*, **ud-ero-*; Smoczyński 2007.1:727; Fraenkel 1962—1965.II:1210—1211; Derksen 2015:494 **ud-ero-m*.

C. Uralic: Proto-Finno-Ugrian *$wat^{y}a$ ‘the belly, stomach, bowels; womb; the interior or inside of anything’ > Finnish *vatsa* ‘stomach, belly’; Vogul / Mansi *vaś* ‘stomach’. Collinder 1955:123 and 1977:136; Rédei 1986—1988:547 **waća*.

Buck 1949:4.46 belly, stomach. Illič-Svityč 1965:341 **wa/ć/ʌ* ‘abdomen’ (‘живот’); Bomhard—Kerns 1994:617, no. 496; Hakola 2000:211, no. 943.

825. Proto-Nostratic exclamation **way* ‘woe!’:

A. Proto-Afrasian **way* exclamation: ‘woe!’: Proto-Semitic **way* exclamation: ‘woe!’ > Akkadian *ai* ‘woe!’; Syriac *wāy* ‘woe!’; Arabic *way* ‘woe!, shame!’; Soqoṭri *woy* ‘woe!’; Geez / Ethiopic *way* [ወይ] ‘woe!, ah!, alas!’; Tigrinya *wäy*, *way* ‘woe!’; Tigre *wāy* ‘woe!’; Harari *wāy* ‘woe!, misery’; Amharic *wäyy*, *wäyyo*, *wäyyäw*, *awäyy*, *əwayy* ‘woe!’; Gurage *wa*, (Eža) *way* exclamation expressing pain: ‘woe!’. Leslau 1963:162, 1979:639, and 1987:623; D. Cohen 1970— :531; Zammit 2002:443. Egyptian *wy* ‘woe!’; Coptic *woy* [ⲟⲩⲟ(ⲉ)ⲓ] ‘woe!’. Hannig 1995:179; Vycichl 1983:230; Černý 1976:209. Cushitic: Beja / Beḍawye *way* ‘alas!’; Quara *wē* ‘alas!’. Reinisch 1895:240. Chadic: Hausa *wâi* ‘woe!’.

B. Proto-Indo-European **way* exclamation: ‘woe!’: Avestan *vayōi*, *avōi*, *āvōya* ‘woe!’; Latin *vae* ‘alas!, woe!’; Welsh *gwae* ‘woe!’; Armenian *vay* ‘woe!’; Gothic *wai* ‘woe!’; Old Icelandic *vá*, *vei* ‘woe!’; Old English *wā*, *wǣ* ‘woe!’; Old Frisian *wē* ‘woe!’; Old Saxon *wē* ‘woe!’; Dutch *wee* ‘woe!’; Old High German *wē* ‘alas!, woe!’ (New High German *weh*); Lithuanian *vaĩ* ‘woe!’; Hittite *uwai-* ‘woe’. Pokorny 1959:1110—1111 **u̯ai* ‘woe!’; Walde 1927—1932.I:212—213 **u̯ai*; Mann 1984—1987:1485 **u̯ai* ‘alas; woe’; Watkins 1985:73 **wai* and 2000:94 **wai* ‘alas’ (interjection); Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.II:724 **u̯ai*; Ernout—Meillet 1979:711; De Vaan 2008:650; Orël 2003:440 Proto-Germanic **wai*; Kroonen 2013:556 Proto-Germanic **wai* (interjection) ‘woe’; Feist 1939:541; Lehmann 1986:387—388 **wai* (interjection) ‘woe’; De Vries 1977:637; Onions 1966:1011; Klein 1971:830 **wai-*; Kluge— Vercoullie 1898:321; Seebold 1989:781 Germanic **wai*; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:843 **u̯ai*; Kloekhorst 2008b:937—939; Fraenkel 1962—1965.II:1179.

C. Uralic: Finnish *voi* in, for example: *voi sinua raukkaa!* ‘poor you!’, *voi kunpa tietäisin* ‘I wish I knew’.

Sumerian *ù-a*, *ù* ‘woe!’.

Bomhard—Kerns 1994:604, no. 479.

826. Proto-Nostratic root **waǯ-* (~ **wəǯ-*):
(vb.) **waǯ-* ‘to flow’;
(n.) **waǯ-a* ‘running water’

A. Proto-Afrasian **waʒ-* ‘to flow’: Semitic: Arabic *wazaba* ‘to flow (water)’, *mīzāb* ‘drain pipe, drain; gutter, sewer; roof gutter’. D. Cohen 1970— : 515. Arabic *wazaġa* ‘to make water in jets (said especially of a she-camel which sprays its urine while walking along)’, *wazaġ* ‘shower’. D. Cohen 1970— :517—518. Egyptian *wzš* ‘to urinate’, *wzšt* ‘urine’. Gardiner 1957:562; Hannig 1995:217; Faulkner 1962:69; Erman—Grapow 1921:40 and 1926—1963.1:357, 1:358. Note: Orël—Stolbova (1995:530, no. 2543) reconstruct Proto-Afrasian **wuĉ-* ‘urine’ on the basis of the Egyptian forms cited above and several East Chadic forms. Jungraithmayr—Ibriszimow (1994.I:192), however, reconstruct Proto-East Chadic **wicē* ‘urine’, which cannot possibly be connected phonetically with the above Egyptian forms. Therefore, the Chadic forms are not included here.

B. Dravidian: Tamil *vaci* ‘rain, water’; Kannaḍa *basi*, *bose* ‘to drip, to drop, to trickle, to ooze, to flow; to pour off water from boiled rice, etc., by inclining the vessel, to strain’, *basu* ‘oozing’; Tuḷu *basabasa* ‘gushing, flowing in a stream’, *bassa* ‘overflowing’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:471, no. 5214.

C. Proto-Kartvelian **weǯ-* ‘mineral spring’: Georgian *veʒ-a* ‘mineral spring’; Mingrelian *menǯ-* (< **waǯ-*) ‘mineral spring’. Fähnrich 2007:162 **weʒ$_1$-*; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:134—135 **weʒ$_1$-*; Klimov 1998:53 **weʒ$_1$-* ‘mineral spring’;

Buck 1949:1.31 water; 1.36 river; stream; brook; 4.65 urinate; urine; 10.32 flow (vb.).

827. Proto-Nostratic root **wed-*:
(vb.) **wed-* ‘to strike (with a weapon)’;
(n.) **wed-a* ‘death, ruin, murder; strike, cut, wound, scar; weapon, axe’

A. Afrasian: Semitic: Arabic *wadā* (base *wdy* [وَدَى]) ‘to kill, to destroy; to perish, to die; to cut off; to kill, to destroy’, *wadiʔ* ‘death, ruin, murder, destruction’. D. Cohen 1970— :500 (*ʔawdā(y)* ‘to perish’); Zammit 2002:430. Berber: Kabyle *wəddəc* ‘to hit, to beat, to strike’.

B. Dravidian: Tamil *veṭṭu* (*veṭṭi-*) ‘(vb.) to cut (as with sword or axe), to cut off, to engrave, to dig (as a well), to injure, to destroy; (n.) cutting, wound, cut, engraving’; Malayalam *veṭṭuka* ‘to cut with a sword or axe, to dig, to engrave’, *veṭṭu* ‘strike, cut, wound, sunstroke, stitch, felling trees, digging, engraving’; Kota *veṭ* ‘cut, mark of a scar’; Kannaḍa *beṭṭu* ‘(vb.) to cause to enter firmly, to strike forcibly into, to impress, to stamp, to coin; (n.) tool for making impressions’; Tuḷu *beṭṭuni* ‘to cut, to circumcise’, *boṭṭuni* ‘to beat (as a drum), to hammer (as metal), to knock (as a door)’, *boṭṭāvuni*, *boṭṭele* ‘drummer’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:497—498, no. 5478.

C. Proto-Indo-European **wed^h-* (secondary *o*-grade form: **wod^h-*) ‘to cut, to strike, to slay’: Sanskrit *vadhati* ‘to strike, to kill, to slay, to destroy’, *vadhá-ḥ* ‘one who kills, slayer, vanquisher, destroyer’, *vádhar-*, *vadhánā* ‘weapon’; Avestan *vāδāya-* ‘to repulse’; Greek (Homeric) ἔθων ‘pushing, shoving’; Lithuanian *vedegà* ‘a type of axe’; Old Prussian *wedigo* ‘carpenter’s axe’; Tocharian B *wät-* ‘to fight’, *weta* ‘struggle, battle’, *wetā$_u$* ‘warrior’, A *wac* ‘combat, struggle’. Rix 1998a:600—601 **u̯ed^{h}h$_1$-* ‘to strike’; Pokorny 1959:1115 **u̯edh-* ‘to hit’; Walde 1927—1932.I:254—255 **u̯edh-*; Mann 1984—1987:1498 **u̯edh-* ‘to fight’, 1558 **u̯ōdhei̯ō* ‘to contend, to fight; to enrage, to incite; to rage, to bluster’; Watkins 1985:73 **wedh-* and 2000:95 **wedhə-* ‘to push, to strike’; Mallory—Adams 1997:471 **u̯edh-* ‘to push, to strike’; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.III:135—136; Frisk 1970—1973.I:449—450; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:316 **wedh-*; Hofmann 1966:70 and 84 **u̯edh-*; Beekes 2010.I:378—379; Adams 1999:590 **wed^h-* ‘to strike (down)’ and 608; Van Windekens 1976—1982.I:541—542 (Van Windekens rejects derivation of the Tocharian forms from Proto-Indo-European **u̯edh-*); Fraenkel 1962—1965.II:1211.

Buck 1949:4.76 kill; 9.21 strike (hit, beat). Illič-Svityč 1965:362 **wedʌ* ‘to chop with a weapon’ (‘рубить’); Bomhard—Kerns 1994:603—604, no. 478; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 2460, **wedV* (or **weʔVdV* ?) ‘to push, to strike, to cut (with weapon)’.

828. Proto-Nostratic root **wel-*:
(vb.) **wel-* ‘to slay, to fight’;
(n.) **wel-a* ‘conquest, victory, defeat, slaughter, massacre; fight, battle, attack’

A. Dravidian: Tamil *vel* (*velv-*, *ve<u>nr</u>-*) ‘to conquer, to overcome, to subdue, to destroy, to remove, to excel’, *ve<u>rr</u>imai* ‘victoriousness, victory, distinctive greatness’, *ve<u>rr</u>an*, *ve<u>rr</u>al*, *ve<u>rr</u>i*, *ve<u>n</u>*, *ve<u>nr</u>i* ‘victory, success’; Malayalam *velluka* ‘to overcome, to surpass, to kill’, *venni*, *ve<u>rr</u>i* ‘victory’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:499, no. 5493.

B. Proto-Indo-European **welH-*/**wl̥H-* (secondary *o*-grade form: **wolH-*) ‘to strike, to wound’: Hittite (3rd sg. pres.) *wa-al-aḫ-zi*, *wa-al-ḫa-an-na-i* ‘to strike, to attack’; Luwian *u(wa)lant-* ‘death’, *u(wa)lantal(l)i-* ‘mortal’; Hieroglyphic Luwian *wal(a)-* ‘death’, *walatali-* ‘mortal’; Greek οὐλή (< **Ϝολ-νᾱ́*) ‘wound, scar’; Latin *vulnus* (*volnus*) ‘wound’, *vulnerō* (*volnerō*) ‘to wound, to injure’; Old Irish *fuil* ‘blood’; Welsh *gweli* ‘wound’; Old Icelandic *valr* ‘the slain’; Old English *wæl* ‘slaughter, carnage, field of battle’, *wōl* ‘pestilence, mortality, disease’, *wælan* ‘to torment, to afflict’; Old Saxon *wōlian* ‘to kill, to slaughter’, *wal* ‘battlefield’; Old High German *wal* ‘battlefield’, *wuol* ‘defeat, ruin’; Lithuanian *vėlė̃* ‘the soul of a dead person, ghost’, *vélnias* ‘devil’, *velỹs* ‘death’; Tocharian A *wäl-*, *wal-* ‘to die’, B *wäl-* ‘to strike, to break’ (perhaps also *Ylaiñäkte* ‘Indra’ [< ‘smiter’]), (?) *wālts-* ‘to crush, to grind; to agitate, to trouble’. Rix 1998a:619—620 **u̯elh₃-* ‘to strike, to attack’; Pokorny 1959:1144—1145 **u̯el-* ‘to tear, to rob, to wound’; Walde 1927—1932.I:304—305 **u̯el-*; Mann 1984—1987:1571—1572 **u̯ōl̥i̯ō*, **u̯oleu̯ō* ‘to roll, to overturn, to ruin’; Watkins 1985:76 **welə-* and 2000:98 **welə-* ‘to strike, to wound’ (oldest form **welə₂-*); Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.II:492, fn. 1, **u̯el-* and 1995.I:413, fn. 1, **wel-* ‘to lacerate, to tear apart; to wound; to kill’; Mallory—Adams 1997:650 **u̯olno/eh$_a$-* ‘(bloody) wound’, **u̯elh₂-* ‘to strike, to kill, to die’; Boisacq 1950:727 **u̯el-*; Frisk 1970—1973.II:443—444 **u̯el-*; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:836—837; Hofmann 1966:244 **u̯el-*; Beekes 2010.II:1125—1126 **uel-*; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.II:827 **u̯el-*; Ernout—Meillet 1979:749—750 Latin *volnus* (<? **welenos*); De Vaan 2008:687; Kroonen 2013:569 Proto-Germanic **wala-* ‘the slain’; Orël 2003:443 Proto-Germanic **walaz* II; De Vries 1977:642 **u̯el-*; Van Windekens 1976—1982.I:554—555 **u̯el-*, **u̯ol-*, **u̯l̥-* and I:555 **u̯l-*, **u̯e$_e$l-*; Adams 1999:519 and 588—589 **welh₂-* ‘to strike’; Derksen 2015:496 **uelh₃-*; Smoczyński 2007.1:732; Fraenkel 1962—1965.II:1218—1219; Kloekhorst 2008b:945—946 **uélh₃-ti*/**ulh₃-énti*.

C. Uralic: Proto-Finno-Ugrian *welɜ- ‘to strike, to kill, to slay, to slaughter’ > Hungarian öl- ‘to kill, to slay, to put to death, to slaughter, to butcher’, öles ‘killing, slaying, slaughtering’, öldöklés ‘massacre, butchery, slaughter’; Votyak / Udmurt vi(j)y- ‘to kill’; Zyrian / Komi (Permyak) vij- ‘to kill, to slay’, (Sysola) vi- ‘to strike (not dead)’; Vogul / Mansi ääl- ‘to kill’; Ostyak / Xanty wel-/(imptv.) wəlä-, (Southern) wet- ‘to kill, to catch’. Collinder 1955:105, 1960:413 *wel'ə-, and 1977:119; Rédei 1986—1988:566—567 *weδɜ-; Sammallahti 1988:551 *wilä- ‘to kill’. I favor Collinder’s and Sammallahti’s reconstructions over the one proposed by Rédei. Illič-Svityč (1965:367) reconstructs Proto-Uralic *w/e/lʌ.

Buck 1949:4.75 die; dead; death; 4.85 wound (sb.); 11.27 destroy. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:629, no. 507; Illič-Svityč 1965:367 *welʌ ‘to slay, to fight’ (‘сражать[ся]’) — Illič-Svityč also includes Altaic material under this etymology. However, the Altaic material appears to go better with Proto-Nostratic *wal- (~ *wəl-) ‘to crush, to grind, to wear out; to rub, to press; to be worn out, weak; to fade, to wither, to waste away’ (cf. Proto-Altaic *ŏli- ‘to be weak from hunger, to starve to death; to die, to fade, to wither’). Forms meaning ‘to kill’ in the Altaic daughter languages (such as Turkish öldür- ‘to kill’, for example) are clearly secondary developments.

829. Proto-Nostratic root *wel^{y}-:
(vb.) *wel^{y}- ‘to be open, to be vacant’;
(n.) *wel^{y}-*a* ‘open space, open land, field, meadow’

A. Dravidian: Tamil *veḷi* ‘(vb.) to be open or public; to be vacant, empty; (n.) open space, outside, plain, space, intervening space, gap, room, openness, plainness, publicity’, *veḷippu* ‘outside, open space, enclosed space’, *veḷiyār* ‘outsiders, strangers’; Malayalam *veḷi* ‘open field; notoriety; outside’, *veḷiccam* ‘publicity’; Telugu *veli* ‘the outside, exterior, excommunication; outside, external’, *velalu* ‘to go or come out, to start’, *velalucu* ‘to send out’, *velupala* ‘the outside, exterior; outside, external’, *vellaḍi* ‘open space; publicity; openness’, *velipa̲racu*, *velipuccu* ‘to make public or known’, *velārincu*, *velār(u)cu* ‘to send or drive out, to make public’; Kannaḍa *beḷavāra* ‘an outcaste’; Parji *valip-* (*valit-*) ‘to expel, to drive away’; Koṇḍa *veli* ‘outside’; Kuwi *vellli kīnai* ‘to excommunicate’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:500—501, no. 5498.

B. Proto-Kartvelian *wel- ‘field’: Georgian *vel-* ‘field, plain’; Mingrelian *ve(l)-* ‘field’. Klimov 1964:82—83 *wel- and 1998:51 *wel- ‘valley, field’.

C. Proto-Indo-European *wel- ‘field, meadow’: Greek ἠλύσιον ‘the Elysian fields’; Hittite *wellu-* ‘meadow’. Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.II:824 *$\underset{\sim}{\mu}$el- and 1995.I:793 *wel- ‘pasture’; Mallory—Adams 1997:200—201 (?) *$\underset{\sim}{\mu}$élsu- ‘meadow, pasture’; Beekes 2010.I:517 (pre-Greek); Kloekhorst 2008b:998 *$\underset{\sim}{\mu}$élnu- (?).

D. Yukaghir (Southern / Kolyma) *ejloː*-, *ejlʹoː*- ‘wide, broad’, *ejlumu*- ‘to widen’, *ejlu* ‘width, breadth’, *ejləš*- ‘to broaden’, (Northern / Tundra) *wejluo*- ‘wide, broad’, *wejlumu*- ‘to widen’, *wejluː* ‘space, expanse’, *wejluorireŋ* ‘widely’. Nikolaeva 2006:455.

Sumerian *ùl* ‘field, cultivated land, meadow’, ul_4 ‘field, meadow’, *úlul* ‘field, meadow, open land, steppe’.

Buck 1949:1.23 plain, field. Blažek 1992a:141, no. 30; Bomhard 1996a:213, no. 612; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 2478, **w[e]ḷ|ĺ[V]hV* (or **wiḷ|ĺ[V]hV* ?) ‘field, plain’.

830. Proto-Nostratic root **welʸ*-:
(vb.) **welʸ*- ‘to well up, to surge, to flow forth, to flood’;
(n.) **welʸ-a* ‘deluge, flood, inundation; surge, wave’

A. Dravidian: Tamil *veḷḷam* ‘flood, deluge, sea, wave’; Malayalam *veḷḷam* ‘water’; Kannaḍa *beḷḷa* ‘flood’; Tuḷu *boḷḷa* ‘flood, inundation’; Telugu *velli*, *vellika* ‘flow, flood, stream’, *velluva* ‘flood, inundation’; (?) Brahui *bēl* ‘large hill-torrent’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:501, no. 5503.

B. Proto-Indo-European **welH-/*wl̥H-* (secondary *o*-grade form: **wolH-*) ‘(vb.) to well up, to surge, to flow forth, to boil up; (n.) surge, wave’: Sanskrit *ūrmí-ḥ* ‘wave, billow’; Avestan *varəmi*- ‘wave’; Gothic **wulan* ‘to seethe’; Old Icelandic *vella* ‘to boil; to well up, to swarm’; Old English *weallan* ‘to be agitated, to rage, to toss, to well, to bubble, to seethe, to foam, to be hot, to boil; to flow, to swarm; to rise (of a river)’, *wiell* ‘fountain, spring’, *wielm* ‘boiling, surging, raging; flowing, bursting forth’; Old Saxon *wallan* ‘to surge, to well up, to boil up’; Old High German *wella* ‘wave’ (New High German *Welle*), *wallan* ‘to bubble, to simmer, to boil, to seethe; to undulate, to float, to flow, to wave’ (New High German *wallen*); Lithuanian *vilnìs* ‘wave’; Old Church Slavic *vlъna* ‘wave’; Czech *vlna* ‘wave’; Polish *wełna* ‘wave’; Bulgarian *vəlná* ‘wave’. Rix 1998a:618 **u̯elH-* ‘to roll; to well up, to surge’; Pokorny 1959:1140—1144 **u̯el-*, **u̯elə-*, **u̯lē-* ‘to turn, to roll’; Walde 1927—1932.I:298—304 **u̯el-*; Mann 1984—1987:1553 **u̯l̥m-* ‘surge, billow; wide mouth, gulf’, 1554 **u̯l̥n-* (**u̯l̥nis*, *-ā*) ‘surge, wave’; Watkins 1985:75—76 **wel-* and 2000:98 **wel-* ‘to turn, to roll’; Mallory—Adams 1997:637 (?) **u̯l̥hₓmi-* ‘wave’; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.I:117; Feist 1939:575—576 **u̯el-*; Lehmann 1986:411 etymology difficult; probably based on Proto-Indo-European **wel-*, **wel-ʔ-* ‘to turn, to roll’; Orël 2003:444 Proto-Germanic **walljōn* ~ **walljaz*, 444 **walljanan*, 444 **walmiz*, 453 **wellanan* II, 453 **wellōn*; Kroonen 2013:571 Proto-Germanic **wallan-* ‘to well up, to boil, to seethe’; De Vries 1977:653; Onions 1966:999 West Germanic **wallan*, beside **wellan*; Klein 1971:824 **wel-* ‘to turn, to roll’; Skeat 1898:702;

Kluge—Mitzka 1967:835 *$\underset{\sim}{\mu}$*el-* and 851 *$\underset{\sim}{\mu}$*el-*; Kluge—Seebold 1989:775 **wel-* and 786; Derksen 2008:547; Fraenkel 1962—1965.II:1254; Smoczyński 2007.1:754 *$\underset{\sim}{\mu}$*elH-C*. Note: The Germanic forms are both phonologically and semantically ambiguous. Some of them may belong with Proto-Nostratic (vb.) **wal-* ‘to set fire to, to burn, to heat up, to warm’; (n.) **wal-a* ‘heat, warmth, boiling’ instead.

C. Uralic: Finnish *vello-* ‘to surge, to heave, to swell’.

Buck 1949:1.35 wave. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:627—628, no. 505; Illič-Svityč 1965:333 **wiłʌ* ‘moist’ (‘влажный’); Hakola 2000:212—213, no. 951.

831. Proto-Nostratic root **wet’-*:
(vb.) **wet’-* ‘to wet, to moisten’;
(n.) **wet’-a* ‘water’

A. (?) Afrasian: Semitic: Arabic *waṭafa* ‘to pour abundantly’, *waṭfā?* ‘raining abundantly (cloud)’. D. Cohen 1970— :530. Berber: Ahaggar *ūḍūf* ‘ritual ablution’. Orël—Stolbova 1995:534, no. 2563, **wVṭVf-* ‘to rain, to pour’ (Orël—Stolbova derive **wVṭVf-* from **ṭif-* ‘drop, rain’). Perhaps also Egyptian *wdḥ* (later written *w$\underline{d}$ḥ*) ‘to pour out, to pour off’, *wdḥw* (later written *w$\underline{d}$ḥw*) ‘offering, offering-table’; Coptic *wōth* [ⲟⲩⲱⲧϩ] ‘to pour, to melt’. Hannig 1995:229; Faulkner 1962:73; Erman—Grapow 1921:43 and 1926—1963.1:393; Gardiner 1957:563; Vycichl 1983:239; Černý 1976:220. Ehret (1995:455, no. 955) derives the Egyptian form from Proto-Afrasian **wadl-* ‘to flow’.

B. Dravidian: Tamil *ōtam* ‘moisture, dampness, flood, sea, wave’; Malayalam *ōtam* ‘dampness in rainy season’; Kannaḍa *odde* ‘wetness, dampness, moisture’; Tuḷu *odde* ‘wetness, dampness, moisture; wet’, *veddè* ‘moist, wet’; Naiki (of Chanda) *vad*, *vod* ‘dew’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:100, no. 1047.

C. Proto-Indo-European **wet’-*/**ut’-* (secondary *o*-grade form: **wot’-*) ‘(vb.) to wet, to moisten; (n.) water’: Luwian (dat. sg.) *ú-i-ti* ‘water’; Hittite (nom.-acc. sg.) *wa-a-tar* ‘water’ (gen. sg. *ú-i-te-na-aš*, nom.-acc. pl. *ú-i-da-a-ar*); Sanskrit *udán* ‘water’, *ud-*, *und-* (*unátti*, *undati*) ‘to flow, to wet, to bathe’; Greek ὕδωρ ‘water’ (gen. sg. ὕδατος [< Pre-Greek **udn̥tos*]); Armenian *get* ‘river’; Umbrian *utur* ‘water’; Gothic *watō* ‘water’ (gen. sg. *watins*); Old Icelandic *vatn* ‘water’, *vátr* ‘wet’; Old Swedish *vætur* ‘water’ (Modern Swedish *vatten*); Norwegian *vatn* ‘water’; Old English *wǣt* ‘wet, moist, rainy’, *wǣtan* ‘to wet, to moisten, to water’, *wæter* ‘water’; Old Frisian *water*, *weter* ‘water’; Old Saxon *watar* ‘water’; Old High German *wazzar* ‘water’ (New High German *Wasser*); Latvian *ûdens* ‘water’; Old Church Slavic *voda* ‘water’; Russian *vodá* [вода] ‘water’; Czech *voda* ‘water’; Polish *woda* ‘water’; Albanian *ujë* ‘water’. Rix 1998a:599 *$\underset{\sim}{\mu}$*ed-* ‘to flow forth’; Pokorny 1959:78—81 **aμed-*, **aud-*, **ŭd-* ‘to wet, to

sprinkle', **u̯édōr*, **u̯ódōr* 'water'; Walde 1927—1932.I:252—254 **u̯ed-*; Mann 1984—1987:1474 **ŭdōr* (**udər*, obl. **udn-*) 'water', 1497 **u̯ēd-* 'wet, damp', 1558 **u̯oden-*, **u̯odn-* oblique stem of type **u̯odōr* (**u̯odər*), 1558 **u̯odōr* (**u̯odər*), (obl.) **u̯oden-*, **u̯odn-* (**u̯odn̥t-*) 'water'; Watkins 1985:73 **wed-* and 2000:95 **wed-* 'water; wet' (suffixed *o*-grade form **wod-ōr*); Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.I:188, II:942 **u̯et'-* and 1995.I:216 **wet'-* 'water', I:579 **wet'-*/**ut'-* 'water', I:583, fn. 13, **wot'-* 'water', I:835 **wet'-* 'water'; Mallory—Adams 1997:636 **u̯ódr̥* 'water'; Boisacq 1950:998—999 **u̯ed-*, **ud-*; Frisk 1970—1973.II:957—959; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:1152—1153; Hofmann 1966:382 **u̯édōr* (**u̯ódōr*), (gen.) **udnés*; Beekes 2010.II:1526—1527 **uod-r*, **ud-n-*, (collective) **ud-ōr*; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.I:103; Huld 1984:121; Orël 1998:483—484 **u̯ed-* and 2003:451 Proto-Germanic **watnan* ~ **watar*; Kroonen 2013:575—576 Proto-Germanic **watar-* ~ **watan-* 'water' (< **u̯od-r/n-*); Feist 1939:553—554 **u̯ed-*; Lehmann 1986:395—396 **wed-*; De Vries 1977:648 **u̯od-*, **ud-*; Onions 1966:994 **wod-*; **wēd-*; **ud-* and 1000; Klein 1971:822 and 825; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:840 **wēd-*: **wod-*: **ŭd-*; Kluge—Seebold 1989:778 **wedōr*; Kloekhorst 2008b:987—988 **uód-r*, **ud-én-*; Derksen 2008:523 **uod-r/n-*; Wodtko—Irslinger—Schneider 2008:706—715 **u̯ed-*.

D. Proto-Uralic **wete* 'water': Finnish *vesi*/*vete-* 'water'; Estonian *vesi* 'water'; Mordvin *ved'* 'water'; Cheremis / Mari *wət*, *wüt* 'water'; Votyak / Udmurt *vu* 'water'; Zyrian / Komi *va* 'water'; Vogul / Mansi *wit* 'water'; Hungarian *víz*/*vize-* 'water'; Forest Yurak Samoyed / Forest Nenets *wit* 'water'; Tavgi Samoyed / Nganasan *beeˀ*/*beda-* 'water'; Yenisei Samoyed / Enets *biˀ*/*bido-* 'water'; Selkup Samoyed *üt*, *öt* 'water'; Kamassian *büü* 'water; river; lake'. Collinder 1955:77, 1965:32, 147 **wete*, and 1977:83; Joki 1973:344 **vete*; Rédei 1986—1988:670 **wete*; Décsy 1990:220 **vetä* 'water'; Sammallahti 1988:541 **weti* 'water'; Janhunen 1977b:176—177 **wit*.

Buck 1949:1.31 water. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:607—608, no.483; Illič-Svityč 1965:334 **wetʌ* 'water' ('вода'); Hakola 2000:214, no. 957; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 2544, **ˊwetê* '(flowing) water'; Greenberg 2002:181, no. 416.

832. Proto-Nostratic root **wig-* (~ **weg-*):
(vb.) **wig-* 'to carry, to convey';
(n.) **wig-a* 'burden, load; conveyance, cart, vehicle'

A. Proto-Afrasian **wig-* 'to carry': (Pre-Proto-Semitic **wigʸ-* > **widʸ-* > **wəʒ-* [~ **waʒ-*] >) Proto-Semitic **waʒ-ar-* 'to carry' > Arabic *wazara* 'to take a heavy burden upon oneself and carry it', *wizr* 'heavy burden, load'; Hebrew *wāzār* [וָזָר] 'criminal, guilty'. D. Cohen 1970— :518—519; Murtonen 1989:213; Klein 1987:190; Zammit 2002:431—432. Proto-

Semitic **waʒ-an-* ‘to weigh’ > Arabic *wazana* ‘to weigh’, *wazn* ‘weight, measure’; Ugaritic *mznm* (base *wzn*) ‘scales, balances’; Ḥarsūsi *wezōn* ‘to weigh’; Śḥeri / Jibbāli *ezún* ‘to weigh’, *mízún* ‘balance’; Mehri *wəzūn* ‘to weigh’. D. Cohen 1970— :517 (< **zn-*); Zammit 2002:432—433. Egyptian (**wig^{y}- > *wid^{y}- > *w̲d̲n* >) *wdn* ‘to be heavy, to weigh’, *wdnt* ‘heavy block of stone’, *wdnw* ‘load, burden, weight’. Hannig 1995:228; Faulkner 1962:73; Erman—Grapow 1921:43 and 1926—1963.1:390.

B. Proto-Indo-European **weg^{h}-* (secondary *o*-grade form: **wog^{h}-*) ‘to carry, to convey, to weigh’: Sanskrit *váhati* ‘to carry, to transport, to convey; to lead, to conduct, to bear along (water, said of rivers); to draw (a cart), to guide (horses, etc.); to lead towards, to bring, to procure, to bestow; to carry away, to carry off, to rob’; Avestan *vazaiti* ‘to carry, to draw, to drive’; Greek (Pamphylian) Ϝεχέτω ‘he should bring’, ὀχέω ‘to carry, to transport, to convey; to drive, to ride, to sail’, ὄχος ‘anything that bears: a carriage, a chariot’; Albanian *vjedh* ‘to steal’; Latin *vehō* ‘to carry, to convey’; Old Irish *fén* ‘wagon’; Gothic **gawigan* ‘to move, to shake’; Old Icelandic *vega* ‘to lift, to weigh’, *vagn* ‘vehicle, sledge, wagon, carriage’; Norwegian *vega* ‘to weigh’; Swedish *väga* ‘to weigh’; Danish *veie* ‘to weigh’; Old English *wegan* ‘to carry, to weigh’, *wægn* ‘carriage, cart, chariot’; Old Frisian *wega*, *weia* ‘to move, to weigh’, *wein* ‘wagon’; Old Saxon *wegan* ‘to weigh’; Old High German *wegan* ‘to move, to shake, to weigh’ (New High German *wägen* ‘to weigh, to balance’), *wagan* ‘wagon, cart, carriage’ (New High German *Wagen*); Lithuanian *vežù*, *vèžti* ‘to carry, to convey, to take’; Old Church Slavic *vezǫ*, *vesti* ‘to transport’, *vozъ* ‘cart’. Rix 1998a:602—603 **u̯eĝ^{h}-* ‘to carry, to transport, to convey; to go, to travel, to drive, to ride’; Pokorny 1959:1118—1120 **u̯eĝh-* ‘to move’; Walde 1927—1932.I:249—250 **u̯eĝh-*; Mann 1984—1987:1499—1500 **u̯eĝh-* ‘(vb.) to carry, to convey, to transport; (n.) conveyance, roadway, means of transport’, 1500 **u̯eĝhen-* (**u̯eĝhn-*) ‘carrier, conveyor, conveyance; carriage, cartage’, 1500 **u̯eĝhidhlom*, *-tlom*, *-trom*, 1500 **u̯ĕĝhs-*, 1500—1501 **u̯eĝhtis* ‘lift, weight, conveyance’, 1561 **u̯oĝheu̯ī̆ō*, 1561 **u̯oĝhos*, *-ā*, *-is*, *-ō(n)*, *-u̯os*, *-u̯ə* ‘conveying, conveyance, cart’; Watkins 1985:74 **wegh-* and 2000:95—96 **wegh-* ‘to go, to transport in a vehicle’; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.II:723 and II:942 **u̯eĝ[^{h}]-* and 1995.I:95, I:360, I:623, I:627, I:835 **weĝ^{h}-* ‘to ride, to convey, to carry by vehicle’; Mallory—Adams 1997:91 **u̯eĝh-* ‘to bear, to carry’ also ‘to ride’ (?); Boisacq 1950:735—736 **u̯eĝh-*; Frisk 1970—1973.I:604 (Latin *vehit* < **u̯éĝheti*), II:455—456, and II:457—458 **u̯óĝho-s*; Hofmann 1966:247 **u̯eĝh-*; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:394, II:843—844, and II:845; Beekes 2010.I:491 **ueǵ^{h}-*; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.II:742—743; Ernout—Meillet 1979:717 **weg'h-*; De Vaan 2008:658; Orël 1998:510 and 2003:452 Proto-Germanic **weʒanan*, 452 **weʒaz*, 460 **wēʒiz*, 460 **wēʒiz* ~ **wēʒō*, 460 **wēʒjan*; Kroonen 2013:577—578 Proto-Germanic **wegan-* ‘to move, to carry’; Feist 1939:212 **u̯egh-*; Lehmann 1986:154 **wegh-*;

De Vries 1977:639 and 650; Falk—Torp 1903—1906.II:434; Klein 1971:819 and 824 **weĝh-*; Onions 1966:988 and 998 Common Germanic **weɣan* (< **wegh-*, **wogh-*, **wēgh-*); Boutkan—Siebinga 2005:434—435; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:831 **u̯eĝh-*; Kluge—Seebold 1989:772; Derksen 2008:518 **ueǵʰ-* and 2015:500 **ueǵʰ-*; Fraenkel 1962—1965.II:1236; Smoczyński 2007.1:746; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.III:177—179.

C. Uralic: Proto-Finno-Ugrian **wixe-* 'to bring, to carry, to convey' > Finnish *vie-* 'to take (away), to bring somewhere (else), to carry, to convey, to lead'; Estonian *vii-* 'to take (away), to bring somewhere (else), to carry, to convey, to lead'; Lapp (Kola) *výkka-/výga-* 'to take (away), to bring somewhere (else), to carry, to convey, to lead'; Mordvin *vije-*, *vijə-* 'to take (away), to bring somewhere (else), to carry, to convey, to lead'; Votyak / Udmurt *vajy-* 'to bring (here); to produce, to bear fruit, to bear'; Zyrian / Komi *vaj-* 'to bring, to hand over, to give; to take (as wife, to marry); to bear (to give birth to)'; Hungarian *viv-* 'to take, to bring somewhere (else), to carry'. Collinder 1955:140 and 1977:150 Proto-Finno-Ugrian **wiγe-*; Joki 1973:345—346; Rédei 1986—1988:573 **wiγe-*; Sammallahti 1988: 551 **wixi-* 'to take'. Yukaghir (Southern / Kolyma) *ege:-* 'to lead by hand', (Northern / Tundra) *wegie-* 'to lead, to carry', *wegii* 'loaded caravan'. Nikolaeva 2006:455.

Buck 1949:10.61 carry (bear); 10.66 ride (vb.). Illič-Svityč 1965:351 **wegʌ* 'to carry' ('нести'); Bomhard—Kerns 1994:455—457, no. 301; Hakola 2000:214, no. 959; Greenberg 2002:33—34, no. 57; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 2463, **w[i]g[ʔ]ê* 'to carry, to take (somewhere)'.

833. Proto-Nostratic root **wilʸ-* (~ **welʸ-*):
(vb.) **wilʸ-* 'to become bright, to manifest, to appear, to come into view';
(n.) **wilʸ-a* 'appearance, manifestation; light, brightness, radiance, splendor';
(adj.) 'bright, manifest, clear'

A. Proto-Afrasian **wil-* 'to become bright, to manifest, to appear, to come into view': Berber: Tuareg *awəl* 'to keep an eye on, to watch over, to watch', *amāwal* 'supervisor'; Ghadames *awall* 'eye'; Riff *wala*, *wara* 'to see, to perceive', *allən* 'eyes'; Tamazight *allən* 'eyes'; Tashelhiyt / Shilha *allən* 'eyes'; Kabyle *wali* 'to see, to look at; to think, to consider', *allən* 'eyes'.Highland East Cushitic: Kambata *will y-* (?) 'to appear suddenly'; Sidamo *willi y-* 'to appear suddenly'. Hudson 1989:21. Southern Cushitic: Proto-Rift **welah-* 'to appear, to emerge into view' > Iraqw *welahat-* 'to appear, to emerge into view'; K'wadza *wilit-* 'to come out of hiding'. Ehret 1980:383.

B. Dravidian: Tamil *veḷ* 'white, pure, shining, bright', *veḷi* 'to break (as day), to clear, to whiten, to become bright', *veḷiṟu* (*veḷiṟi-*) '(vb.) to grow white, to become pale; (n.) whiteness, paleness, light, becoming clear', *veḷu* 'to

become white or pale, to dawn, to become clear or manifest, to whiten (tr.; as clothes)', *viḷaṅku* (*viḷaṅki-*) 'to shine, to become renowned, to be polished, to be clear or plain, to know'; Malayalam *veḷi*, *veḷivu* 'light, clearness', *veḷukka* 'to dawn, to grow white, to be white, to be clean or bright', *viḷaṅṅuka* 'to shine forth, to reflect light, to show itself clearly, to be polished or clean'; Kannaḍa *beḷagu* 'to shine, to become bright, to manifest oneself; to cause to shine, to kindle (as a lamp), to scour, to polish', *beḷar* 'to become white or bright', *beḷa*, *beḷaku*, *beḷagu* 'light, lamp'; Koḍagu *boḷï-* (*boḷïp-*, *boḷït-*) 'to become white', *boḷi* 'light'; Kota *veḷ* 'white, true', *veḷk* 'lamp', *veḷp* 'whiteness, lightness'; Tuḷu *boḷiruni* 'to become white or clear'; Telugu *velũgu* '(vb.) to shine, to give light; to burn, to flame, to blaze; (n.) light, brightness, shining, splendor', *veluka* 'whiteness', *velacu* 'to clean', *velayu* 'to shine, to be splendid, to be renowned', *velaru* 'whiteness', *veli*, *velidi* 'white'; Parji *vil* 'white', *vili-* 'to be white'; Gadba (Ollari) *viled-* 'white'; Kuwi *vella* 'white', *ṛinj-* 'to be white', *ṛīnj-* 'to be white, to burn, to flash, to blaze', *ṛīh-* (*ṛīst-*) 'to make fire, to burn'; Kuṛux *bilcnā* 'to shine, to glitter, to sparkle, to be conspicuous', *billī* 'light, that which is the source of light (lamp, candle), flame, mental or moral illumination'; Malto *bilbilre* 'to shine brilliantly'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:499—500, no. 5496; Krishnamurti 2003:391 **weḷ*/**weṇ* 'white'.

C. Proto-Indo-European **wel-*/**wl̥-* (secondary *o*-grade form: **wol-*) 'to see, to look, to view': Latin *vultus*, *voltus* 'the expression of the face, countenance, appearance, look, aspect'; Old Irish *fili* 'poet, seer'; Welsh *gweled* 'to see'; Breton *guelet* 'to view'; Gothic *wlaitōn* 'to look around', *wlits* 'face, appearance', *anda-wleizn* 'face, countenance', *wulþus* 'splendor'; Old Icelandic *líta* 'to look, to see, to behold', *litr* (< Proto-Germanic **wlitu-z*) 'color, hue', *leita* 'to look for, to seek, to search'; Old English *wlītan* 'to look', *wlitig* 'beautiful', *wlite* 'brightness, beauty, splendor, appearance, form', *wlitu* 'form, species', *wlātian* 'to gaze', *and-wlita* 'face, countenance, surface (of earth); form, shape', *and-wlite* 'face, forehead', *wuldor* 'glory, praise'; Old Frisian *wlite* 'radiance, appearance'; Old Saxon *wliti* 'radiance, appearance'; Tocharian B *yel-* (< **wel-*) 'to investigate', (n. pl.) *yälloñ* 'sense-functions'. Semantic development as in Greek λεύσσω 'to look at, to behold' < **lewkʰ-* '(vb.) to shine, to be bright; (adj.) shining, bright, light'. Rix 1998a:616—617 **u̯el-* 'to see, to notice, to observe, to become aware of'; Pokorny 1959:1136—1137 **u̯el-* 'to see'; Walde 1927—1932.I:293—294 **u̯el-*; Mann 1984—1987:1509 **u̯el-* 'to see, to look'; Watkins 1985:75 **wel-* and 2000:97 **wel-* 'to see' (suffixed zero-grade form **wl-id-*); Mallory—Adams 1997:505 **u̯el-* 'to see'; De Vaan 2008:688—689; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.II:831; Ernout—Meillet 1979:751 **u̯el-*; Orël 2003:469 Proto-Germanic **wlaitōjanan*, 469 **wlitiz*, 469 **wlit(j)an*, 469 **wlītanan*; Kroonen 2013:591 Proto-Germanic **wlītan-* 'to see'; Feist 1939:571—572 **u̯leu̯-*, **u̯el-* and 577 **u̯el-* 'to see',

*$\underset{\sim}{\mu}$l-e$\underset{\sim}{\imath}$d-, *$\underset{\sim}{\mu}$l-e$\underset{\sim}{\imath}$s-; Lehmann 1986:35—36 *wel- ‘to see’, *wl-ey-d-, 408 *wel- ‘to see’, *w$\underset{\circ}{l}$-tu- ‘appearance’, and 413 *wel- ‘to see’, *w$\underset{\circ}{l}$-tu- ‘appearance’; De Vries 1977:352, 358, and 359; Van Windekens 1976—1982.I:591 *$\underset{\sim}{\mu}$el- ‘to see’ and I:596 *$\underset{\sim}{\mu}$el- ‘to see’; Adams 1999:500 and 507 *wel- ‘to see’.

Buck 1949:15.51 see; 15.52 look (vb.), look at; 15.53 sight (subj.); 15.543 sight (obj.), look (obj.), appearance; 15.56 shine; 15.57 bright; 15.61 color (sb.); 15.64 white. Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 2488, *w[e]ĺV ‘to shine, to lighten’.

834. Proto-Nostratic root *win- (~ *wen-) or *wiŋ- (~ *weŋ-):
(vb.) *win- or *wiŋ- ‘to strive for, to wish for, to desire’;
(n.) *win-a or *wiŋ-a ‘wish, desire’

A. Proto-Afrasian *win- ~ *wan- ‘to be pleasant, joyful’: Egyptian *wnf* ‘to be joyful, to rejoice’; Coptic *unof* [ⲟⲩⲛⲟϥ] ‘to rejoice’. Hannig 1995:198; Faulkner 1962:61—62; Erman—Grapow 1921:36 and 1926—1963.1:319; Černý 1976:214; Vycichl 1983:235. Proto-Southern Cushitic *win- or *wan- ‘nice, pleasant, comfortable’ > Iraqw *wanana* ‘soft, gentle’, *wan?es-* ‘to soften’, *wanana?ut-* ‘to be loose’; Dahalo *wíne* ‘good, clean’. Ehret 1980:314. Semantic development as in Old High German *wunna* ‘great joy, bliss’, Old English *wynn* ‘joy, rapture, pleasure, delight, gladness’, *wynsum* ‘pleasant, delightful, joyful, merry’, etc. cited below.

B. Dravidian: Tamil *vēṇṭu* (*vēṇṭi-*) ‘to want, to desire, to beg, to entreat, to request’, *vēṇṭum*, *vēṇum* ‘it will be required, necessary, indispensable; it must’, *vēṇṭām* ‘it will not be required, necessary, indispensable; it must not’, *vēṇṭal* ‘desiring, petition’, *vēṇṭāmai* ‘aversion, dislike, absence of desire, contentment’, *vēṇṭār* ‘those who have no desires; enemies’, *vēṇṭiya* ‘indispensable, required, sufficient, many’, *vēṇṭiyava$\underset{\sim}{n}$* ‘friend, well-wisher’, *vēṇṭunar* ‘those who wish for or desire a thing’, *vēṇ* ‘desire’; Malayalam *vēṇam*, *vēṇṭum* ‘it must, ought, is desired’, *vēṇ* ‘necessary’, *vēṇṭa* ‘useful, required’, *vēṇṭu* ‘must’, *vēṇṭa* ‘must not, need not’, *vēṇṭuka* ‘being necessary, friendship’, *vēṇṭikka* ‘to make necessary, to procure, to acquire’; Kannaḍa *bēṭa*, *bēṇṭa* ‘longings, sexual passion, amorous pleasure’; Telugu *vēḍu* ‘to pray, to beg, to ask for, to wish, to desire’, *vēḍuka* ‘pleasure, joy, desire, wish, fun’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:504—505, no. 5528; Krishnamurti 2003:278 *wēṉ-ṭu ‘wish’.

C. Proto-Indo-European *wen(H)-/*w$\underset{\circ}{n}$(H)- (secondary *o*-grade form: *won(H)-) ‘to strive for, to wish for, to desire’: Sanskrit *vánati*, *vanóti* ‘to like, to love, to wish, to desire; to gain, to acquire, to procure; to conquer, to win, to become master of, to possess’, *vánas-* ‘longing, desire’, *vaní-ḥ* ‘wish, desire’, *vanita-ḥ* ‘solicited, asked, wished for, desired, loved’, *vanú-ḥ*, *vanús-* ‘zealous, eager’; Avestan *vanaiti* ‘to win, to strive for, to conquer’; Latin *venus* ‘charm, loveliness, attractiveness; sexual love’, *vēnor* ‘a hunt’,

venia ‘grace, indulgence, favor’, *veneror* ‘to ask reverently, to beseech with awe; to revere, to respect, to worship, to honor’; Old Irish *fine* ‘a family’; Gothic *wēns* ‘hope’, *winnan* ‘to suffer’, *winna* ‘passion’; Old Icelandic *una* ‘to enjoy, to be happy in, to be content with a thing’, *unað* ‘delight, happiness’, *vinr* ‘friend’, *yndi* ‘delight, happiness’, *vœna* ‘to give one hope’, *ván* ‘hope, expectation’, *vœnn* ‘fine, beautiful’, *vinna* ‘to work, to labor, to do work’, *vinna* ‘work, labor’, *vinningr* ‘gain, profit’, *ýskja*, *æskja* ‘to wish’; Old English *wynn* ‘joy, rapture, pleasure, delight, gladness’, *wynsum* ‘pleasant, delightful, joyful, merry’, *wine* ‘friend’, *wēnan* ‘to hope, to expect’, *wēn*, *wēnung* ‘hope, expectation’, *winnan* ‘to toil, to endure hardship, to suffer’, *gewinnan* ‘to gain, to acquire, to conquer, to take’, *winn* ‘labor, effort, hardship’, *wȳscan* ‘to wish’; Old Frisian *wēna* ‘to hope, to expect’, *wēn* ‘opinion’, *winna* ‘to obtain’; Old Saxon *wān* ‘hope’, *winnan* ‘to suffer, to win’; Old High German *wān* ‘opinion, hope’, *giwinnan* ‘to gain by labor’ (New High German *gewinnen*), *wunna* ‘great joy, bliss’, *wunsken* ‘to wish’ (New High German *wünschen*). Rix 1998a:623—624 **u̯enH-* ‘to grow fond of’; Pokorny 1959:1146—1147 **u̯en-*, **u̯enə-* ‘to desire, to strive for’; Walde 1927—1932.I:258—260 **u̯en-*; Mann 1984—1987:1511—1512 **u̯ĕn-* ‘desire, hope, favor, outlook, charm’, 1514 **u̯enos*, *-es-* ‘desire’, 1515 **u̯ĕnsk̂ō* ‘to desire’; Watkins 1985:76 **wen-* and 2000:98 **wen-* ‘to desire, to strive for’; Mallory—Adams 1997:158 **u̯enh$_x$-* ‘to desire, to strive to obtain’; De Vaan 2008:661 and 663; Ernout—Meillet 1979:719, 720—721, and 721—722 **wen-* ‘to desire, to wish for’; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.II:747, II:749—750, and II:752—753 **u̯en-*; Feist 1939:561 **u̯en-* and 566 **u̯en-*; Lehmann 1986:401 Gothic *wēns* possibly from **wen-* ‘to strive, to wish’ and 404 **wen-*, **wenH-* ‘to strive, to wish, to gain’; Orël 2003:455 Proto-Germanic **weniz*, 455 **wennanan*, 455 **wennō(n)*; Kroonen 2013:579 Proto-Germanic **wēni-* ‘expectation’ and 599 **wunskjan-* ‘to wish’; De Vries 1977:634 Proto-Norse **wunēn*, 666, and 678 Old Icelandic *yndi* < **wuneþia*; Onions 1966:998 Common Germanic **wen-*, 1007, and 1009 Common Germanic **wunska-*, *-ō*; Klein 1971:828 **wen-* and 829 **wen-*; Boutkan—Siebinga 2005:451; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:256 and 869 **u̯en-*; Kluge—Seebold 1989:265 **wenə-* and 800 **wenə-*; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.III:141—142.

D. Yukaghir (Northern / Tundra) *wenke* ‘passion, inspiration, enthusiasm’, *wenkeń-* ‘not meant to live long’, *wenkend'e-rukun* ‘promising’. Nikolaeva 2006:456.

Buck 1949:16.22 joy; 16.61 will, wish (vb.); 16.62 desire (vb.); 20.41 victory. Bomhard 1996a:216, no. 619. Different etymology in Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 2495, **w[o]ṅV* ‘wish, love; luck’.

835. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **wir-a* ‘a kind of tree: aspen, alder, poplar, or the like’:

A. Dravidian: Tamil *viracu*, *viricu*, *virucu* ‘large sebesten’, *viriyaṉ* ‘common sebesten’; Malayalam *virišu* ‘a tree’; Telugu *virigi* ‘*Cordia sebestena*’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:490, no. 5408.
B. Proto-Kartvelian **werxw-* ‘aspen’: Georgian *verxv-* ‘aspen’; Mingrelian *vex-* ‘aspen’. Klimov 1964:84 **werxw-* and 1998:52 **werxw-* ‘aspen’; Fähnrich 2007:161 **werxw-*. According to Klimov (1998:52), Mingrelian *verxv-* ‘aspen’ and Svan *jerxw-*, *werxw-* ‘aspen, poplar’ appear to be recent loans from Georgian.
C. Proto-Indo-European **wer-n-* ‘alder, poplar’: Sanskrit *varaṇá-ḥ*, *varāṇa-ḥ*, *váruṇa-ḥ* ‘the tree *Crataeva roxburghii* (used in medicine and supposedly containing magical powers)’; Armenian *geran* ‘a beam’; Albanian *verr* ‘alder, white poplar’; Middle Irish *fern* ‘alder; mast’; Breton *gwern* ‘alder; mast’; Old Cornish *guern* ‘mast’. Pokorny 1959:1169 **u̯er-(e̯)nā* ‘alder, poplar’; Walde 1927—1932.I:292 **u̯er-(e̯)nā*; Mann 1984—1987:1520 **u̯ern-* (**u̯ernā*, *-is*, *-i̯os*) ‘withy, shoot, sucker; alder’; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.II:635 **u̯er-n-* and 1995.I:546 **wer-n-* ‘alder, poplar; log, beam, mast’; Mallory—Adams 1997:11 **u̯erno/eh₄* ‘alder’; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.III:149; P. Friedrich 1970:149; Orël 1998:500.
D. Chukchi-Kamchatkan: Proto-Chukotian **wirwir* ‘bark of alder’ > Chukchi *wirwir* ‘bark of alder’; Kerek *ujuj* ‘bark of alder’; Koryak *wicwij* ‘bark of alder’; Alyutor *wirwir* ‘bark of alder’. Fortescue 2005:330.

Bomhard—Kerns 1994:614, no. 493. Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 2524, **wirχV* ‘tree (poplar, alder, or similar), shoot’.

836. Proto-Nostratic root (Eurasiatic only) **wos-*:
(vb.) **wos-* ‘to trade, to deal’;
(n.) **wos-a* ‘trade, commerce’

A. Proto-Indo-European **wos-/*us-* (secondary *e*-grade form: **wes-*) ‘to trade, to deal’: Hittite (3rd sg. pres.) *uš-(ša-)ni-ya-zi* ‘to sell’, (3rd sg. pres.) *wa-a-ši* ‘to buy’; Sanskrit *vasná-m* ‘price, value’; Greek (Homeric) ὦνος (< **Ϝόσ-νο-ς*), (Attic-Ionic) ὠνή (< **Ϝοσ-νᾱ́*), (Doric) ὠνά, (Lesbian) ὄννᾱ ‘price, sum paid’; Latin *vēnum* ‘sale’, *vendō* ‘to put up for sale, to sell’; Old Russian *věno* ‘payment; bride price’; Czech *věno* ‘bride price’; Upper Sorbian *wěno* ‘dowry’; Polish *wiano* ‘bride-price’. Rix 1998a:634 **u̯es-* ‘to buy, to sell’; Pokorny 1959:1173 **u̯es-* ‘to buy, to sell’; Walde 1927—1932.I:311—312 **u̯es-*; Mann 1984—1987:1524 **u̯es-* ‘to put, to place, to give, to offer, to sell’, 1529 **u̯esnom* (**u̯osnom*) ‘price’; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.II:747 **u̯e/os-(n-)* and 1995.I:650 **we/os-(n-)* ‘(vb.) to buy, to sell; (n.) price, trade, value’; Watkins 1985:78 **wes-* and 2000:100 **wes-* ‘to buy, to sell’ (suffixed form **wes-no-*; suffixed *o*-grade form **wos-no-*); Mallory—Adams 1997:185 **u̯es-no-* ‘purchase’; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:1302—1303 **wes-*, **wes-no-*; Hofmann 1966:430 **u̯osnos*, **u̯osnā*

(?), *$\underset{\frown}{\mu}$*esnós*, *$\underset{\frown}{\mu}$*esnom*; Boisacq 1950:1082 (Sanskrit *vasná-m* < *$\underset{\frown}{\mu}$*esno-*); Beekes 2010.II:1680—1681 **uos-no-*; Frisk 1970—1973.II:1149—1150 *$\underset{\frown}{\mu}$*es-no-*, *$\underset{\frown}{\mu}$*os-no-*; Derksen 2008:519—520 (Old Russian *věno* 'payment; bride price', etc. < **h*$_1$*ued-no-m*); Kloekhorst 2008b:980—981; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.II:753—754 *$\underset{\frown}{\mu}$*esno-*, *$\underset{\frown}{\mu}$*osno-*; De Vaan 2008:663 *$\underset{\frown}{\mu}$*es-no-* 'price'; Ernout—Meillet 1979:721 Latin *vēnum* < **wesno-* or **wēsno-*; **wosnā* (> Lesbian ὄννᾱ); Mayrhofer 1956—1980.III:177.

B. Uralic: Proto-Finno-Ugrian **wosa* 'trade, commerce' > (?) Finnish *osta-* 'to buy'; Lapp / Saami (Lule) *oases*/*oassasâ-* 'commerce, ware'; (?) Cheremis / Mari *wõžale-*, *užale-* 'to sell'; Votyak / Udmurt *vuz* 'commerce, ware'; Vogul / Mansi *waatel-* 'to trade, to deal', *waata-qum* 'merchant' (*qum* = 'man'); Zyrian / Komi *vuz* 'commerce, sale, payment, tax', *vuzal-* 'to sell'. Rédei 1986—1988:585 **wosa*; Collinder 1955:104 and 1977:119; Joki 1973:298 **vos(a)-*; Sammallahti 1988:551 **wo/isa* 'to buy'.

Buck 1949:11.81 buy; 11.82 sell. Koskinen 1980:110, no. 396; Bomhard—Kerns 1994:608, no. 484.

837. Proto-Nostratic root **wot^h-*:
(vb.) **wot^h-* 'to take hold of, to seize, to grasp, to collect, to take away';
(n.) **wot^h-a* 'the act of taking, seizing, grasping'

A. (?) Afrasian: Semitic: Geez / Ethiopic *wataga*, *wattaga* [**ወተገ**] 'to flee, to escape, to hide (by fleeing), to rob', *watg* [**ወትግ**] 'fugitive'. D. Cohen 1970— :650; Leslau 1987:622. Egyptian *wtḫ* 'to flee', *wtḫw* 'fugitive'. Hannig 1995:324; Gardiner 1957:562; Erman—Grapow 1921:42 and 1926—1963.1:381; Faulkner 1962:71 and 72. Semantic development probably as follows: 'to take, to steal, to rob' > 'to steal something and run away with it' > 'to flee, to escape, etc.', much as the English phrase *to steal away* is used colloquially to mean 'to flee, to escape, to go away (in secret)'.

B. Dravidian: Kui *ota* (*oti-*) 'to fetch (persons)'; Kuṛux *otth^{o}rnā* (*otthras*) 'to take out, to bring out, to expel', *ond^{o}rnā* (*ondras*) 'to bring, to take along, to take for wife'; Malto *otre* 'to take out, to bring out', *ondre* 'to bring'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:93, no. 976.

C. Uralic: Proto-Finno-Ugrian **wotta-* 'to take hold of, to gather, to collect' > Finnish *otta-* 'to take'; Estonian *võtta-* 'to take'; Zyrian / Komi *vot-* 'to pick, to gather, to collect'; Vogul / Mansi *waat-* 'to pick'. Collinder 1955:105 and 1977:119; Rédei 1986—1988:586 **wotta-*.

Buck 1949:10.62 bring; 11.13 take; 11.14 seize, grasp, take hold of; 12.21 collect, gather. Illič-Svityč 1971—1984.II:111, no. 351, **woṭa* 'to get, to obtain, to overtake'; Bomhard—Kerns 1994:633, no. 512.

838. Proto-Nostratic root (Eurasiatic only) **woy-*:
(vb.) **woy-* ‘to make an effort, to act with energy’;
(n.) **woy-a* ‘strength, power’

A. Proto-Indo-European **woy(H)-/*wi(H)-* (secondary *e*-grade form: **wey-*) ‘(vb.) to make an effort, to act with energy; (n.) strength, power’: Sanskrit *vī-* ‘to go, to approach, to set in motion, to arouse, to excite, to impel, to further, to promote’, *váyas-* ‘energy, strength, health, vigor, power, might; vigorous age, youth, prime of life, any period of life, age’; Avestan *vī-* ‘to go after, to drive, to pursue’; Greek ἴς (Ϝίς) ‘strength, force’ (note also Hesychius γίς· [= Ϝίς]); Latin *vīs* ‘force, power, strength’. Pokorny 1959:1123—1124 **u̯ei-*, **u̯eiə-* : **u̯ī-* ‘to let fly at, to go for’, **u̯īs-* ‘strength, force, power’; Walde 1927—1932.I:228—231 **u̯ei-*, **u̯eiā^{x}-*; Mann 1984—1987:1545 **u̯is* ‘strength, youth’, 1545—1546 **u̯isāi̯ō*, *-ēi̯ō* ‘to get strong’, 1546 ***u̯isəros* ‘vigorous’; Mallory—Adams 1997:209 **u̯éih$_{x}$s* ‘vital force’, **u̯eih$_{x}$-* ‘to be strong’; Watkins 1985:74—75 **weiə-* ‘vital force’ and 2000:97 **weiə-* ‘(vb.) to go for something, to pursue with vigor, to desire; (n.) force, power’, zero-grade form **wī-* (< **wiə̯-*); Frisk 1970—1973.I:735—736 **u̯ī-s-*; **u̯ĭ̆s-n-*; **u̯is-en-*; **u̯īs-*; **u̯ī-n-*; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:469 **wīs-*; Boisacq 1950:382 **u̯ei-*; Hofmann 1966:126 **u̯ei-*; Beekes 2010.I:599 **uiH-*; Ernout—Meillet 1979:740; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.II:800—801 **u̯ei-* ‘to be vigorous’, identical with **u̯ei(ā)-* ‘to pursue with vigor’; De Vaan 2008:683; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.III:147—148. Proto-Indo-European **wey-k^{h}-/*woy-k^{h}-/*wi-k^{h}-* ‘(vb.) to overcome, to overpower, to conquer; (n.) fight, battle’: Old Irish *fichid* ‘to fight’; Middle Irish *fich* ‘battle’; Welsh *gwyth* ‘anger’; Latin *vincō* ‘to conquer, to overcome, to defeat, to subdue, to vanquish’; Gothic *waihjō* ‘battle’, *weihan* ‘to dispute’; Runic *uuigaz* ‘fighter’; Old Icelandic *vega* ‘to fence, to fight (smite) with a weapon; to attack, to fight against one; to smite, to slay, to kill’, *veig* ‘pith, strength’, *víg* ‘fight, battle’, *vígr* ‘in fighting condition, able to fight’, *véla* ‘to defraud, to betray’; Old English *wīgan* ‘to fight’, *wīg* ‘war’, *wǣgan* ‘to afflict, to frustrate, to deceive’, *wīgend* ‘warrior’; Old Frisian *wīch* ‘battle’, *wīgand-* ‘brave’; Old Saxon *wīg* ‘battle’, *wēg(i)an* ‘to torment’, *wīgand* ‘warrior’; Old High German *wīhan* ‘to fight, to struggle’, *wīgan* ‘to battle’, (past participle) *gi-wigan* ‘destroyed’, *widar-wigo* ‘opponent’, *wīg*, *wīc* ‘war, battle’, *wīgant* ‘warrior’, *weigan* ‘to torment’, *weiger* ‘bold’; Lithuanian *veikiù*, *veĩkti* ‘to do, to work, to act, to make’, *veikà* ‘activity, work’, *veikìmas* ‘activity, action’, *viẽkas* ‘life, strength’, *apveikiù*, *apveĩkti* ‘to overcome’; Latvian *veìkt* ‘to carry out’; Old Church Slavic *věkъ* ‘age, strength’. Rix 1998a:611—612 **u̯ei̯k-* ‘to overcome, to overpower, to conquer’; Pokorny 1959:1128—1129 **u̯eik-* ‘strong, mighty; hostile force’; Walde 1927—1932.I:232—233 **u̯eiq-*; Mann 1984—1987:1503 **u̯eik-* (**u̯eikō*, *-i̯ō*; **u̯ink-*, **u̯īk-*) ‘force, struggle’, 1563 **u̯oiĝh-* ‘hold, grip; strength,

fortress’, 1563 **u̯oikos* (**u̯ik-*) ‘effort, strain’; Mallory—Adams 1997:291 **u̯eik-* ‘to fight’; Watkins 1985:75 **weik-* and 2000:97 **weik-* ‘to fight, to conquer’; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.II:791—792 **u̯eíkmi*, **u̯ikmés*; Ernout—Meillet 1979:736—737; De Vaan 2008:679—680; Orël 2003:465 Proto-Germanic **wīƺan*, 465 **wīƺaz*, 465—466 **wīxanan* ~ **wīɠanan*; Kroonen 2013:586 Proto-Germanic **wī̆han-* ‘to fight’; Feist 1939:542 and 557; Lehmann 1986:388 **weyk-* and 397—398 **weyk-* ‘to exert force’; De Vries 1977:650 **u̯eiĥ-*, 651, 652—653, 661, and 662; Boutkan—Siebinga 2005:447—448; Smoczyński 2007.1:728; Fraenkel 1962—1965.II:1213—1214; Derksen 2015:494—495 **ueik-*.

B. Uralic: Proto-Finno-Ugrian **woye-* ‘(vb.) to be able, to have power or capability; (n.) strength, power’ > Finnish *voida-* ‘to be able (to), to be capable (of)’, *voima* ‘strength, force, power’, *voimakas* ‘strong, powerful’, *voitta-* ‘to win, to gain, to conquer, to beat, to overcome’, *voitto* ‘victory, triumph’; Estonian *või-* ‘to be able’, *võita-* ‘to triumph over, to conquer, to defeat, to win (in a game)’, *võitle-* ‘to fight, to struggle with, to contend’, *võim-* ‘strength, ability’; Hungarian *vív-* ‘to fight, to struggle with, to fence’, *vívód-* ‘to fight, to struggle against’, *vajúd-* ‘to be in labor’. Rédei 1986—1988:579 **woje-*.

C. Altaic: Proto-Turkic **u(y)-* ‘to be able, to have power or capability’ > Uighur *u-* ‘to be able’. Menges 1968b:153; Décsy 1998:156 *u-* ‘to be able, to endure’.

Buck 1949:4.81 strong, mighty, powerful; 9.95 can, may (3rd sg.). Illič-Svityč 1965:364 **woj(H)ʌ* ‘strength’ (‘сила’); Bomhard—Kerns 1994:629—631, no. 508; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 2557, **woy[ʔ]ê* ¬ **wo[ʔ]yê* ‘power, ability’.

839. Proto-Nostratic root (vb.) **woy-*:
Extended form:
(vb.) **woy-V-k^{h}-* ‘to arrange or put in order’;
(n.) **woy-k^{h}-a* ‘arrangement, order; straightness, correctness, rectitude’; (adj.) ‘straight, right, correct, true’

A. Dravidian: Kannaḍa *oykane* ‘orderly, properly, exactly, clearly’; Tuḷu *vaimè* ‘straightness, fitness, rectitude’; Telugu *ogi* ‘order, a range or line’, *ogin* ‘in order’; Kuṛux *uiraʔānā* ‘to put in order, to arrange’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:94, no. 986.

B. Proto-Indo-European **woyk^{h}-*/**wik^{h}-* (secondary *e*-grade form: **weyk^{h}-*) ‘(vb.) to arrange or put in order, to make equal or similar; (n.) that which is reasonable, true, equal, or similar’: Greek εἰκών (Cyprian [acc.] Ϝεικόνα) ‘likeness, image, portrait’, εἰκός ‘likely, probable, reasonable; reasonably fair, equitable’, εἴκω ‘to be like, to seem likely’, εἰκάζω ‘to make like to, to represent by a likeness, to portray; to liken, to compare’, ἐοικώς, εἰκώς (Ionic οἰκώς) ‘seeming like, like; fitting, seemly, meet; likely, probable’;

Old English *wīg*, *wīh*, *wēoh* ‘image, idol’; Lithuanian *įvỹkti* ‘to happen, to occur, to take place, to come true, to be fulfilled’, *pavėikslas* ‘picture, painting, canvas, image’; Latvian *vīkt* ‘to prepare, to make ready’. Rix 1998a:612 **u̯eiḱ-* ‘to be similar, like’ (?); Pokorny 1959:1129 **u̯eik-* ‘to happen, to prove right’ (?); Walde 1927—1932.I:233 **u̯eik-*; Mann 1984—1987:1503 **u̯eiksəlos*, *-ā* ‘aspect, figure, likeness; like, similar’, 1503 **u̯eik-* ‘like, likeness; likelihood’; Watkins 1985:76 **weik-* and 2000:97 **weik-* ‘to be like’; Mallory—Adams 1997:25 **u̯eik-* ‘to appear’; Boisacq 1950:222; Frisk 1970—1973.I:454—455; Hofmann 1966:71; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:354—355 **weik-*; Beekes 2010.I:382 **ueik-*; Orël 2003:465 Proto-Germanic **wīxan*.

C. Uralic: Proto-Finno-Ugrian **woyke* ‘straight, right, correct, true’ > Finnish *oikea* ‘right, just, correct; right (hand)’, *oiko-* ‘to set right, to rectify, to straighten’, *oikein* ‘right, correct; rightly’; Karelian *oikie*, *oigie* ‘right, true, straight, correct’; Estonian *õige* ‘right, true, straight, correct’; Lapp / Saami (Northern) *vuoi'gâ* ‘really, straight, right, truly’, *vuoi'gâd* ‘right, reasonable, straightforward, outspoken’; Cheremis / Mari *wie-* ‘to become straight’; Mordvin (Erza) *vijede*, (Moksha) *vidɛ* ‘straight; right, just, true’; (?) Hungarian *igaz* ‘true, genuine, real, veritable, authentic’. Collinder 1955:103, 1960:412 **wojkɜ*, and 1977:118; Rédei 1986—1988:824—825 **wojke*.

Buck 1949:12.51 form, shape; 12.91 equal; 12.92 like, similar. Illič-Svityč 1965:358 **woj/ḳ/ʌ* (?) ‘straight’ (‘прямой’); Bomhard—Kerns 1994:631—632, no. 510; Hakola 2000:122, no. 526; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 2468, **woyḳV* ‘straight, even, fit’.

840. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **wun-d-a* (~ **won-d-a*) ‘(young, fine, or soft) hair’:

A. Dravidian: Tamil *oṭṭu* (< **oṇṭu*) ‘stubble’; Malayalam *oṭu* ‘stubble’; Tuḷu *oḍḍu* ‘stubble’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:93, no. 966.

B. Proto-Indo-European **wond^{h}-*/**wn̥d^{h}-* (secondary *e*-grade form: **wend^{h}-*) ‘beard, (young, fine, or soft) hair’: Greek ἴονθος (< **Ϝί-Ϝονθος) ‘the root of a hair, young hair, eruption on the face which often accompanies the first growth of the beard’, ἰονθάς ‘shaggy’ (epithet of the wild goat); Middle Irish *find* (< **wn̥d^{h}u-* or **wend^{h}u-*) ‘a hair’; Old High German *wint-* (< **wend^{h}-*) in *wintbrāwa* ‘eyelash’; Old Prussian *wanso* ‘the first beard’; Russian Church Slavic **vǫsъ*, *ǫsъ* (< **wond^{h}-s-o-*) ‘moustache’; Russian *us* [yc] ‘moustache, whisker’. Pokorny 1959:1148 **u̯endh-* ‘hair, beard’; Walde 1927—1932.I:262 **u̯endh-*; Mallory—Adams 1997:252 **u̯endh-* ‘(a single) hair’, **u̯e/ondhso-* ‘facial hair’; Boisacq 1950:378 Greek ἴονθος < **u̯i-u̯ondho-*; **u̯n̥dhā*; **u̯endh-s-o-*, **u̯ondh-so-*; **u̯endho-*, *-ā*; **u̯endh-es-*, **u̯ondh-es-*; Frisk 1970—1973.I:729—730 Greek ἴονθος < **Ϝί-Ϝονθος*; **u̯n̥dh-* (**u̯endh-* ?); **u̯endh(o)-*; **u̯endh-s-o-*, **u̯ondh-s-o-*;

Chantraine 1968—1980.I:466 **wendh-*; Beekes 2010.I:594 **ui-uond^{h}-o-*; Derksen 2008:386 **uond^{h}-s-om*.

C. Proto-Uralic **wuntɜ* ‘(young, fine, or soft) hair’: Finnish *untuva* ‘fine hair, pubescence, lanugo, fluff, down’; Yenisei Samoyed / Enets *muddut'eˀ* ‘beard’; Selkup Samoyed *umde*, *unde* ‘beard’; Yurak Samoyed / Nenets *munate*, *munocˀ* ‘beard’; Tavgi Samoyed / Nganasan *mundujśaŋ* ‘beard’; Kamassian *müˀzen* ‘beard’; Motor *munducˇen* ‘beard’. Collinder 1955:65 and 1977:82; Janhunen 1977b:96 **munt^{1}ə̂jt^{2}sɜn* (? **munt^{1}ə̂jt^{2}śə̂n*); Rédei 1986—1988:587—588 **wunčɜ* (**wuntɜ*); Décsy 1990:110 **vunta* ‘beard, fuzz’.

Buck 1949:4.14 hair; 4.142 beard. Illič-Svityč 1965:335 **w/o/mdʌ* ‘facial hair’ (‘волосы’); Bomhard—Kerns 1994:632—633, no. 511.

841. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **wur-a* (~ **wor-a*) ‘squirrel’:

A. Dravidian: Tamil *uṟuttai* ‘squirrel’; Telugu *uṟuta* ‘squirrel’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:70, no. 713.

B. Proto-Indo-European **wer-* ‘squirrel’ also ‘polecat, ferret’ (reduplicated forms: **we-wer-*, **wer-wer-*, **wi-wer-*, **way-wer-*, etc.): Farsi *varvarah* ‘squirrel’; Latin *vīverra* ‘ferret’; Welsh *gwiwer* ‘squirrel’; Breton *gwiber* ‘squirrel’; Scots Gaelic *feorag* ‘squirrel’; Old Icelandic *íkorni* ‘squirrel’; Norwegian *ikorn*, *ikorna* ‘squirrel’; Danish *egern* ‘squirrel’; Swedish *ekorre* ‘squirrel’; Old English *ācweorna* ‘squirrel’ (*āc-* = ‘oak’); Middle Low German *ēkeren*, *ēkhorn* ‘squirrel’; Dutch *eekhoorn* ‘squirrel’; Old High German *eihhurno*, *eihhorno* ‘squirrel’ (New High German *Eichhorn*); Lithuanian *vėverìs*, *vaiverẽ*, *voverẽ* ‘squirrel’, *vaiverìs* ‘male polecat’; Latvian *vãvere* ‘squirrel’; Old Prussian *weware* ‘squirrel’; Czech *veverka* ‘squirrel’; Old Russian *věverica* ‘squirrel’ (Russian *véverica* [веверица]). Walde 1927—1932.I:287—288 **u̯er-* ‘squirrel’ (reduplicated **u̯er-u̯er-*, **u̯e-u̯er-*, **u̯ai-u̯er-*, **u̯i-u̯er-*, **u̯ā-u̯er-*); Pokorny 1959:1166 **u̯er-* (reduplicated **u̯er-u̯er-*, **u̯e-u̯er-*, **u̯ai-u̯er-*, **u̯i-u̯er-*, **u̯ā-u̯er-*) ‘squirrel’ also ‘polecat, ferret’; Mann 1984—1987:1550 **u̯ĭ̯u̯erā*, *-is* ‘squirrel’; Watkins 1985:77 **wer-* reduplicated expressive form **wī-wer(r)-*) and 2000:100 **wer-* ‘squirrel’ (reduplicated expressive form **wī-wer(r)-*); Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.II:522 **u̯e(i)-u̯er-* and 1995.I:441 **we(i)wer-* ‘squirrel’ or ‘polecat’; Mallory—Adams 1997:540 **u̯eru̯er-* ‘squirrel’ and 2006:137 **werwer-*; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.II:808 **u̯er-*; De Vaan 2008:685 **u̯e(r)-u̯er-*; Ernout—Meillet 1979:742—743 **wer-*; Huld 2009 **A$_{1}$u̯er-* ‘to raise up, to lift, to suspend, to become vertical’; Orël 2003:7 Proto-Germanic **aikwernōn* ~ **īkwernōn*; Kroonen 2013:10—11 Proto-Germanic **aikwernan-* ~ **īkurnan-* ‘squirrel’; De Vries 1977:284; Falk—Torp 1903—1906.I:134; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:154—155 **aik-wernan*; Kluge—Seebold 1989:167—168; Smoczyński 2007.1:768; Fraenkel

1962—1965.II:1233—1234; Derksen 2015:510—511; Preobrazhensky 1951:106. Note: The usual Modern Russian word for ‘squirrel’ is *bélka* [белка].

C. Uralic: Proto-Finno-Permian **ora* ‘squirrel’ > Finnish *orava* ‘squirrel’; Estonian *orav*, *oravas* ‘squirrel’; Lapp / Saami (Norwegian) *oar're* ‘squirrel’; Mordvin *uro*, *ur* ‘squirrel’; Cheremis / Mari *ur* ‘squirrel’; Zyrian / Komi *ur* ‘squirrel’. Collinder 1955:44 and 1977:63; Rédei 1986—1988:343 **ora*; Décsy 1990:105 **ora* ‘squirrel’; Sammallahti 1988:552 **ora* ‘squirrel’.

(?) Sumerian *ur-a* ‘beaver, otter’.

Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 70, **ʔUrV* (*ba*) ‘squirrel’; Hakola 2000:124, no. 537; Pudas-Marlow 1974:73, no. 225.

842. Proto-Nostratic root **wur^{y}-* (~ **wor^{y}-*):
(vb.) **wur^{y}-* ‘to scratch, to incise, to dig up’;
(n.) **wur^{y}-a* ‘pit, ditch’

A. Proto-Afrasian **wur-* ‘(vb.) to scratch, to incise, to dig up; (n.) ditch, pit, hole’: Semitic: Arabic *warr-at-* ‘ditch’. D. Cohen 1970— :636. West Chadic **wur-* ‘pit’ > Ngizim *wúríyà* ‘borrow pit; any open pit where water can collect’. Central Chadic **wur-* ‘hole’ > Higi Nkafa *wure* ‘hole’. Orël—Stolbova 1995:531, no. 2548, **wur-* ‘pit, hole’.

B. Proto-Dravidian (**wuṛu* >) **uṛu* ‘to plow, to dig up’: Tamil *uṛu* ‘to plow, to dig up, to root up (as pigs), to scratch, to incise (as bees in a flower)’, *uṛavan*, *uṛavōn*, *uṛāvan* ‘plowman, agriculturalist’, (f.) *uṛatti*, *uṛavu* ‘plowing, agriculture’, *uṛāl* ‘plowing, scratching, probing (as bees the flowers)’, *uṛunar* ‘plowmen’, *uṛakku* (*uṛakki-*) ‘to plow’; Malayalam *uṛuka*, *uṛukuka*, *uṛutuka* ‘to plow’, *uṛama* ‘tillage’, *uṛavan* ‘plowman, farmer’; Kota *ug-* (*uṛt-*) ‘to plow, to be plowed’, *ukl* ‘the act of plowing’; Toda *uṣf-* (*uṣt-*) ‘to plow’; Kannaḍa *uṛ-* (*uṛt-*, *utt-*) ‘to plow’, *uṛata*, *uṛuta*, *uṛame*, *uṛime*, *uṛume*, *uṛal uṛuvike*, *uṛike*, *uṛuke*, *uṛke*, *ukke* ‘plowing’; Telugu *dunnu*, *dunu* ‘to plow, to till’, *dukki* ‘plowing, tillage’; Kolami *ur-* (*urt-*) ‘to harrow, to plow’; Naikṛi *ur-* ‘to plow, to harrow’; Parji *uṛ-* ‘to plow’; Gadba (Salur) *ūḍ-* ‘to plow’; Gondi *uṛānā*, *uṛ-*, *uḍ-* (written *ud-*), *urānā*, *uṛdānā* ‘to plow’; Konḍa *ṛū-* ‘to plow, to till soil’; Pengo *ṛū-* ‘to plow’; Kui *ṛūva* (*ṛūt-*) ‘(vb.) to plow; (n.) plowing’, *ūṛa* (*ūṛi-*) ‘to dig with snout, to root up’; Kuwi *ṛū-* ‘to plow’, *ṛuki* ‘plowing, bullock’; Kuṛux *uinā*/*uynā* (*ussas*) ‘to plow’, *ugtā* ‘a plow, plowshare’; Malto *use* ‘to turn up the soil (as pigs do)’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:67, no. 688; Krishnamurti 2003:152 **uẓ-u* ‘to plow, to dig up’.

C. Proto-Indo-European **wor-*/**wr̥-* ‘(vb.) to plow; (n.) furrow, ditch’: Latin *urvum* ‘the curved part of a plow, plow-tail’, *urvō* ‘to plow round, to mark

out with a plow'; Oscan *uruvú* 'boundary-ditch'; Greek ὅρος (Ionic οὖρος) 'boundary', (Mycenaean) *wo-wo* (Ϝορϝοι) 'boundary-ditch, boundary'. Mann 1984—1987:1480 **urꭒos* (**u̯rꭒos*) 'boundary-ridge, ditch', 1581—1582 **u̯orꭒos* 'boundary, moat, boundary-ditch', 1606 ***u̯rꭒ-* (**u̯rꭒos*) 'boundary-ditch, moat'; Mallory—Adams 1997:215 (?) **u̯orꭒos* 'furrow'; Ernout—Meillet 1979:755; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.II:843 and II:843—844 **u̯ʷr̥ꭒo-*; De Vaan 2008:645; Frisk 1970—1973.II:425—426 (Latin *urvus* < **u̯r̥ꭒos*, as opposed to **u̯orꭒos*); Boisacq 1960:716 (Italic **urvo-* < **u̯ʷr̥ꭒo-*); Beekes 2010.II:1109 **ueru-*, **uoru-o-*; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:825—826 **worwo-*; Prellwitz 1905:837—838 **Ϝόρϝος*; Hofmann 1966:239.

Sumerian *uru₄*, *ur₁₁(-ru)* 'to plow'.

Buck 1949:8.21 plow (vb., sb.); 8.212 furrow; 8.22 dig; 19.17 boundary. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:611—612, no. 489; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 2532, ** ʻwûŕû* 'to scratch' ([in descendant languages] → 'to plow').

843. Proto-Nostratic root (Eurasiatic only) **wuy-* (~ **woy-*) or **Huy-* (~ **Hoy-*):
(vb.) **wuy-* or **Huy-* 'to swim, to float';
(n.) **wuy-a* or **Huy-a* 'swim, swimming, floating'

A. Proto-Uralic **(w)uye- ~ *(w)oye-* 'to swim': Finnish *ui-* 'to swim', *uitta-* 'to float'; Estonian *uju-*, *oju-* 'to swim'; Livonian *vojgõ-* 'to swim'; Lapp / Saami *vuoggjâ-/vuojâ-* 'to swim'; Mordvin (Erza) *uje-*, (Moksha) *ujə-* 'to swim'; Cheremis / Mari (Eastern) *ija-*, (Western) *iä-* 'to swim'; Votyak / Udmurt *uj-*, *üj-* 'to swim, to navigate, to go by boat'; Zyrian / Komi *uj-* 'to swim, to wade'; Vogul / Mansi *uj-*, *wuj-* 'to swim'; Ostyak / Xanty *ot'-* 'to swim' (imptv. *ut'ä*), (Northern) *oś-*, *woś-* 'to swim', (Southern) (deriv.) *ut'-* 'to swim'; Hungarian (deriv.) *úsz-* 'to swim'; Yurak Samoyed / Nenets *ŋuu-* 'to swim'; Selkup Samoyed (deriv.) *uurna-* 'to swim'. Collinder 1955:64, 1960:409 **ujõ-* (**wojõ-*), and 1977:81; Rédei 1986—1988:542 **uje- ~ *oje-*; Décsy 1990:110 **uja* 'to swim'; Janhunen 1977b:29 **u-*; Sammallahti 1988:536 **uxɨ-* 'to swim'. (?) Yukaghir: (Southern / Kolyma) *oj-* 'to stream', *ojl'*, *oj* 'stream, current', *ojnə-* 'fast (of a stream)', (Northern / Tundra) *ua-*, *wa-* 'to flow', *waajl* 'stream, current', *woińe-*, *uoińe-*, *uaine-*, *uoine-*, *woine-* 'to flow', *wajdije* 'spurt', *waj(a)γa-* 'to flow, to stream', *wajγuol* 'log brought from upstream', *wajaγije* 'stream'. Nikolaeva 2006:457.

B. Proto-Altaic **oye-* 'to swim': Proto-Tungus **uyV-* 'to swim (of birds)' > Evenki *uyu-*, *uyu-kta-* 'to swim (of birds)'; Negidal *oyị-yan-* 'to swim (of birds)'; Orok *onnō-* 'to swim (of birds)'; Nanay / Gold *ońoan-*, *oyana-* 'to swim (of birds)'; Udihe *wuyan-*, *uyan-* 'to swim'. Proto-Mongolian **oyi-mu-* 'to swim' > Written Mongolian *oyima-*, *oyimu-* 'to swim, to swim

across, to ford'; Khalkha *oymo-* 'to swim'; Kalmyk *ōm-* 'to swim'; Ordos *oǫ̈mo-* 'to pass the ford'. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:1043 **oje* 'to swim'; Poppe 1960:140; Street 1974:22 **oyïmu-* 'to swim (across)'.

Buck 1949:10.34 float (vb.); 10.35 swim (vb.). Bomhard—Kerns 1994:631, no. 509; Illič-Svityč 1965:355 **wojʌ-* 'to swim' ('плыть'); Hakola 2000:199, no. 891; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 2614, **XôyV* 'to swim, to float, to flow'.

				Eurasiatic			
Proto-Nostratic	Proto-Afrasian	Proto-Dravid.	Proto-Kartvel.	Proto-IE	Proto-Uralic	Proto-Altaic	Proto-Eskimo
m-	m-	m-	m-	m-	m-	m-	m-
-m-	-m-	-m-	-m-	-m-	-m-	-m-	-m-

844. Proto-Nostratic indefinite pronoun stem **ma-* (~ **mə-*), **mi-* (~ **me-*), **mu-* (~ **mo-*) ‘one, someone, somebody, anyone, anybody; other, another’:

Note: This may originally have been a demonstrative stem (as suggested by Illič-Svityč), with three degrees of distance:
Proximate: **ma-* (~ **mə-*) ‘this’;
Intermediate: **mi-* (~ **me-*) ‘that’;
Distant: **mu-* (~ **mo-*) ‘that yonder’

As in the stems:

Proximate:	**k^ha-* (~ **k^hə-*) ‘this’;	**t^ha-* (~ **t^hə-*) ‘this’;
Intermediate:	**k^hi-* (~ **k^he-*) ‘that’;	**t^hi-* (~ **t^he-*) ‘that’;
Distant:	**k^hu-* (~ **k^ho-*) ‘that yonder’	**t^hu-* (~ **t^ho-*) ‘that yonder’

A. Afrasian: Ehret (1995:300, no. 568) reconstructs a Proto-Afrasian indefinite pronoun stem **m-* ‘one, someone, somebody’ (cf. Ugaritic *mn* ‘any, a certain’; Arabic *man* ‘he/she/those who, the one who; those who’; Egyptian *mn* ‘someone, so-and-so’). According to Lipiński (1997:330), “indefinite pronouns strictly speaking do not exist in Semitic. The forms used as a kind of indefinite pronouns are based on the interrogative pronoun” (see also Moscati 1964:115). Instead of being derived from the interrogative pronoun, as is commonly assumed, the Semitic forms may indeed be relics of an old indefinite (< demonstrative) stem as proposed by Ehret.

B. Proto-Kartvelian **a-ma-* ‘this, that’, **ma-* pronominal stem of the third person: ‘this, he; this one, that one’: Georgian *ama-/am-* ‘this, that’, *ma-* ‘this, he; this one, that one’; Mingrelian *amu-* ‘this, that’, *mu-* ‘this, he; this one, that one’; Laz *(h)amu-* ‘this, that’, *mu-* ‘this, he; this one, that one’; Svan *am(a)-* ‘this, that’. Klimov 1964:44 **a-ma-*, 124 **ma-* and 1998:2 **a-ma-* ‘this, that’, 112—113 **ma-* pronominal stem of the third person; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:226 **ma-*; Fähnrich 2007:276 **ma-*.

C. (?) Indo-European: Welsh *ýma* (poetical *ýman*) ‘here’; Breton *ama*, *amañ*, *-ma*, *-mañ* ‘here’, (Vannetais) *ama*, *amann*, *amenn* ‘here’; Cornish *yma*, *omma*, *-ma*, *-man* ‘here’. Morris Jones 1913:433; Lewis—Pedersen 1937: 221. Note: Only preserved in relic forms in Celtic.

D. Uralic: Proto-Finno-Ugrian **mu* ‘other, another’ > Finnish *muu* ‘(somebody, something) else; other, another’; Estonian *muu* ‘other, something (or somebody) else’; Lapp / Saami (Ume) *mubbe* ‘one (of two); the other; another, other; (the) second’ (contains the suffix of the comparative); Votyak / Udmurt (derivative) *myd*, *möd* ‘other’. Collinder 1955:100 and 1977:115; Rédei 1986—1988:281—282 **mu*. Yukaghir (Southern / Kolyma) (interjection) *ma*, *maʔ* ‘here it is’, *mə* (affirmative marker) ‘here it is, here you are’, (Northern / Tundra) (interjection) *ma* ‘here it is’, (focus marker) *me(r)-*. Nikolaeva 2006:255 and 261. Probably also: Yukaghir (Southern / Kolyma) *migi(də)-* ‘here’, (Northern / Tundra) *migi-* ‘here’. Nikolaeva 2006:268.

E. Altaic: Common Turkic (**mū*/**mō* >) **bū*/**bō* ‘this’ > Middle Kipchak *bu* ‘this’; Chagatay *bu* ‘this’; Turkish *bu* ‘this’; Azerbaijani *bu* ‘this’; Turkmenian *bu* ‘this’ (oblique *mun-*); Tatar *bu* ‘this’; Kazakh *bul* ‘this’; Noghay *bu* ‘this’; Kirghiz *bul* ‘this’; Uzbek *bu* ‘this’; Yakut *bu* ‘this’. Menges 1968b:121—122; Róna-Tas 1998:74; Décsy 1998:61. Examples from Johanson—Csató 1998. Mongolian *mön* deictic particle serving as a demonstrative pronoun, adjective, adverb, and copula: ‘just this one; certainly, surely, really’.

Sumerian *man*, *mìn* ‘other, another’.

Illič-Svityč 1971—1984.II:70—71, no. 303, **mu* demonstrative pronoun: ‘this, that’; Bomhard—Kerns 1994:675—676, no. 555; Nafiqoff 2003:47—49 **mu*; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 1510, **mu[wV]* ‘this, that’; Fortescue 1998:155.

845. Proto-Nostratic (nursery word) (n.) **ma(a)* ‘mother, mommy’, (reduplicated) **mam(m)a*, **mema* ‘mother; (mother’s) breast, milk’; used as a verb, the meaning was probably ‘to suckle, to nurse; to suck (the breast)’ (as noted by Watkins 2000:50: “[a] linguistic near-universal found in many of the world’s languages, often in reduplicated form”; see also Jakobson 1971[1960]):

A. Dravidian: Kannaḍa *mammu* ‘food (in children’s language)’; Tuḷu *mamma* ‘breast’; Parji *mama* ‘milk (children’s word)’; Kuṛux *mamā* ‘rice (in nursery language)’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:415, no. 4703.

B. Proto-Indo-European (nursery word) **mā* ‘mother, mommy, mama’, (reduplicated) **mamma* ‘mother, mommy, mama; (mother’s) breast’, (dissimilated) **mānā*, **mannā*: Sanskrit *mā́* ‘mother’; Greek μάμμη ‘mama, mommy’, also ‘mother’s breast’; Armenian *mam* ‘grandmother’; Latin *mamma* ‘breast’; Welsh *mam* ‘mother’; Old Icelandic *móna* ‘mother’; New High German (Alemannic) *Mamme* ‘mother’; Albanian (Tosk) *mëmë*, (Gheg) *mamë* ‘mother’; Lithuanian *mamà*, *momà* ‘mother’; Russian *máma* [мама] ‘mama, mommy’. Pokorny 1959:694 **mā* nursery word for ‘mother’, (reduplicated) **mă̄mā*, **mammā*, (dissimilated) **mānā*,

mannā; Walde 1927—1932.II:221—222 *mā* nursery word for ‘mother’, (reduplicated) *mắmā*, *mammā*, (dissimilated) *mānā*, *mannā*; Mann 1984—1987:729 *mắmā* (*mammā*) ‘mother, grandma, female, nurse’ (onomatopoeia); Mallory—Adams 1997:386; Watkins 1985:38 *mā- and 2000:50 *mā- ‘mother’; Boisacq 1950:606; Prellwitz 1905:276 and 280; Hofmann 1966:189; Frisk 1970—1973.II:168—169; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:663; Beekes 2010.II:899; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.II:21—22; Ernout—Meillet 1979:381; De Vaan 2008:361; De Vries 1977:392; Meyer 1891:272; Orël 1998:260. Proto-Indo-European *mā-tʰer- ‘mother’ (no laryngeal!): Sanskrit *mātár-* ‘mother’; Avestan *mātar-* ‘mother’; Old Persian *mātar-* ‘mother’; Old Phrygian ματαρ ‘mother’; Greek μήτερ ‘mother’ (Doric μᾱ́τερ; Mycenaean *ma-te*); Armenian *mayr* ‘mother’; Latin *māter* ‘mother’; Oscan (gen. sg.) *maatreís* ‘mother’; Faliscan *mate* ‘mother’; Umbrian (gen. sg.) *matrer* ‘mother’; Old Irish *máthir* ‘mother’; Old Icelandic *móðir* ‘mother’; Faroese *móðir* ‘mother’; Norwegian *moder* ‘mother’; Swedish *moder* ‘mother’; Danish *moder* ‘mother’; Old English *mōdor* ‘mother’; Old Frisian *mōder* ‘mother’; Old Saxon *mōdar* ‘mother’; Dutch *moeder* ‘mother’; Old High German *muotar* ‘mother’ (New High German *Mutter*); Lithuanian *mótė*, *motẽ* ‘wife’, *móteris* ‘woman’, *mótina*, *mótyna* ‘mother’, *motùšė* ‘mama’; Latvian *mâte* ‘mother’; Old Church Slavic *mati* ‘mother’; Russian *mat′* [мать] ‘mother’; Tocharian A *mācar*, B *mācer* ‘mother’. Pokorny 1959:700—701 *mātér- ‘mother’; Walde 1927—1932.II:229—230 *mātér-; Mann 1984—1987:735 *mātĕ̄ ‘mother’, 735 *mātēr- (*māter-, *mātr̥) ‘mother’, 736 *mātī (*mātiə) ‘mother, nanny’; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.I:49 *māt[ʰ]er-, I:184 *māt[ʰ]er-s > *māt[ʰ]ēr-Ø, II:913, fn. 3, *māt[ʰ]er- and 1995.I:43—44 *mātʰer- ‘mother’, I:158 *mātʰer-s > *mātʰēr-Ø, I:808, fn. 37, *mātʰer-; Mallory—Adams 1997:385 *méhₐtēr (or *mehₐtḗr or *mắtēr) ‘mother’; Benveniste 1973:175—179; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.II:619—620; Boisacq 1950:635 *mātḗr; Prellwitz 1905:293; Frisk 1970—1973.II:232 Greek μήτερ, etc. from a nursery word *mā; Hofmann 1966:201 *māter- from a nursery word *mā; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:698—699 Greek μήτερ, etc. from a nursery word *mā; Beekes 2010.II:948 *meh₂ter-; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.II:49—50 *mātēr; De Vaan 2008:367; Ernout—Meillet 1979:389—390; Orël 2003:273 Proto-Germanic *mōđēr, 273 *mōđernjan; Kroonen 2013:371 Proto-Germanic *mōder- ‘mother’; De Vries 1977:391; Falk—Torp 1903—1906.I:520—521; Klein 1971:478 *māter-; Onions 1966:592 Common Germanic *mōðar-; Boutkan—Siebinga 2005:266 *meh₂ter-; Walshe 1951:156; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:497 *mātér-; Kluge—Seebold 1989:494—495 *mātēr; Van Windekens 1976—1982.I:283—284 *māter-; Adams 1999:447; Derksen 2008:303 *meh₂ter- and 2015:323—324 *meh₂ter-; Smoczyński 2007.1:409—410, 1:410, and 1:411; Fraenkel 1962—1965.I:465—466; Wodtko—Irslinger—Schneider 2008:457—461 *máh₂ter-/*máh₂tr-.

C. Uralic: Finnish *mamma* ‘grandma, granny; ma, mama; old woman’; Estonian *mamma* ‘mom, mommy’; Hungarian *mama* ‘mother, mommy’.
D. Proto-Altaic **mēmV* ‘breast (female)’: Proto-Tungus **meme* ‘breast (female), udder; wet nurse’ > Manchu *meme* ‘wet nurse’; Nanay / Gold *meme* ‘breast (female), udder’. Proto-Mongolian **mömü* ‘female breast’ > Written Mongolian *mömü* ‘female breast’; Khalkha *mȫm*, *mȫmȫ*, *mēm* ‘female breast’. Proto-Turkic **mēme* (**bēme*) ‘breast, nipple’ > Turkish *meme* ‘teat, nipple’; Gagauz *mämä* ‘breast (female)’; Azerbaijani *mämä* ‘nipple’; Turkmenian *mā̈me* (poetical) ‘breast’; Uighur *mämä* ‘breast (female)’; Karaim *mämä* ‘nipple’; Tatar *mɛmi*, *mɛmɛy* ‘breast (female)’; Bashkir *mämäy* ‘breast (female)’; Noghay *mämäy* ‘breast (female)’; Yakut *mēmē* ‘baby’s pacifier’. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:911 **mēmV* ‘female breast, foster-mother’.
E. Proto-Eskimo **mamaʁ(-)* ‘to suck (breast)’: Central Siberian Yupik *mamaq* ‘breast, milk’, *mamaʁ-* ‘to suck (breast)’; Sirenik *mamәʁ-* ‘to suck (breast)’, *mamәX* ‘milk’, *mamaX*, *mamәX* ‘breast’; Seward Peninsula Inuit (Qawiaraq) *mamaq-* ‘to smell good’; North Alaskan Inuit *mamaq-* ‘to taste good’, *mamaun* ‘udder’; Western Canadian Inuit *mamaq-* ‘to taste good’, *mamaun* ‘udder’ (in Copper, also ‘woman’s breast’); Eastern Canadian Inuit *mamaq-* ‘to taste good’, *mamauti* ‘udder’; Greenlandic Inuit *mamaʁ-* ‘to taste good’, *mamma* ‘food (in baby talk)’. Fortescue—Jacobson—Kaplan 1994:188.

Buck 1949:2.31ff. words for family relationship (p. 94); 4.41 breast (of woman). Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 1356, **ma[ʔ]a(-yV)* ‘mother’.

846. Proto-Nostratic negative/prohibitive particle **ma(ʔ)-* (~ **mə(ʔ)-*) ‘no, not’:

A. Proto-Afrasian **ma(ʔ)-* negative/prohibitive particle: ‘no, not’: Proto-Semitic **ma(ʔ)* negative/prohibitive particle: ‘no, not’ > Arabic *mā* ‘not’; Harari *mēʔ* ‘not’. Egyptian *m* imperative of the negative verb *i̯mi̯*: ‘do not!’. Hannig 1995:312; Faulkner 1962:100; Erman—Grapow 1921:59 and 1926—1963.2:3; Gardiner 1957:567. Berber: Ayer *ma* ‘not’; Shawiya *ma* ‘not’; Nefusa *mō* ‘no’. Proto-East Cushitic **ma(ʔ)* negative particle > Afar *ma*; Rendille *ma-* negative prefix; Somali *maʔ* (Central Somali *mə* main sentence negative particle); Dasenech *ma*. Sasse 1979:52. Southern Cushitic: Iraqw *ma* ‘do not!’. Ongota negative imperative verb prefix *ma-*, negative non-imperative verb prefix *mi-* (cf. Fleming 2002b:40). Diakonoff 1988:83, §4.4.3; Ehret 1995:301, no. 572, **ma-* ‘to not have’; Militarëv 2012:80—81.
B. Proto-Kartvelian **ma-* negative/prohibitive particle: ‘no, not’: Laz *mo(t)* verbal prohibitive particle; Svan *mā-d(e)*, *mō-d(e)* particle of modal negation: ‘no, not’, *mām(a)* ‘not’, *māma* ‘no’. Klimov 1964:124—125

**mad* and 1998:113 **mad* verbal negative particle; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:227 **ma-*; Fähnrich 2007:277 **ma-*.

C. Proto-Indo-European **mē* negative/prohibitive particle: ‘no, not’: Sanskrit *má* prohibitive particle: ‘not, that not’; Avestan *mā* prohibitive particle: ‘not’; Old Persian *mā* prohibitive particle: ‘not’; Greek μή ‘not’; Armenian *mi* prohibitive particle: ‘do not!’; Tocharian A/B *mā* ‘not, no’ (simple negation and prohibition); Albanian *mos* (< **mē+kʷʰe*) prohibitive particle: ‘do not!’. Brugmann 1904:111; Pokorny 1959:703 **mē* ‘not’; Walde 1927—1932.II:236—237 **mē*; Mann 1984—1987:738 **mē*, **mēqu̯i* ‘do not’; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.II:614; Mallory—Adams 1997:395 **mē* ‘not’; Boisacq 1950:631 **mē*; Frisk 1970—1973.II:222 **mḗ*; Hofmann 1966:199; Beekes 2010.II:941 **meh₁*; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:692 **mē*; Prellwitz 1905:292; Huld 1984:94—95; Orël 1998:274; Van Windekens 1976—1982.I:282—283 **mē(-)*; Adams 1999:445—446 **mē*.

D. Proto-Altaic **ma* negative/prohibitive particle: ‘no, not’: Proto-Tungus **-me* prohibitive particle > Manchu *ume* used for negating imperatives (stands before the imperfect participle); Spoken Manchu (Sibo) *emə* ‘do not’; Jurchen *ume* prohibitive particle; Nanay / Gold *em* prohibitive particle; Oroch *em* prohibitive particle. Proto-Turkic **-ma-* negative particle > Old Turkic *-ma-* negative particle; Karakhanide Turkic *-ma-* negative particle; Turkish *-ma-* negative particle; Gagauz *-ma-* negative particle; Azerbaijani *-ma-* negative particle; Turkmenian *-ma-* negative particle; Uzbek *-ma-* negative particle; Uighur *-ma-* negative particle; Karaim *-ma-* negative particle; Tatar *-ma-* negative particle; Bashkir *-ma-* negative particle; Kirghiz *-ma-* negative particle; Kazakh *-ma-* negative particle; Noghay *-ma-* negative particle; Oyrot (Mountain Altai) *-ma-* negative particle; Tuva *-ma-* negative particle; Chuvash *-ma-* negative particle; Yakut *-ma-* negative particle. Menges 1968b:144; Johanson—Csató 1998. Greenberg 2000:213—214; Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003: 893 **ma* a negative particle. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak remark: “A monosyllabic root, but, unlike the 1st p. pron. or the accusative particle, it did not undergo denasalization in P[roto]-A[ltaic]. This may be explained by the fact that it was in most cases already incorporated into the verbal form as a suffix. It is interesting to note Mong[olian] **büi*, **bu* ‘neg. particle’ — which may be originally the same morpheme, but functioning as a separate word and thus subject to the rule **mV* > **bV*.”

Illič-Svityč 1971—1984.II:56—57, no. 290, **mä* prohibitive particle; Möller 1911:158; Bomhard—Kerns 1994:644, no. 523; Greenberg 2000:213—214, no. 57; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 1353, **mä* ¬ **mäh[o]* ‘do not’ (prohibitve particle) and ‘not’ (negative).

847. Proto-Nostratic root **maʔ-* (~ **məʔ-*):

(vb.) **maʔ-* ‘to increase (in number), to be abundant, to be many’;

(n.) **maʔ-a* ‘large quantity, plenty, abundance’; (adj.) ‘great, big, large, many, abundant’

A. Proto-Afrasian **maʔ-* ‘to increase (in number), to be many, to be abundant’: Proto-Semitic **maʔ-* ‘to increase (in number), to be many, to be abundant’ > Hebrew *məʾōð* [מְאֹד] ‘(n.) strength, might, power; (adv.) very, greatly, exceedingly’, *məʾōðī* [מְאֹדִי] ‘very, much, abundant’, *mēʾāh* [מֵאָה] ‘hundred’; Ugaritic *mỉd* ‘much’, *mỉt* ‘hundred’; Akkadian *maʾādu* (*mādu*, *miādu*) ‘to be or become much; numerous, plentiful, abundant’, *maʾdū* (*mādū*) ‘large quantity, plenty’, *meat* (*māt*, *mē*) ‘hundred’, *mētā* ‘hundred times’; Eblaite *mi-at* ‘hundred’; Arabic *maʾada* ‘to grow, to increase’, *miʾa* ‘hundred’; Sabaean *mʾt* ‘hundred’; Ḥarsūsi *myīt* ‘hundred’; Śḥeri / Jibbāli *mút* ‘hundred’; Mehri *əmyīt* ‘hundred’; Soqoṭri *miʾe* ‘hundred’; Geez / Ethiopic *məʾət* [ምእት], *məʿət* [ምዕት] ‘hundred, century’; Tigrinya *məʾti* ‘hundred’; Tigre *məʾət* ‘hundred’; Gurage (Soddo) *mäto* ‘hundred’; Amharic *mäto* ‘hundred’; Argobba *mäto* ‘hundred’. Murtonen 1989:252—253 and 253; Klein 1987:308; Leslau 1979:435 and 1987:324; Militarëv 2011:89 Proto-Semitic **mVʔad-*; Zammit 2002:377 Arabic *miʾa* ‘hundred’. Central Chadic: Daba *mədde* ‘large’ (< **mVʔad-*). Orël—Stolbova 1995: 392, no. 1811, **mVʔad-* ‘to be large’.

B. Proto-Indo-European **meʔ-*/**moʔ-* > **mē-*/**mō-* ‘abundant, considerable, more’: Old Irish *már* ‘great’; Oscan *mais* ‘more’; Gothic *mais* ‘more’; Old Icelandic *meiri* (n. *meira*) ‘greater, bigger, larger, more’, (adv.) *meirr* ‘more’; Norwegian *meir* ‘more’; Swedish *mer* ‘more’; Danish *mer* ‘more’; Old English *māra* (f. and n. *māre*) ‘more’; Old Frisian *māra* ‘more’; Old Saxon *mēro* ‘more’; Dutch (adv.) *meer* ‘more’; Old High German *mēro* ‘more’ (New High German *mehr*). Pokorny 1959:704 **mē-*, **mō-* ‘big, considerable’; Walde 1927—1932.II:238 **mē-*, **mō-*; Mann 1984—1987:798 **mōros* (**məros*) ‘large, great’; Watkins 1985:39 **mē-* and 2000:51—52 **mē-* ‘big’ (contracted from earlier **meH₁-*); Mallory—Adams 1997:344 **meh₁ros* ~ **moh₁ros* ‘large’; Kroonen 2013:350 Proto-Germanic **maizan-* ‘more’; Orël 2003:257 Proto-Germanic **maiz*, 257 **maizōn*; Lehmann 1986:241 **mē-*; Feist 1939:341 **mē̆-i̯s-*, *-is-*; De Vries 1977:382 **mē-i̯es*; Falk—Torp 1903—1906.I:510—511; Onions 1966:583 Common Germanic **maiz* < **meis* and 589; Hoad 1986:300 **məis*, with comparative suffix **-is*; Klein 1971:476; Boutkan—Siebinga 2005:250—251; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:471; Kluge—Seebold 1989:470—471 **mē-*.

Sumerian *me* ‘abundance, plenty’.

Buck 1949:13.15 much; many; 13.16 more. Möller 1911:155; Bomhard—Kerns 1994:560—561, no. 422; Assadian—Hakola 2003:84, no. 271.

848. Proto-Nostratic root **mad-* (~ **məd-*):

(vb.) *_mad-_ ‘to stretch, to expand, to lengthen, to draw out, to measure out’;
(n.) *_mad-a_ ‘measure, measurement, amount; extent, limit’
Note also:
(vb.) *_mat’-_ ‘to stretch, to expand, to lengthen, to draw out, to measure out’;
(n.) *_mat’-a_ ‘measure, measurement, amount; extent, limit’

A. Proto-Afrasian *_mad-_ ‘to stretch, to expand, to lengthen, to draw out, to measure out’: Proto-Semitic *_mad-ad-_ ‘to stretch, to expand, to lengthen, to draw out, to measure out’ > Akkadian _madādu_ ‘to measure the length of something’; Hebrew _māðað_ [מָדַד] ‘to measure’; Phoenician _mdd_ ‘to measure’, _mdt_ ‘scale’; Ugaritic _mdd_ ‘to measure’, (m. pl.) _mdm_ ‘surveyors’ (?); Arabic _madda_ ‘to extend, to distend, to expand, to dilate; to stretch, to stretch out (something), to crane (the neck); to draw out, to protract (something); to spread out (something); to lay out (tracks, pipeline); to spread (a net); to lengthen, to elongate, to prolong (something); to grant a respite or delay; to rise (flood, river); to help, to aid, to assist (someone), to support (someone by or with); to supply, to provide (with); to reinforce (an army); to fertilize’, _madd_ ‘extension; distension, dilation, expansion; spreading; stretching; lengthening, elongation, prolongation, protraction; drawing out of the voice over long vowels (in Koran recitation); rising, rise (of water, of a flood)’, _mudda_ ‘period (of time), space of time, interval; while; duration; limited or appointed time; term’, _mādd_ ‘stretching, expanding, extending, spreading; trailing, creeping (plant)’; Sabaean (adj.) _mmd_ ‘prolonged, extended’, _md-t_ ‘period of time’; Ḥarsūsi _med_ ‘to stretch out, to aim (a gun)’; Mehri _məd_ ‘to stretch out, to stretch (one’s limbs); to give; to push forward, to point (a gun)’, _məddēt_ ‘period; generosity’; Śḥeri / Jibbāli _midd_ ‘to stretch out, to stretch (one’s arms after resting); to give; to extend (a gun); to point’, _məddét_ ‘period; generosity’; Geez / Ethiopic _madada_ [መደደ] ‘to spread, to level; to hit, to execute’; Tigre _mädda_ ‘to spread, to stretch, to attack’; Tigrinya (reduplicated) _mädmädä_ ‘to level, to flatten’; Amharic (reduplicated) _mädämmädä_ ‘to level, to flatten, to cut down one after another (trees), to destroy’. Murtonen 1989:253—254; Klein 1987:318; Leslau 1987:329; Militarëv 2011:92 Proto-Semitic *_mdd_; Tomback 1978:166; Zammit 2002:379—380. (?) Late Egyptian _mdd_ ‘a vessel for measuring wine’; Coptic _mtōte_ [ⲙⲧⲱⲧⲉ] meaning unknown, perhaps ‘a kind of vessel’. Hannig 1995:379; Erman—Grapow 1926—1963.2:183; Černý 1976:94.

B. Dravidian: Tamil _maṭṭam_ ‘measure, evenness, flatness, rule, line, gauging rod, limit, extent, bound, degree, guess, conjecture; equality in height, size, measure; whole quantity leaving no surplus; moderation’, _maṭṭu_ ‘measure, quantity, standard, degree, size, proportion, amount, limit, extent, scope, range, estimate, conjecture, moderateness, that which is middling, that which is commonplace, a standard of measurement’, _maṭṭāy_ ‘moderately, temperately’, _maṭaṅku_ ‘measure, quantity, degree’; Malayalam _maṭṭa_ ‘a

certain measure of length', *maṭṭam* 'the rule, level of a bricklayer, carpenter's square', *maṭṭu* 'measure, limit'; Kota *maṭm* 'level place; all'; Kannaḍa *maṭṭa*, *maṭa*, *maṭṭasa* 'measure, extent, height, bound, limit, proper limit, levelness, evenness, equality, regularity, exactness, carpenter's level or square', *maṭṭu* 'measure, extent, height, limit', *maṭṭa* 'exactness'; Tuḷu *maṭṭa* 'carpenter's or bricklayer's square, level, height, measure', *maṭṭu* 'measure, extent, limit, capacity, ability'; Telugu *maṭṭamu* 'level, a leveling instrument, a level', *maṭṭugā* 'moderately, limitedly', *maṭṭu* 'limit, bound, restriction, measure, extent, degree; limited, moderate'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:412, no. 4660.

C. Altaic: Manchu *mada-* 'to expand, to swell, to grow (of interest); to stand on end (of hair)', *madaŋga* 'elastic, extensile'.

Buck 1949:9.32 stretch; 12.34 measure (vb.). Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 1498, **mAtVdV* ¬ **mAdVtV* 'to stretch, to measure'.

849. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **mad-w-a* 'honey, mead':

A. Dravidian: Tamil *maṭṭu* 'honey, toddy, fermented liquor, sweet juice, drink taken at the time of sexual union', *maṭṭam* 'toddy'; Malayalam *maṭu* 'sweetness, honey', *maṭṭu* 'nectar'; Tuḷu *miṭṭi* 'sweetness', *miṭṭè* 'pollen'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:412, no. 4662.

B. Proto-Indo-European **med*^{h}*w/u-* 'honey, mead': Sanskrit *mádhu* 'mead, honey'; Pāḷi *madhu-* 'honey, wine made from the blossom of Bassia latifolia'; Hindi *mau* 'honey'; Avestan *maδu-* 'honey, mead'; Greek μέθυ 'wine, mead'; Old Irish *mid* 'mead'; Welsh *medd* 'mead', *meddẏw* 'drunk'; Old Icelandic *mjöðr* 'mead'; Faroese *mjøður* 'mead'; Norwegian *mjød* 'mead'; Swedish *mjöd* 'mead'; Danish *mjød* 'mead'; Old English *medu*, *meodu* 'mead'; Old Frisian *mede* 'mead'; Old Saxon *mede* 'mead'; Old High German *metu*, *mitu* 'mead' (New High German *Met*); Lithuanian *medùs* 'honey'; Old Church Slavic *medъ* 'honey, mead'; Tocharian B *mit* 'honey'; Hittite $^{\text{NINDA}}$*madu* 'sweet bread' or 'honey bread'; Luwian (nom.-acc. sg.) *ma-ad-du* 'wine'; Hieroglyphic Luwian *matu-* 'wine'. Pokorny 1959:707 **médhu* 'honey, mead'; Walde 1927—1932.II:261 **médhu*; Mann 1984—1987:742—743 **medhu* 'sweet drink, liquid honey, mead'; Watkins 1985:39 **medhu* and 2000:52 **medhu* 'honey' also 'mead'; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.II:603—605 **med*[^{h}]*u* and 1995.I:517—518 **med*^{h}*u* 'mead, honey'; Mallory—Adams 1997:271 **médhu* 'mead'; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.II:570—572 **medhu-*; Boisacq 1950:619—620 **medhu*; Frisk 1970—1973.II:191—192 **médhu*; Hofmann 1966:194 **medhu*; Beekes 2010.II:919 **med*^{h}*u-*; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:675—676; Orël 2003:265 Proto-Germanic **međuz*; Kroonen 2013:361 Proto-Germanic **medu-* 'mead, alcoholic liquor made of honey and water' (< **med*^{h}*-u-*); Falk—Torp 1903—1906.I:518—519; De Vries 1977:390;

Onions 1966:564 **medhu*-; Klein 1971:452 **medhu*- ‘honey, sweet drink’; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:476 **medhu*; Kluge—Seebold 1989:475 **medhu*-; Morris Jones 1913:75; Falileyev 2000:111 **medhu*; Van Windekens 1976—1982.I:298 **medhu*; Adams 1999:461 **méd^{h}u*-; Fraenkel 1962—1965.I:425; Smoczyński 2007.1:382; Derksen 2008:306—307 **med^{h}u* and 2015:309 **med^{h}u*-; Puhvel 1984— .6:100—101 **medhu*-; Wodtko—Irslinger—Schneider 2008:467—468 **méd^{h}u*-.

C. Uralic: Proto-Finno-Ugrian **mete* ‘honey’ > Finnish *mesi*/*mete*- ‘honey, nectar’; Estonian *mesi* ‘honey’; Mordvin *med'* ‘honey’; (?) Cheremis / Mari *mü*, *müj* ‘honey’; Votyak / Udmurt *mu* ‘honey’; Zyrian / Komi *ma* ‘honey’; Hungarian *méz* ‘honey’. Collinder 1955:132 and 1977:143—144; Joki 1973:283—285; Rédei 1986—1988:273 **mete*; Sammallahti 1988:545 **meti* ‘honey’. These forms are usually considered to be loans from Indo-European.

D. Etruscan *maθ* ‘honey, honeyed wine’.

Buck 1949:5.91 mead. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:665—666, no. 543; Hakola 2000:104, no. 446; Dolgopolsky 1998:64, no. 79, **madu* ‘honey’ and 2008, no. 1369, **mAdû* ‘honey’.

850. Proto-Nostratic root **mag*- (~ **məg*-):
(vb.) **mag*- ‘to be of great influence, importance, or power; to be eminent, exalted, highly esteemed, glorious, illustrious’;
(n.) **mag-a* ‘strength, power, might; glory, splendor, magnificence, grandeur, nobility, honor, distinction, excellence’; (adj.) ‘strong, powerful, eminent, exalted, highly esteemed, glorious, illustrious’

A. Proto-Afrasian **mag*- ‘to be of great influence, importance, or power; to be eminent, exalted, highly esteemed, glorious, illustrious’: Proto-Semitic **mag-ad*- ‘to be eminent, exalted, highly esteemed, glorious, illustrious’ > Arabic *mağada* ‘to be glorious, illustrious, exalted; to praise, to extol; to laud, to glorify; to celebrate; to be extolled, glorified, lauded, praised; to boast’, *mağd* ‘glory, splendor, magnificence, grandeur, nobility, honor, distinction’; Hebrew *meγeð* [מָגֶד] ‘excellence, excellent or choice things (always of gifts of nature)’; Aramaic *miγdā* ‘fruit, something precious’; Syriac *maγdā* ‘fruit’. Murtonen 1989:253; Klein 1987:314; Zammit 2002:378. (?) Proto-Highland East Cushitic **magano* ‘god, sky’ > Gedeo / Darasa *magano*, *mageno* ‘sky, god’; Kambata *maganu* ‘god’; Sidamo *magano* ‘god, sky’. Hudson 1989:71 and 136. [Orël—Stolbova 1995:370, no. 1704, **mag*- ‘to be numerous, to be big’.]

B. Kartvelian: Georgian *mag-ar-i* ‘strong, powerful’.

C. Proto-Indo-European **meg^{h}*-/**mog^{h}*- ‘to be of great influence, importance, or power; to be eminent, exalted, highly esteemed, glorious, illustrious’: Sanskrit *mahati*, *maháyati* ‘to magnify, to esteem highly, to revere’,

máhas- ‘greatness, might, power, glory’, *mahá-ḥ* ‘great, mighty, strong, abundant’, *mahánt*- ‘great, large, powerful, venerable’; Pāḷi *maha*- ‘greatness’; Avestan *mazant*- ‘great’; Gothic *magan* ‘to have power, to be able’, *mahteigs* ‘mighty, able, possible’, *mahts* ‘might, power, strength’; Old Icelandic *magna* ‘to charm, to make strong by spell; to increase in power, to grow strong’, *mega* ‘to be able to do’, *megin* ‘might, power, strength’, *magn* ‘strength, power’, *megð* in *úmegð* ‘helplessness’, *megn* ‘strength; strong, mighty’, *megna* ‘to be able, to have strength to do a thing’, *máttr* ‘might, strength; health’, *máttigr* ‘mighty’; Old English *magan* ‘to be able, to have power, to be strong, to be competent, to avail, to prevail’, *maga* ‘strong, powerful, able’, *mægen* ‘strength, might, power’, *meaht*, *miht* ‘might, power, ability’, *mihtig* ‘powerful, mighty, possible’, *gemægþ* ‘power, greatness’; Old Frisian *mecht*, *macht* ‘power, strength’; Old Saxon *megin* ‘power, strength’, *maht* ‘power, strength’; Old High German *mugan*, *magan* ‘to be able, to be possible’ (New High German *mögen*), *megin* ‘power, strength’, *maht* ‘might, authority, sway (over), influence, control (of), grip (on), force, strength, power’ (New High German *Macht*); Old Church Slavic *mogǫ*, *mošti* ‘to be able’. Rix 1998a:379 **mag^{h}*- ‘to be able, capable’; Pokorny 1959:708—709 **meĝ(h)*- ‘big, great’; Walde 1927—1932.II:257—259 **meĝ(h)*-; Mann 1984—1987:745 **meĝh*- notational root to accommodate Sanskrit *mahá-ḥ*, Avestan *mazant*-, etc., 783 **mogh*- ‘large, powerful, big’, 784 **moghənt*- (**moghn̥t*-) ‘big, great, strong’, 784 **moghətos*, *-ā*, *-is* ‘strong; strength’, 784 **moghlos*, *-i̯os*, *-i̯ə* ‘grip, firmness; clamp, bolt, mainstay’, 784 **moghnos* (**moghinos*), *-om* ‘strong, big; strength, size, ability’, 785 **moghō*, **moghmi* ‘am able, can’, 785 **moghtis* ‘power’; Watkins 1985:38 **magh*- and 2000:50 **magh*- ‘to be able, to have power’; Mallory—Adams 1997:3 **magh*- ‘to be able’; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.II:608—609 and II:609—610 Proto-Indo-Iranian **maźhānt*-; Gonda 1975.II:448—483 **meg(h)*-; Orël 2003:253 Proto-Germanic **maɣenan*, 253 **maɣenaz*, 253 **maɣenōjanan*, 254 **maxtiɣaz*, 254 **maxtiz*; Kroonen 2013:347 Proto-Germanic **mahti*- ‘strength’ and 373 **mugan*- ‘to be able’; Lehmann 1986:239—240 **māgh*-, **magh*- ‘to be able’ and 240; Feist 1939:338—339 **măgh*- and 340; De Vries 1977:375, 380, and 381; Onions 1966:563 **mogh*-, **mĕgh*- and 575 Common Germanic **maχtiz*, from **maɣ*- ‘to be able’; Klein 1971:451 **māgh*-, **məgh*- ‘to be able’ and 464 **māgh*-, **məgh*-; Boutkan—Siebinga 2005:248; Kluge—Mitzka 1987:452 and 484 **māgh*-; Kluge—Seebold 1989:453 and 484; Derksen 2008:321 **mog^{h}*-.

D. Proto-Altaic **mi̯aga* ‘glory, praise’: (?) Proto-Tungus **m[i̯a]g*- ‘to shamanize; to be noisy’ > Evenki *migdi*- ‘to be noisy, to make noise’; Oroch *magui*- ‘to shamanize’. Proto-Mongolian **magta*- ‘to praise, to glorify’ > Middle Mongolian *maχta*- ‘to praise, to laud’; Written Mongolian *maγta*- ‘to praise, to eulogize, to laud, to extol, to glorify’; Khalkha *magta*- ‘to praise, to glorify’; Buriat *magta*- ‘to praise, to glorify’;

Kalmyk *maktə-* ‘to praise, to glorify’; Ordos *maɢta-* ‘to praise, to glorify’; Dagur *maktāl* ‘praise’; Shira-Yughur *maχda-* ‘to praise, to glorify’; Monguor *maχda-* ‘to praise, to glorify’. (?) Proto-Turkic **bAgatur* ‘hero’ > Old Turkic (Orkhon) *baγatur* ‘hero’; Oyrot (Mountain Altai) *bātïr* ‘hero’; Turkmenian *bātïr* ‘hero’; Kirghiz *bātïr* ‘hero’; Tuva *mādïr* ‘hero’; Yakut *bātïr* ‘hero’. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:919 **mi̯aga* ‘glory, praise’.

Buck 1949:9.95 can, may (3rd sg.); 16.16 honor; 16.47 glory; 16.79 praise (sb.); 22.12 god. Illič-Svityč 1965:331 **magʌ* ‘great, big, strong’ [‘большой’]; Bomhard—Kerns 1994:635—636, no. 514.

851. Proto-Nostratic (Eurasiatic only) (n.) **mag-a* ‘earth, land’:

A. Proto-Indo-European **mag*^{h}- ‘earth, land’: Sanskrit *mahī́* ‘earth’ (substance = ‘ground, soil’), ‘the earth’ (= ‘the world’); Gaulish *-magus* in: *Arganto-magus*; Old Irish *mag* ‘plain, open field’; Middle Welsh *ma-* ‘place’; Welsh *maes* (< **magesto-*) ‘field, plain’, *maen* ‘stone’; Cornish *mes* ‘field’, *men* ‘stone’; Breton *meaz* ‘field’, *mean* ‘stone’. Mann 1984—1987:1641 **magh-*, **maghən-* ‘stone’; Pokorny 1959:709; Walde 1927—1932.II:258; Lewis—Pedersen 1937:28; Matasović 2009:253 **meǵh$_2$-*.
B. Proto-Uralic **maxe* ‘earth, land’: Finnish *maa* ‘earth, soil, ground, country, land’; Estonian *maa* ‘earth, soil, ground, country, land’; Cheremis / Mari (Malmyž) *mü-*, *müj-*: *münö* ‘on the ground, on the floor, down (of position)’, *mügö*, *müjän* ‘to the ground, to the floor, down’, *müjüćün* ‘from the ground, from the floor’; Votyak / Udmurt *mu* ‘earth, land, field’; Zyrian / Komi *mu* ‘earth, land, field’; Vogul / Mansi *maa*, *mõõ* ‘earth, land, place’; Ostyak / Xanty *məg*, (Northern) *mŭw* ‘earth, land’; Tavgi Samoyed / Nganasan *mou* ‘earth’; (?) Selkup Samoyed *ma-* in: *maś qula* the name of a Selkup tribe: ‘earth-people’. Collinder 1955:33, 1960:407 **maγõ*, and 1977:52; Rédei 1986—1988:263—264 **maγe*; Sammallahti 1988:546 Proto-Finno-Ugrian **mi̯xi* ‘earth, land’; Décsy 1990:102 **manga* ‘land’.

Buck 1949:1.21 earth, land; 1.23 plain, field. Illič-Svityč 1965:342 **magʌ* ‘soil, earth’ [‘земля’]; Bomhard—Kerns 1994:674—675, no. 553; Greenberg 2002:56, no. 118, **mag* ‘earth’; Hakola 2000:99, no. 422; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 1374, **magê* ‘earth, land’.

852. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **mag-a* ‘young person, child’; (adj.) ‘young’:

A. Dravidian: Tamil *maka* ‘child, infant, young of animal, son or daughter, young age’, *makaṭu*, *makaṭū* ‘female, woman, wife’, *makavu* ‘infant, son, young of animals living in trees (as of monkeys)’, *makaḷ* ‘daughter, woman, female, wife, damsel’, *makaṇmai* ‘sonship, manliness’, *makār* ‘sons, children’, *makkaḷ* ‘human beings’, *mākkaḷ* ‘men, people, mankind,

children', *makiṇan̲* 'husband, chief of an agricultural tract, lord'; Malayalam *makan* 'son', *makkaḷ* 'children (especially sons), the young of animals'; Kota *mog* 'child, wife'; Toda *mox* 'child, son, daughter; male; woman'; Kannaḍa *maga* 'son, male person', *makan* 'son', *magu*, *magavu*, *maguvu*, *moga*, *mogu*, *moguvu* 'child of any sex', *magaḷ* 'daughter' *makkaḷ*, *markaḷ*, *makkaḷir* 'children', *magaḷmā* 'a wife who is faithful to her husband'; Koḍagu *makka* 'children'; Tuḷu *mage* 'son', *magaḷu* 'daughter', *makkaḷ* 'children'; Telugu *maga*, *moga* 'male', *magāṭimi* 'manliness, bravery, prowess', *magāḍu* 'husband, man, male, king, hero', *magan̲u* 'son', *magatanamu* 'virility, manliness, courage, bravery, boldness, spirit', *magadi* 'male of any animal, beast, or bird', *maganālu* 'wife, married woman', *magapāḍi* 'manliness, honor, bravery', *magalāgu* 'manliness', *magavāḍu* 'man, male, hero', *magavu* 'woman', *maguvatanamu* 'womanhood'; Kolami *magvan* 'husband'; Gadba (Ollari) *maginḍ sinḍ* 'man, husband', (Salur) *maga sinḍu* 'boy child', *maggiṇḍ* 'husband'; Koṇḍa *moga koṛo* 'boy child; husband, young man'; Kuwi *maka* (voc.) used to daughters and sisters in affection; Malto *maqe* 'boy', *maqi* 'girl', *maqo* 'small, little one (animal)'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:407—408, no. 4616; Krishnamurti 2003:10 and 163 **mak-an̲t̲u* 'son, male', **mak-aḷ* 'daughter'.

B. Proto-Indo-European **magʰ-* 'young', **magʰu-* 'young person, child': Avestan *maγava-* 'unmarried'; Old Irish *macc* 'son'; Gothic *magus* 'boy, servant', *magaþs* 'maiden, girl'; Runic *magoz* 'son'; Old Icelandic *mögr* 'son, boy, youth'; Old English *magu* 'child, son; man, warrior; attendant, servant', *mæg(e)þ* 'maiden, girl; virgin' (Modern English *maid(en)*); Old Frisian *maged*, *megith* 'maiden, girl'; Old Saxon *magu* 'servant', *magađ* 'maiden, girl'; Old High German *magad* 'maiden, girl' (New High German *Magd* 'maid[servant]', diminutive *Mädchen* 'girl'), *maga-* in: *magaczogo* 'trainer'; Latvian *mač* (gen. sg. *maǵa*) 'small'. Pokorny 1959:696 **maghos*, *-ā* 'young', **maghu-* 'boy, child'; Walde 1927—1932.II:228 **maghu-*; Mann 1984—1987:785 **mogu̯hilā* 'woman, maid', 785 **mogu̯hi̯ə* (**măgu̯hi̯ə* ?) 'girl, maiden', 785 **mogu̯hos* (**măgu̯hos*) 'boy, youth, man'; Watkins 1985:38 **maghu-* and 2000:50 **maghu-* 'young person of either sex'; Mallory—Adams 1997:656 **maghus* 'young man'; Orël 2003:253 Proto-Germanic **maɣaþiz*, 253—254 **maɣuz*, 254 **maɣwilō(n)*, 254 **maɣwjō*; Kroonen 2013:346—347 Proto-Germanic **magaþi-* 'girl, maiden' and 347 **magu-* 'boy, relative'; Feist 1939:339 Germanic stem **maɣa-* beside **maɣu-*; Lehmann 1986:240; De Vries 1977:400; Onions 1966:546 **moghus* 'boy, young man'; Klein 1971:439; Boutkan—Siebinga 2005:251—253 and 253; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:453 **maghu-*; Kluge—Seebold 1989:454.

Buck 1949:2.25 boy; 2.41 son; 12.56 small, little. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:667, no. 545; Caldwell 1913:601.

853. Proto-Nostratic root *maħ- (~ *məħ-):
(vb.) *maħ- ‘to increase, to swell, to exceed, to surpass, to be great’;
(n.) *maħ-a ‘bigness, greatness, fullness, excellence’; (adj.) ‘big, great, full’

A. Proto-Afrasian *maħ- ‘to increase, to swell, to exceed, to surpass, to be great’: Semitic: Geez / Ethiopic *maḥasa* [ሙሐሰ] ‘to cause to grow, to rear’. Leslau 1987:337. Egyptian *mḥ* ‘to fill, to be full (of); to make whole; to complete, to finish; to be full; to be complete’, *mḥw* ‘filling, packing, stuffing; a mouthful’. Faulkner 1962:113; Hannig 1995:352; Gardiner 1957:569; Erman—Grapow 1921:68 and 1926—1963.2:116—117.
B. Dravidian: Tamil *mā* ‘great’, *mātu* ‘greatness’, *māl* ‘greatness; great man’, *māl* (*mālv-*, *māṉr-*) ‘to be magnified, glorified’; Malayalam *mā* ‘great’; Kannaḍa *mā* ‘big, great’; Gondi *māy(i)* ‘very big’, *mayali* ‘big’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:425, no. 4786. Tamil *māṇ* (*māṇp-*, *māṇt-*) ‘(vb.) to become excellent, glorious, to be good, worthy; to be full, abundant, great; (n.) greatness, glory, splendor, excellence, dignity’, *māṇṭal* ‘being great, being worthy’, *māṇpu* ‘honor, dignity, beauty, greatness, excellence, goodness’, *māṇal* ‘greatness, excellence, goodness’, *māṇi* ‘beauty’, *māṇam* ‘greatness, excellence’; Malayalam *māṇpu* ‘glory, beauty’; Telugu *mānu* ‘beauty, excellence; beautiful, elegant, fit, proper, worthy’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:427, no. 4803.
C. (?) Proto-Indo-European *meh̯h-kʰ- [*mah̯h-kʰ-] > *mā-kʰ- ‘to increase; to cause to grow, to breed’: Welsh (f.) *mag* ‘nurture, breeding’, (m.) *magi* ‘nurture, breeding’, *magad* (m.) ‘brood, multitude’, (inf.) *magu* ‘to breed’; Latvian (m.) *makāns* ‘fattened animal’. Mann 1984—1987:726—727 *măk- ‘to force, to press, to push ahead, to increase, to rear’.

Sumerian *mah* ‘to be or make great, magnificent; to be much, many’.
Buck 1949:12.55 large, big (great); 13.15 much, many; 13.16 more; 13.21 full. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:634—635, no. 513.

854. Proto-Nostratic (n.) *makʰ-a ‘neck’:

A. Afrasian: Egyptian *mkḥꜣ* ‘back of the head, occiput’ (according to Sethe, composed of *mkỉ + ḥꜣ ‘occiput; back [of ear]; behind, around’); Coptic *makh* [ⲙⲁⲕϩ] ‘neck’. Hannig 1995:372; Faulkner 1962:119; Erman—Grapow 1921:72 and 1926—1963.2:163; Vycichl 1983:111; Černý 1976:80. North Cushitic: Beja / Beḍawye *mōk* (< *mākeX) ‘neck’. Reinisch 1895:167.
B. Dravidian: Kolami *mak* ‘neck’; Naikṛi *makk* ‘neck’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:408, no. 4622.
C. Proto-Altaic *mi̯akʰu ‘neck’: Tungus: Evenki *muka* ‘skin from a deer’s neck’. Turkic: Karakhanide Turkic *baqan* ‘necklace, torque’. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:920 *mi̯akʻu ‘neck’.

Buck 1949:4.28 neck. Blažek 2003:16, no. 38.

855. Proto-Nostratic root *mak^h- (~ *$mək^h$-):
(vb.) *mak^h- ‘to deceive, to trick, to cheat; to be deceived, troubled, confused, perplexed’;
(n.) *mak^h-*a* ‘deception, trickery, confusion’

A. Proto-Afrasian **mak*- ‘to deceive, to trick, to cheat; to be deceived, troubled, confused, perplexed’: Proto-Semitic **mak-ar*- ‘to deceive’ > Arabic *makara* ‘to deceive, to delude, to cheat, to dupe, to gull, to double-cross’, *makra* ‘ruse, artifice, stratagem, wile, trick, dodge’, *makr* ‘cunning, craftiness, slyness, wiliness, double-dealing, deception, trickery’; Mehri *məkūr* ‘to fill someone with talk against someone’, *šəmkūr* ‘to be turned by talk against someone’; Śḥeri / Jibbāli *mókɔ́r* ‘to fill someone with talk against someone; to turn against someone’, *məkrún* ‘treacherous, cunning’. Zammit 2002:386. Highland East Cushitic: Sidamo *makkal*- ‘to be crazy’. Hudson 1989:384.

B. (?) Indo-European: Greek μακκοάω ‘to be stupid’ (either derived from Μακκώ the name of a stupid woman, or the other way around). Origin unknown (cf. Frisk 1970—1973.II:164; Boisacq 1950:603; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:660; Hofmann 1966:188; Beekes 2010.II:895; Prellwitz 1905:279). Assuming here semantic development from ‘bewildered, perplexed, confused’ as in Sanskrit *mūḍhá-ḥ* ‘stupid, foolish, dull, silly, simple’, literally, ‘stupefied, bewildered, perplexed, confused, uncertain of or at a loss about’, from *muh*- ‘to be stupefied or unconscious, to be bewildered or perplexed, to err, to be mistaken, to go astray’ (cf. Mayrhofer 1956—1980.II:662); note also Mongolian *megde*- ‘to be or become excited, worried; to be or become embarrassed, troubled, perplexed, or confused; to become stupid or imbecilic; to remain motionless and without feeling, to remain paralyzed’, cited below.

C. Proto-Altaic *$mak^h e$- ‘to be deceived, perplexed’ > Proto-Tungus **maka*- ‘to become dizzy, confused; to be afraid; to hate’ > Manchu *maqa*- ‘to become muddled, to become confused in one’s thinking’; Orok *maqqa*- ‘to hate’; Nanay / Gold *māqā*- ‘to gaze at’; Udihe *maka*- ‘to be afraid’. Proto-Mongolian **mek(e)*- ‘(vb.) to be disturbed, troubled, confused, perplexed, embarrassed; to deceive, to cheat; (n.) deceit, trickery’ > Written Mongolian *meke* ‘deceit, fraud, trick, ruse; cunning, artfulness; astuteness, assimilation’, *mekei* ‘bashful, shy, modest’, *megde*- ‘to be or become excited, worried; to be or become embarrassed, troubled, perplexed, or confused; to become stupid or imbecilic; to remain motionless and without feeling, to remain paralyzed’, *mekele*- ‘to deceive, to cheat, to outwit, to mystify; to act craftily’; Khalkha *meχ* ‘deceit, trickery’, *megd*- ‘to be disturbed, perplexed’, *meχiy* ‘embarrassed’; Buriat *meχe* ‘deceit, trickery’, *megde*- ‘to be disturbed, perplexed’; Kalmyk *mekə* ‘deceit, trickery’; Ordos

meχe ‘deceit, trickery’. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:896—897 **mak‘e* ‘to be deceived, perplexed’.

Buck 1949:16.68 deceit; 17.22 foolish, stupid; 17.23 insane, mad, crazy.

856. Proto-Nostratic root **mak’-* (~ **mək’-*):
(vb.) **mak’-* ‘to be great, strong, mighty, powerful’;
(n.) **mak’-a* ‘strength, power’; (adj.) ‘great, strong, powerful; much, many’
Note also:
(vb.) **mik’-* ‘to exceed, to surpass, to be in excess, to grow, to increase, to swell, to expand’;
(n.) **mik’-a* ‘growth, excess, increase, abundance, fullness’; (adj.) ‘large, big, great, much’

A. Afrasian: Highland East Cushitic: Kambata *mak’aamu* ‘strong, powerful’, *mak’o* ‘strength, power’; Sidamo *mak’aé* ‘strength, power’. Hudson 1989:332 and 384.
B. Proto-Kartvelian **mak’-* ‘heavy’ (> ‘pregnant’): Georgian *mak’en-*, *mak’n-* ‘to become pregnant’, *mak’e-* ‘pregnant’; Mingrelian *mok’a-*, *monk’a-* ‘heavy’, *si-monk’-a-* ‘heaviness’, *monk’atu-* ‘pregnant’; Laz *monk’a-* ‘heavy’, *monk’an-* ‘to become pregnant’. Schmidt 1962:122; Fähnrich 2007:278 **maḳ-*; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:228 **maḳ-*; Klimov 1964:125 **maḳe-*, **maḳen-* and 1998:113 **maḳe-* ‘heavy’, 113—114 **maḳen-* ‘to get heavy, pregnant’. Note: The *-n-* found in the Mingrelian and Laz forms is secondary.
C. Proto-Indo-European **mak’-* ‘great, strong, mighty, powerful’: Albanian *madh* (< **mak’(H)-yo-*) ‘big, large, tall’; Latin *magnus* (< **mak’(i)no-*) ‘large, great, tall; outstanding, powerful, mighty’, (adv.) *magis* ‘more, to a greater extent, rather’; Old Irish *maige* (< Proto-Celtic **mag-yo-*) ‘great’, (poetic) *mál* (< Proto-Celtic **mag-lo-*) ‘noble, prince’. Perhaps also Lithuanian *mãgulas* ‘numerous’. Pokorny 1959:708—709 **meĝ(h)-* ‘big’; Walde 1927—1932.II:257—259 **meĝ(h)-*; Mann 1984—1987:726 **măĝ-* ‘big’, 744 **meĝ-* (**məĝ-*) ‘great, big’, Watkins 1985:39—40 **meg-* and 2000:52 **meg-* ‘great’; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.II:782 **meĥ’H-* and 1995.I:684 **meĥ’H-* ‘large’; Mallory—Adams 1997:344 **meĝh$_a$-* ‘large, great’; De Vaan 2008:358—359; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.II:10—12 Latin *magnus* < **m$_e$ĝ-nós*; Ernout—Meillet 1979:377—379 Latin *magis* < **mag-yŏ-s*; **meg'ə-*; Orël 1998:240; Huld 1983:88—89 Albanian *madh* < **maĝE$_2$-i̯o-*; Fraenkel 1962—1965.I:395; Smoczyński 2007.1:367; Matasović 2009:253 Proto-Celtic **magyo-*. Note: According to Adams (1999:446—447), two separate stems must be reconstructed for Proto-Indo-European: **meĝh$_a$-* and **maĝ-*.
D. [Chukchi-Kamchatkan: Proto-Chukotian **mək-* ‘many’ > Chukchi *nə-mkə-qin* ‘many’, *mək-et-* ‘to increase (intr.)’, *rə-mk-ew-* ‘to increase (tr.)’;

Kerek *nə-mkə-Xi* ‘many’, *məkə-ŋ* ‘more’, *mək-at-* ‘to increase’; Koryak *nə-mkə-qin* ‘many’, *mək-at-* ‘to increase (intr.)’, *jəmk-av-* ‘to increase (tr.)’; Alyutor *nə-mkə-qin* ‘many’, *mək-at-* ‘to increase (intr.)’. Fortescue 2005:181.] Either here or with Proto-Nostratic **mik'-* (~ **mek'-*) ‘(vb.) to exceed, to surpass, to be in excess, to grow, to increase, to swell, to expand; (n.) growth, excess, increase, abundance, fullness; (adj.) large, big, great, much’.

Buck 1949:4.73 pregnant; 4.81 strong, mighty, powerful; 12.55 large, big (great).

857. Proto-Nostratic root **mak'-* (~ **mək'-*):
(vb.) **mak'-* ‘to be happy, cheerful; to be pleasant, agreeable’;
(n.) **mak'-a* ‘happiness, joy, pleasure’

A. Afrasian: Proto-Southern Cushitic **mak'-* or **maak'-* ‘to be happy’ > Iraqw *misqis-* (< **maqsis-*) ‘to smile’; Alagwa *maq-* ‘to be cheerful’; Ma’a *-máka* ‘to wonder, to be astonished’. Ehret 1980:155.
B. Dravidian: Tamil *makiṟ* ‘(vb.) to rejoice, to exult, to forget oneself in joy, to bubble up (in boiling), to drink; (n.) joy, exhilaration, intoxication (from liquor), toddy’, *makiṟcci* ‘joy, pleasure, delight, gladness’, *makiṟvu* ‘joy, mirth’; Malayalam *makiṟuka* ‘to rejoice’; Brahui *maxing* ‘to laugh’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:408, no. 4618.
C. Indo-European: Old Icelandic *makindi* ‘friendly intercourse; rest, ease’, *makr* ‘easy to deal with: (only in comparative) more suitable, becoming, convenient’, *mak-ráðr* ‘pleasant, agreeable’, *maki* ‘a match’, *makligr* ‘meet, proper, becoming, fitting, deserving’; Old English *gemæc* ‘well-matched, suitable (wife); equal, being a match for’, *(ge)mæcca* ‘mate, equal, one of a pair, comrade, companion’; Old High German *gimah* ‘comfortable, suitable’; New High German *gemach* ‘easy, softly, quietly, gently, slowly’, *gemächlich* ‘comfortable, easy, leisurely’, *Gemächlichkeit* ‘comfort, ease, leisure’. Orël 2003:257 Proto-Germanic **makaz*, 257 **makōn*; Kroonen 2013:350 Proto-Germanic **maka-* ‘fit, comfortable’; De Vries 1977:376; Onions 1966:561; Klein 1971:449; Skeat 1898:358; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:245—246; Kluge—Seebold 1989:255.

Buck 1949:9.943 fitting, suitable; 16.22 joy; 16.23 joyful, glad; 16.24 happy; happiness; 16.25 laugh (vb.); smile (vb.).

858. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **mal-a* ‘hill, mountain’:

A. Dravidian: Tamil *malai* ‘hill, mountain’; Malayalam *mala* ‘mountain, raised land, hill-land’; Kannaḍa *male* ‘mountain, forest’; Koḍagu *male* ‘thick jungle land, cardamom plantation in jungle on mountainside’; Tuḷu

malè ‘forest, hill overgrown with forest’; Telugu *mala* ‘mountain’; Kolami *ma·le* ‘hill’; Parji *malaŋg* ‘forest’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:420, no. 4742.

B. Proto-Indo-European **mel-/*mol-* ‘hill, mountain’: Gaulish (in place names) *melos*; Albanian *mal* ‘mountain’; (Dacian substratum in) Romanian *mal* ‘promontory, bank’; Lithuanian (obsolete) *malà* ‘country, landscape’; Latvian *mala* ‘bank, shore’. Perhaps also Greek προ-μολή in the meanings ‘foothills of a mountain, fountainhead of a river’. Pokorny 1959:721—722 **mel-*, **melə-* : **mlō-* ‘to come forth’; Walde 1927—1932.II:294—295 **melāˣ-*; Mann 1984—1987:752 **melos* ‘hill, mound’, 793 **molos*, *-is*, *-ā*, *-us* ‘pile, heap, hill, mountain’; Beekes 2010.I:223; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:182; Frisk 1970—1973.I:246—247; Georgiev 1981:143; Meyer 1891:256—257; Huld 1984:89; Orël 1998:243; Katičić 1976.I:142; Cihac 1870—1879.II:183—184; Vinereanu 2008:523.

Buck 1949:1.22 mountain, hill; 1.27 shore; 1.41 woods, forest. Caldwell 1913:622; Bomhard—Kerns 1984:671—672, no. 550; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 1411, **mAl[ʕ]V* ‘hill, mountain, something protruding’; Illič-Svityč 1971—1984.II:51, no. 286, **mALʌ* ‘mountain’; Leschber 2016:242.

859. Proto-Nostratic root **mal-* (~ **məl-*):
(vb.) **mal-* ‘to fill, to be or become full, to increase’;
(n.) **mal-a* ‘fullness, abundance’; (adj.) ‘full, filled, abundant, numerous, many’

A. Proto-Afrasian **mal-* ‘(vb.) to fill, to be full; (adj.) full, filled, abundant’: Proto-Semitic **mal-aʔ-* ‘to fill, to be full’ > Hebrew *mālēʔ* [מָלֵא] ‘to fill, to be full’; Aramaic *məlā* ‘to fill, to be full’; Phoenician *mlʔ* ‘to fill’; Ugaritic *mlȧ* ‘to be full’; Amorite *mlʔ* ‘to be full’; Akkadian *malū* ‘to be full, to fill up’; Arabic *malaʔa* ‘to fill, to become filled, to be full’, *malīʔ* ‘full (of), filled, replete (with); bulging, swelling (with); plump, stout, fat, corpulent, obese; rich, abounding (in), well-to-do, wealthy’; Sabaean *mlʔ* ‘to fill’; Ḥarsūsi *méleʔ* ‘to be full’, *melō* ‘to fill’; Śḥeri / Jibbāli *mélé* ‘to fill’, *mútli* ‘to be full, to have a swollen belly through illness’, *mɛl* ‘fullness’; Mehri *mīləʔ* ‘to be full’, *mōləʔ* ‘to fill’, *mlū* ‘to fill’, *mátli* ‘to have a swollen belly caused by illness’, *mēl* ‘fullness, filling; full’; Soqoṭri *mileʔ* ‘to be full’, *móleʔ* ‘to fill’; Geez / Ethiopic *malʾa* [መልአ] ‘to fill, to fill up, to complete, to multiply, to be full, to be filled, to overflow, to be fulfilled, to be completed, to be abundant, to abound, to come to an end’, *məluʔ* [ምሉእ] ‘full, filled, abundant, copious, replenished, complete’, *məlʔ* [ምልእ] ‘fullness, that which fills’; Tigre *mälʾa* ‘to be full’; Tigrinya *mälʾe* ‘to be full’; Gurage (Masqan) *mälla* ‘to be full, to fill, to have plenty of, to level the ground by filling the uneven places’, *mula* ‘full’; Amharic *mälla* ‘to be full’, *mulu* ‘whole, full, complete’, *molla* ‘to fill, to be filled, to fill out, to fill up, to be plentiful, to abound, to flood, to overflow’, *mälla* ‘whole,

entire'; Argobba *mälla* 'to be full'; Harari *mäla?a* 'to fill, to fulfill', *mullu?* 'full'. Murtonen 1989:259; Klein 1987:347; Militarëv 2010:72 Proto-Semitic **ml?*; Zammit 2002:386—387; Leslau 1963:107, 1979:401, and 1987:342; Tomback 1978:158.

B. Dravidian: Tamil *mali* 'to abound, to be plentiful, to be full, to increase, to be proud, to become large, to swell, to spread, to expand', *mal* 'fertility, richness, strength', *malipu* 'excess, abundance', *malir* 'to flood, to come frequently', *malivu* 'to abound, to become full', *malku* (*malki-*) 'to increase, to abound, to grow, to flourish', *mallal* 'strength, abundance, wealth, fertility, richness, elegance, brilliance, beauty', *mallai* 'richness, fertility, greatness'; Malayalam *malika* 'to abound, to overflow', *malekka* 'to grow thick, to swell', *malka* 'to abound'; Tuḷu *malla*, *mallavu*, *mallāvu* 'great, large, big, extensive, chief, principal, important, loud', *mallastigè*, *mallādigè* 'greatness, superiority, loftiness, pride', *mallāye* 'a man senior in age, a rich man, a grown-up man' (f. *mallāḷụ*); Kannaḍa *male* 'to be raised or elevated, to be haughty, to be puffed up, to be insolent, to act in an overbearing manner', *malya* 'great, big, chief, principal', *mallaḷi* 'a large concourse, crowd', *mammala*, *malamala* 'excessively'; Telugu *malayu* 'to spread, to rejoice, to be pleased, to be eager, to be delighted, to shine, to be splendid, to unfold, to display', *malucamu* 'superior, fine', *mallaramu* 'pride, arrogance', *mallaḍi* 'a crowd'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:419, no. 4729.

C. Proto-Indo-European **mel-*/**mol-*/**mḷ-* 'much, many, very much': Latin *multus* (sg.) 'much, many', (pl.) 'many, numerous'; Greek μάλα 'very, very much', μᾶλλον (with secondary long vowel) 'more', μάλιστον 'most'; Latvian *milns* 'very much'. Pokorny 1959:720 **mel-* 'strong, big'; Walde 1927—1932.II:292 **mel-*; Mann 1984—1987:777 **mḷtos* 'much', 1642 **mel-*, **mol-*, **mḷ-*; Watkins 1985:40 **mel-* and 2000:53 **mel-* 'strong, great' (suffixed [comparative] form **mel-yos-*; suffixed zero-grade form **mḷ-to-*); Frisk 1970—1973.II:165; Boisacq 1950:603—604 **mel-* 'large, numerous'; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:661; Beekes 2010.II:895—896 **mel-*; Hofmann 1966:188 **mel-*; De Vaan 2008:394; Ernout—Meillet 1979:419—420; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.II:124—125 Latin *multus* < **mḷtós*. Proto-Indo-European **mel-g^h-*/**mol-g^h-*/**mḷ-g^h-* 'to fill up, to swell': Sanskrit *malhá-ḥ* 'having teats in the dewlap'; Avestan *mərəzāna-* 'paunch'; Armenian *małj* 'gall, bile'; Latvian *meĨzu*, *miĨzu*, *miĨzt* 'to swell, to fester'. Pokorny 1959:723 **melĝh-* 'to swell'; Walde 1927—1932.II:300 **melĝh-*; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.II:602.

D. (?) Proto-Altaic **mi̯olo-* '(vb.) to fill; (adj.) full, thick': Proto-Tungus **mila-* 'wide, open, broad' > Manchu *mila* 'open, wide open', *milaχūn* 'wide open, gaping', *milara-* 'to open wide', *milata* 'wide open, agape'. Proto-Mongolian **mel-*/**möl-* '(vb.) to be or become full; (adj.) (very) full' > Written Mongolian *melmeyi-* 'to become very full or completely full', *melmelžе-*, *mölmülžе-* 'to be full to overflowing, to well up; to be or

become overfull (with liquid)', *melmelžemel* 'very full, replete'; Khalkha *melmiy-*, *melmelʒe-* 'to be or become full'; Buriat *melmelʒe-* 'to be or become full'; Kalmyk *melmɛ-* 'to be or become full', *mel* '(quite) full'; Ordos *melčirme-* 'to be or become full', *melū̃*, *melē* '(quite) full'. Proto-Turkic **bol* 'abundant, full' > Turkish *bol* 'wide, loose, copious, abundant'; Turkmenian *bol* 'abundant, full'; Uzbek *bɔl*, *mɔl* 'abundant, full'; Tatar *mul* 'abundant, full'; Kirghiz *mol* 'abundant, full'; Chuvash *püle-mes* 'abundant, full', *pül-lə* 'stalwart'. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:927 **mi̯olo* '(vb.) to fill; (adj.) full, thick'. (?) Proto-Altaic **milᵗʰe* (~ *-i*) '(vb.) to fill; (adj.) full': Proto-Tungus **milte-* 'full, whole' > Evenki *miltъrъ* 'full, whole'; Orok *milte-milte* 'full, whole'. Proto-Mongolian **melteyi-* 'to fill, to overflow' > Written Mongolian *melteyi-* 'to be full to overflowing'; Khalkha *meltiy-* 'to fill, to overflow'; Buriat *meltï-* 'to fill, to overflow'; Kalmyk *meltə̃-* 'to fill, to overflow'. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:917 **milt'e* (~ *-i*) '(vb.) to fill; (adj.) full'. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak note: "The root is very similar to **mi̯ólo* 'full, fill' and may indeed be derived: **mi̯ol-t'i*. Such an explanation, however, would involve a metatony in Japanese and borrowing in T(ungus-)M(anchu) (*milte-* < Mongolian *melte-*), so we prefer to separate the two roots for the time being." Note: while the Altaic material fits perfectly semantically here, there are problems with the phonology.

Buck 1949:13.15 much, many. Illič-Svityč 1971—1984.II:41, no. 278, **malʌ* 'numerous, abundant'; Möller 1911:162; Bomhard—Kerns 1994:651—652, no.528; Greenberg 2002:115—116, no. 262; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 1410, **mälʔV* 'full, much'.

860. Proto-Nostratic root **mal-* (~ **məl-*):
(vb.) **mal-* 'to be favorably disposed towards, to care about, to be devoted to, to like';
(n.) **mal-a* 'goodness, pleasantness'; (adj.) 'good, pleasant, pleasing'

A. Proto-Afrasian **mal-* '(vb.) to do good; (adj.) good': Semitic: Arabic *malīḥ* 'good'; Ugaritic *mlḥ* 'good, pleasant'; (?) Geez / Ethiopic *malḥa*, *malləḥa* [መልሐ] 'to do, to work', possibly 'to do good work'. Leslau 1987:343; Militarëv 2008a:196 and 2010:74. Note: Both Leslau and Militarëv suggest derivation from Proto-Semitic **milḥ-* 'salt'; this is rejected here. Egyptian *mnḫ* '(vb.) to be efficient, beneficent, excellent; (adj.) potent (of king); trusty (of officials); well-disposed, devoted; splendid (of buildings); excellent (of deeds, of occasions); costly (of materials); lavish (of worship); famous; well-established (of endowment)', *mnḫw* 'excellence, virtues (of someone)'. Hannig 1995:340—341; Erman—Grapow 1921:65 and 1926—1963.2:84—86; Gardiner 1957:569; Faulkner 1962:109. Orël—Stolbova 1995:392, no. 1816, **mVlVḥ-*/**mVlVḫ-* 'to be good'.

B. Dravidian: Tamil *mālimi* ‘youthful friendship’; Telugu *mālimi* ‘familiarity, love, affection’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:429, no. 4826.

C. Proto-Indo-European **mel-/*mol-/*mḷ-* ‘(vb.) to be favorably disposed towards, to care about, to be devoted to, to like; (adj.) good, pleasant’: Latin (comparative of *bonus*) *melior* ‘better’; Lithuanian *malonùs* ‘nice, pleasant’, *malõniai* ‘pleasantly, nicely, good’. Pokorny 1959:720 **mel-* ‘strong, big’; Walde 1927—1932.II:292 **mel-*; Mann 1984—1987:728 **măl-* ‘to like, to prefer; better’; Watkins 1985:40 **mel-* and 2000:53 **mel-* ‘strong, great’; Mallory—Adams 1997:235 **mel-* ‘good’; Ernout—Meillet 1979:394—395; De Vaan 2008:370; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.II: 63—64 **mel-* ‘strong, great’. Different etymology in Fraenkel 1962—1965.I:402—403 and Smoczyński 2007.1:370. The following probably belong here as well: Hittite (nom.-acc. sg.) *ma-al*, *ma-a-al* ‘brains, wits, wisdom, mindset, disposition’, (3rd sg. pres.) *ma-la-a-i* ‘to have in mind, to (be in) favor (of), to agree (with), to consent (to), to approve, to authorize, to endorse, to sanction, to acknowledge’ (common as a technical term in oracle texts), (nom. sg.) *ma-l]i-ya-aš-ḫa-aš* ‘agreement, consent, approval’; Greek μέλω ‘to be an object of care, to care for’, μελεδαίνω ‘to care for, to be concerned about; to tend, to attend to’, μελέτη ‘care, attention’, μελετάω ‘to care for, to attend to’, μέλημα ‘the object of care, darling (of persons)’, μέλλω ‘to think of doing, to intend to do, to be about to do’. Puhvel 1984— .6:20—21 and 6:25—28; Kloekhorst 2008b:545—546 **mól-*; Boisacq 1950:625 **mel-*; Frisk 1970—1973.II:202—203 and II:204—206; Hofmann 1966:196; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:682—683 and II:684; Beekes 2010.II:927 and II:928—929.

D. Etruscan *mlaχ*, *mlac* ‘beautiful’.

E. Proto-Chukchi-Kamchatkan **mæl-* ‘good’: Chukchi *nə-mel-qin* ‘good’, *melmel* ‘good weather’, *mel-et-* ‘to clear up (weather)’; Kerek *nə-mal-Xi* ‘good’, *malmaal-at-* ‘to be good weather’; Koryak *nə-mel-qin* ‘good, dear, easy’, *melmel* ‘good weather’, *mel-et-* ‘to clear up (weather)’; Alyutor *nə-mal-qin* ‘good’; Kamchadal / Itelmen *mel-laX* ‘good’, *mel* ‘well, strongly’. Fortescue 2005:171—172; Mudrak 1989b:101 **mel-* ‘good’. Proto-Chukchi-Kamchatkan **mælæv-* ‘to cure or be cured’: Chukchi *melew-* ‘to be cured, to regain one’s health’, *rə-melew-et-* ‘to cure, to treat’; Kerek *malau-* ‘to cure’, *malaw-jan* ‘hospital’; Koryak *melev-* ‘to be cured, to regain one’s health’, *jə-melev-* ‘to cure, to treat’, *malaw-jan* ‘hospital’; Alyutor *masɣav-* ‘to get better’, *tə-masɣav-*, *ta-n-masɣav-ŋə-* ‘to cure’; Kamchadal / Itelmen *mele-* ‘to regain one’s health’. Fortescue 2005:172.

Buck 1949:16.71 good (adj.); 16.81 beautiful (also pretty). Bomhard—Kerns 1994:652—653, no. 529; Illič-Svityč 1971—1984.II:41, no. 278, **malʌ* ‘numerous, abundant’.

861. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **mal-a* ‘honey’:

A. Proto-Afrasian *_mal-_ ‘honey’: (?) Semitic: Ugaritic *mll* ‘honey (?)’. Proto-East Cushitic *_malab-_ ‘honey’ > Saho-Afar *mala(a)b-* ‘honey’; Boni *malub-* ‘honey’; Somali *malab* ‘honey’; Rendille *malab* ‘honey’; Gedeo / Darasa *malebo* ‘honey’; Hadiyya *marabo* ‘honey’; Kambata *malabu* ‘honey’; Sidamo *malab-o* ‘honey’. Sasse 1979:14; Hudson 1989:81. Proto-Southern Cushitic *_mala_ ‘mead’ > Ma’a *mála* ‘beer’ (generic); Dahalo *móla* ‘mead’. Ehret 1980:154; Takács 2008:218—219.

B. Proto-Indo-European *_mel-i-t^{h}_ (gen. sg. *_mel-n-es_) ‘honey’: Hittite (nom.-acc. sg.) *mi-li-it* ‘honey’, (3rd sg. pret. act.) *me-li-te-iš-ta* ‘to be or become sweet’, (nom.-acc. sg. c.) *mi-li-id-du-uš* ‘honeyed, sweet’ (nom.-acc. n. *mi-li-id-du*); Palaic (dat.-loc. pl.) *ma-li-ta-an-na-aš* ‘honeyed, sweet’; Luwian (nom.-acc. sg.) *ma-al-li* ‘honey’; Hieroglyphic Luwian *ma-li-ti-mi-a-ś* ‘sweet’; Greek μέλι ‘honey’; Armenian *meł* ‘honey’; Albanian *mjaltë* ‘honey’; Latin *mel* (gen. sg. *mellis*) ‘honey’; Old Irish *mil* ‘honey’; Gothic *miliþ* ‘honey’; Swedish *mjöldagg* ‘mildew’; Danish *meldugg* ‘mildew’; Old English *mil-*, *mele-* in: *mildēaw*, *meledēaw* (< Proto-Germanic *_meliθ_ ‘honey’ + *_dawwaz_ ‘dew’) ‘honeydew, nectar’; Old Saxon *milidou* ‘mildew’; Dutch *meeldauw* ‘mildew’; Old High German *militou* ‘mildew’ (New High German *Mehltau* [with assimilation to *Mehl*] ‘powdery mildew’, *Meltau* ‘mildew, blight’). Pokorny 1959:723—724 *_meli-t_, (gen. sg.) *_mel-nés_ ‘honey’; Walde 1927—1932.II:296 *_melit_; Mann 1984—1987:751 *_melit_ (*_meli_) ‘honey’; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.II:603—605 *_mel-i-t[^{h}]-_ and 1995.I:517 *_mel-i-t^{h}-_ ‘honey’ (Latin gen. sg. *mellis* < *_mel-n-es_); Mallory—Adams 1997:271 *_mélit_ ‘honey’; Watkins 1985:41 *_melit-_ and 2000:54 *_melit-_ ‘honey’; Puhvel 1984— .6:153—158; Kloekhorst 2008b:580—581; Benveniste 1935:7—8; Boisacq 1950:624 *_melit_; Frisk 1970—1973.II:200—201 *_meli-t_ (Latin gen. sg. *mellis* < *_mel-n-és_?); Beekes 2010.II:925—926 *_melit-_; Hofmann 1966:196 *_melit_; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:681—682; Ernout—Meillet 1979:394; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.II:61—62 *_mel-i-t_, (gen. sg.) *_mel-n-és_; De Vaan 2008:370; Meyer 1891:281—282; Kroonen 2013:363 Proto-Germanic *_meliþ-_ ‘honey’; Orël 1998:268 and 2003:266 Proto-Germanic *_meliskaz_, 266 *_meliskōn_, 266 *_meliþ_; Falk—Torp 1903—1906.I:507; Lehmann 1986:255—256 *_mel-i-t_; Feist 1939:359—360 *_melit_, (gen. sg.) *_melitos_; Walshe 1951:149; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:473 *_melit_; Kluge—Seebold 1989:470; Onions 1966:576 Common Germanic *_meliþ_; Klein 1971:465 *_melit-_.

C. (?) Altaic: Proto-Turkic *_bąl_ ‘honey’ (if from *_mal-_) > Karakhanide Turkic *bal* ‘honey’; Turkish *bal* ‘honey’; Gagauz *bal* ‘honey’; Azerbaijani *bal* ‘honey’; Turkmenian *bal* ‘honey’; Uzbek *bɔl* ‘honey’; Uighur *bal* ‘honey’; Karaim *bal* ‘honey’; Tatar *bal* ‘honey’; Bashkir *bal* ‘honey’; Kirghiz *bal* ‘honey’; Kazakh *bal* ‘honey’; Noghay *bal* ‘honey’; Chuvash *pĭl* ‘honey’. [Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:897—898 *_male_ ‘honey, plant oil’.]

Buck 1949:5.84 honey; 5.91 mead. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:657, no. 545; Greenberg 2002:97, no. 213.

862. Proto-Nostratic root **mal-* (~ **məl-*):
(vb.) **mal-* ‘to draw (out), to squeeze (out), to suck (out); to give suck, to suckle, to nurse’;
(n.) **mal-a* ‘milk; breast’

A. Proto-Afrasian **mal-* ‘to draw (out), to squeeze (out), to suck (out); to give suck, to suckle, to nurse’: Semitic: Arabic *malağa* (inf. *malğ*) ‘to suck (the mother’s breast)’, *malağa* (inf. *ʔimlāğ*) ‘to give suck’. Arabic *malaḥa* ‘to give suck’. Proto-Sam **maal-* ‘to milk’ > Somali *maal-* ‘to milk’; Rendille *maal-* ‘to milk’. Heine 1978:90. [Orël—Stolbova 1995:392, no. 1815, **mVlog-* ‘bosom; to suck’.]

B. Proto-Indo-European **mel-k’-*/**mol-k’-*/**mḷ-k’-* ‘(vb.) to draw (milk), to milk, to suck; to give suck, to suckle; (n.) milk’: Greek ἀμέλγω ‘to milk, to draw milk from animals, to squeeze out like milk; to drink’, ἀμολγεύς ‘a milk-pail’, ἀμολγαῖος ‘of milk, made with milk’; Albanian *mjel* ‘to milk’; Latin *mulgeō* ‘to milk’, *mulctra* ‘a milk-pail’; Old Irish *mlicht*, *blicht* (< **mḷk’-*) ‘milk’, *mliuchtae*, *mlichtae* ‘milch’, (3rd sg.) *mligid* ‘to milk; to draw (out), to extract’; Middle Irish (1st sg.) *bligim* (< **mligim*) ‘to milk’, *melg* ‘milk’; Welsh *blith* (< **mlikt-* < **mḷk’-t^{h}i-*) ‘milk’; Gothic *miluks* ‘milk’; Old Icelandic *mjólka* ‘to milk, to give milk’, *mjólk* ‘milk’, *mjólkr* ‘milch, giving milk’, *mylkja* ‘to suckle’; Swedish *mjölk* ‘milk’; Old English *melcan* ‘to milk’, *melc* ‘giving milk, milch’, *meolc*, *meoluc*, *milc* ‘milk’, *meolcian* ‘to give milk, to suckle’, *molcen* ‘curdled milk’; Old Frisian *melok* ‘milk’; Old Saxon *miluk* ‘milk’; Dutch *melk* ‘milk’; Old High German *melchan* ‘to milk’ (New High German *melken*), *miluh* ‘milk’ (New High German *Milch*); Lithuanian *mélžu*, *mìlžti* ‘to milk’, *málžau*, *málžyti* ‘to milk’, *malžì* ‘giving milk’; Russian Church Slavic *mъlzu*, *mlěsti* ‘to milk’; Russian *molokó* [молоко] ‘milk’, *molózivo* [молозиво] ‘beestings, colostrum’; Tocharian A *mālk-* ‘to milk’, A *malke* ‘milk’, B *malkwer* ‘milk’. Rix 1998a:249—250 **h$_2$melĝ-* ‘to milk’; Pokorny 1959:722—723 **mĕlĝ-* (or **meləĝ-* ?) ‘to stroke off, to wipe, to milk’; Walde 1927—1932.II:298—299 **melĝ-*; Mann 1984—1987:750 **melĝō* ‘to caress, to titillate, to massage, to milk’, 750 **melĝos*, *-ā*, *-is* ‘milk; milky sap, latex’, 750—751 **melĝtis* ‘milk’, 774—775 **mḷĝ-*, 775 **mḷĝō*, *-i̯ō* ‘to caress, to wipe, to milk’, 775 **mḷĝt-*, 792 **molĝ-* ‘drip, milk’; Watkins 1985:41 **melg-* (zero-grade form **mḷg-*) and 2000:54 **melg-* ‘to rub off’, also ‘to milk’ (oldest form **ḭ$_2$melĝ-*) (zero-grade form **mḷg-*); Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.II:569—571 **melk̂’-* and 1995.I:486—488 **melk̂’-* ‘(vb.) to milk; (n.) milk’; Mallory—Adams 1997:381 **h$_a$melĝ-* ‘to milk’; Benveniste 1935:157 **ḭ$_2$m-él-g-*; Hofmann 1966:15; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:74—75 **mĕlg-*, **mḷg-*; Frisk 1970—1973.I:91; Boisacq

1950:52 **amelĝ-*; Beekes 2010.I:86 **h₂melǵ-*; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.II:121 **melĝ-*; Ernout—Meillet 1979:418 **mĕlg'-*, **mļg'-*; De Vaan 2008:393; Orël 1998:270 and 2003:266—267 Proto-Germanic **melkanan*, 267 **melkaz*, 267 **melktaz*, 267 **melukōjanan*, 267 **melukz*; Kroonen 2013:347 Proto-Germanic **meluk-* 'milk', 364 **meluka-* 'giving milk', and 364—365 **mel(u)kan-* 'to milk'; Feist 1939:360—361 **melĝ-*; Lehmann 1986:256 **mēlĝ-*, **mļĝ-*; De Vries 1977:389 and 397; Boutkan—Siebinga 2005:254—255; Onions 1966:575 and 576 **melg-*, **mļg-*; Klein 1971:464 and 465; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:473 **melĝ-* and 478; Kluge—Seebold 1989:472 **melǵ-* and 478; Huld 1984:256; Preobrazhensky 1951:550—551; Derksen 2008:307 and 2015:310—311 **h₂melǵ-*; Fraenkel 1962—1965.I:434—435; Smoczyński 2007.1:387—388; Van Windekens 1976—1982.I:284 **melĝ-*; Adams 1999:442 **melĝ-*.

C. Uralic: Proto-Finno-Ugrian **mälke* 'breast' > Karelian *mälvi* 'the breast meat of a bird'; Estonian *mälv* 'wishbone, breastbone, sternum'; Lapp / Saami *miel'gâ* 'breast, chest (of animals; of humans only in certain expressions)'; Cheremis / Mari *mel* 'breast'; Vogul / Mansi *mägl* 'breast'; Votyak / Udmurt *myl-* in *myl-aź* 'the front side of the breast'; Mordvin (Moksha) *mälhkä* 'breast'; Hungarian *mell* 'chest, breast, bosom'; Ostyak / Xanty *mögəl* 'breast'. Rédei 1986—1988:267 **mälke*; Collinder 1955:97 and 1977:114; Sammallahti 1988:546 **mälki* 'breast'. Yukaghir (Southern / Kolyma) *melut* 'breast'. Nikolaeva 2006:263. Semantic development as in Old Church Slavic *sъsъ* 'breast' < *sъsǫ*, *sǫsati* 'to suck' or Gujarati *dhāvvũ* 'to suck at the breast', *dhāvaṇ* 'mother's milk, the breasts', *dhāi* 'woman's breast or teat', all derived from Vedic *dhāpáyate* 'to suckle'. Note also the reverse semantic development in Modern Greek, where βυζαίνω 'to suck, to suckle' is derived from Late Greek βυζίον 'woman's breast'.

D. Eskimo: Proto-Inuit **malak* or **malaq* 'upper part of breast' > North Alaskan Inuit *malak* 'chest'; Eastern Canadian Inuit *malak* 'upper part of breast of mammals'; Greenlandic Inuit *malaq* 'front of throat'. Fortescue—Jacobson—Kaplan 1994:186 **malak* or **malaq* 'front of throat'. Proto-Eskimo **məluɣ-* 'to suck (breasts)': Alutiiq Alaskan Yupik *məluɣ-* 'to suck'; Central Alaskan Yupik *məluɣ-* 'to suck'; Naukan Siberian Yupik *məluk-* 'baby's "pacifier" of walrus or reindeer fat'; Central Siberian Yupik *məluɣ-* 'to suck'; Sirenik *məɬəɣ-* 'to suck or breathe in'; Seward Peninsula Inuit *məlu* (Imaqliq) 'nipple', (Qawiaraq) 'breast, udder, milk'; North Alaskan Inuit *miluk* 'nipple, breast', (Malimiut) 'milk'; Western Canadian Inuit *miluk* 'woman's breast', (Siglit) 'milk' (probably influenced by English); Eastern Canadian Inuit *miluk-* 'to suck', *millua(q)-* 'to suckle'; Greenlandic Inuit *miluɣ-*, *miɬɬuɣ-* 'to suck'. Fortescue—Jacobson—Kaplan 1994:197—198.

Buck 1949:4.40 breast (front of chest); 4.41 breast (of woman); 5.16 suck (vb.); 5.86 milk (sb.); 5.87 milk (vb.). Bomhard—Kerns 1994:672—674, no. 552; Dolgopolsky 1998:28—29, no. 19, **mälge* ‘breast, female breast’ and 2008, no. 1414, **mälgê* (or **mälkê* ?) ‘breast, udder’; Illič-Svityč 1971—1984.II:57—58, no. 291, **mälgi* ‘breast, udder’; Hakola 2000:102, no. 436; Greenberg 2002:122—123, no. 281; Fortescue 1998:155.

863. Proto-Nostratic root (Eurasiatic only) **mal-* (~ **məl-*):
(vb.) **mal-* ‘to rub, to wipe, to stroke’;
(n.) **mal-a* ‘the act of rubbing, wiping, stroking’

A. Proto-Indo-European **mel-k’-/*mol-k’-/*mḭ-k’-* ‘to wipe, to stroke’: Sanskrit *mṛjáti* ‘to wipe, to rub, to cleanse, to polish, to clean, to purify, to adorn; to make smooth, to curry (for example, a horse or other animal); to stroke; to wipe off or out, to remove, to destroy’, *mṛjā* ‘wiping, cleansing, washing, purification, ablution’, *mṛṣṭá-ḥ* ‘washed, cleansed, polished; clean, pure; smeared, besmeared with’, *márjya-ḥ* ‘cleansed, prepared’; Avestan *mərəzaiti* ‘to wipe, to touch’. Rix 1998a:249—250 **h₂melĝ-* ‘to milk’; Pokorny 1959:722—723 **mĕlĝ-* (or **meləĝ-* ?) ‘to stroke off, to wipe, to milk’; Walde 1927—1932.II:298—299 **melĝ-*; Mann 1984—1987:749 **melĝō* ‘to caress, to titillate, to massage, to milk’ and 775 **mḭĝō*, *-i̯ō* ‘to caress, to wipe, to milk’; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.II:670—671 **melǵ-*; Watkins 1985:41 **melg-* (zero-grade form **mḭg-*) and 2000:54 **melg-* ‘to rub off’, also ‘to milk’ (oldest form **h₂₍melĝ-*) (zero-grade form **mḭg-*). Proto-Indo-European **mel-kʰ-/*mol-kʰ-/*mḭ-kʰ-* ‘to touch, to stroke, to handle’: Sanskrit *mṛśáti* ‘to touch, to stroke, to handle’; Latin *mulceō* ‘to stroke, to touch lightly’, *mulcō* ‘to thrash, to cudgel; to handle roughly’. Rix 1998a:250 **h₂melk̂-* ‘to touch, to stroke’; Pokorny 1959:724 **melk-* ‘to rub, to stroke’; Walde 1927—1932.II:297—298 **melk-*; Mann 1984—1987:776 **mḭk̂ō*, *-i̯ō* ‘to touch, to taste, to caress’; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.II:677—678; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.II:120 Latin *mulceō* < **molkei̯ō*, *mulcō* < **molkāi̯ō*; stem **melk-* and II:121; Ernout—Meillet 1979:418; De Vaan 2008:392—393.

B. Uralic: Proto-Finno-Ugrian **mälɜ-* ‘to feel, to handle, to touch’ > Votyak / Udmurt *mähleht*ä- ‘to recall, to remember’; Estonian *mälu* ‘memory’, *mäle-*, *mäleta-* ‘to remember’; Zyrian / Komi (Sysola) *malal-* ‘to feel, to handle, to touch’; Ostyak / Xanty (Vah) *mäl-* ‘to touch with the fingers, etc.’. Rédei 1986—1988:267—268 **mälɜ-*.

C. Proto-Altaic **mali-* originally ‘to rub, to wipe, to stroke’, then also ‘(vb.) to beat; (n.) club, mallet, cudgel’: Proto-Tungus **mala-* ‘(vb.) to beat; (n.) club, mallet’ > Manchu *mala* ‘a wooden mallet’, *malaša-* ‘to beat to death fish caught under ice’; Udihe *mulʹeu* ‘club, pestle’; Solon *malã* ‘club, pestle’. Proto-Mongolian **milaɣa* ‘whip’ > Written Mongolian *milaɣa* ‘whip, scourge’, *milaɣada-* ‘to whip’; Khalkha *malia* [малиа] ‘whip’;

Buriat *minā* ‘whip’; Kalmyk *maĺā* ‘whip’; Ordos *milā* ‘a strip for fixing a whip on its handle’; Dagur *minā*, *nimā* ‘whip’; Shira-Yughur *munā* ‘whip’. Note also Written Mongolian *milaγa-* (also *maliya-*) ‘to anoint, to smear with oil’. Proto-Turkic **baltu* ‘axe’ > Old Turkic (Old Uighur) *baltu* ‘axe’; Karakhanide Turkic *baldu* ‘axe’; Turkish *balta* ‘axe’; Azerbaijani *balta* ‘axe’; Turkmenian *palta* ‘axe’; Uzbek *bɔlta* ‘axe’; Karaim *balta* ‘axe’; Tatar *balta* ‘axe’; Bashkir *balta* ‘axe’; Kirghiz *balta* ‘axe’; Kazakh *balta* ‘axe’; Noghay *balta* ‘axe’; Oyrot (Mountain Altai) *malta* ‘axe’; Yakut *balta*, *baltïsaχ* ‘arrow with a blunt end’. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:898 **mali* ‘stick, cudgel’.

D. Proto-Chukchi-Kamchatkan **male-* ‘to wipe or sweep up’: Chukchi *male-* ‘to wipe, to stroke (affectionately)’, *mal-ecγən* ‘towel’; Kerek *ma(a)li-*, *ma(a)lə-* ‘to wipe’, *mali-ttu-* ‘to smooth out, to stroke, to caress’, *mal-iitn* ‘rag for cleaning’, *in-maalʲ-i-u-* ‘comfort’; Koryak *male-* ‘to wipe, to sweep’, *malʲe-* ‘to stroke (affectionately)’; Alyutor (Palana) *maletat-* ‘to sweep up’, *mali-* ‘to touch, to brush away’; Kamchadal / Itelmen *male-kas* ‘to sweep up’, (Western) *malete-s* ‘to sweep out’, (Eastern) *malixc* ‘to sweep out’. Fortescue 2005:169—170; Mudrak 1989b:102 **mali-* ‘to sweep’.

Buck 1949:9.21 strike (hit, beat); 9.31 rub; 9.37 sweep; 15.71 touch (vb.); 15.72 feel (vb.), feel of; 15.73 touch (sb.).

864. Proto-Nostratic (adj.) **mal-a* ‘other, next, second’:

A. Afrasian: North Cushitic: Beja / Beḍawye *málo*, *mállo* ‘two’, *málho* ‘duality, a pair’. Reinisch 1895:168 and 169; Almkvist 1881—1885.I:82 and III:45.

B. Dravidian: Kannaḍa *mala* ‘other, next, second (in compounds)’; Telugu *malu* ‘next, second’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:419, no. 4732.

C. Yukaghir (Northern / Tundra) *maala-* ‘both sides, opposite’, *maalaγur* ‘both sides of something’, (Southern / Kolyma) *maːləγulʹəlgə* ‘around’. Nikolaeva 2006:257.

D. Proto-Eskimo **malʀuɣ* ‘two’: Alutiiq Alaskan Yupik *malluk* ‘two’; Central Alaskan Yupik *malʀuk* ‘two’; Naukan Siberian Yupik *malʀuk* ‘two’; Central Siberian Yupik *malʀuk* ‘two’; Sirenik *malʀux* ‘two’; Seward Peninsula Inuit *maʀluuk*, (Qawiaraq) *malʀuk* ‘two’; North Alaskan Inuit *malʀuk* ‘two’; Western Canadian Inuit *malʀuk* ‘two’; Eastern Canadian Inuit *maʀʀuuk* ‘two’; Greenlandic Inuit *maʀłuk* ‘two’. Fortescue—Jacobson—Kaplan 1994:187. Proto-Eskimo **malʀi* ‘twin’: Alutiiq Alaskan Yupik *mal<ʀ>ik* ‘twins’; Central Alaskan Yupik *malʀi* ‘twin’; Central Siberian Yupik *malʀik* ‘twins’; Seward Peninsula Inuit *malʀi* ‘twin’; North Alaskan Inuit *malʀi* ‘twin’; Western Canadian Inuit *malʀik*, *malʀiak* ‘twins’; Eastern Canadian Inuit *maʀʀuliak* ‘twins’; Greenlandic Inuit

maʁłuliaq ‘twin’. Fortescue—Jacobson—Kaplan 1994:187. Proto-Eskimo **malʁu(C)it* ‘two sets’: Alutiiq Alaskan Yupik *malʁuin* ‘two sets’; Central Alaskan Yupik *malʁuin* ‘two sets’; Seward Peninsula Inuit *maʁluit* ‘two sets, pairs, or groups’; North Alaskan Inuit *malʁuit* ‘two sets’; Eastern Canadian Inuit *maʁʁuit* ‘two sets’; Greenlandic Inuit *maʁłuiit* ‘two sets’. Fortescue—Jacobson—Kaplan 1994:187.

Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 1400, **mAlV* ‘another, second’ or ‘two’.

865. Proto-Nostratic root **mal-* (~ **məl-*):
(vb.) **mal-* ‘to bend, to twist, to turn’;
(n.) **mal-a* ‘bend, turn’
Derivative:
(vb.) **mal-* ‘to be confused, perplexed, disturbed, bewildered, mistaken’;
(n.) **mal-a* ‘confusion, perplexity, bewilderment’

A. Afrasian: Proto-Semitic **ma-(ya-)l-* ‘to bend, to bend down, to incline’ > Arabic *māla* (base *myl*) ‘to bend, to bend down; to bow down, to lean over, to turn (toward someone); to incline, to slope, to slant, to tilt, to tip; to be inclined, slanting, oblique; to incline toward, to tend, to be favorably disposed (to); to have a predilection, a liking, an inclination, a propensity (for); to feel sympathy (for), to sympathize (with), to favor; to take sides, to side (with); to be partial, biased, prejudiced; to lean (against); to revolt, to rebel (against), to be hostile (to someone); to be disinclined, to be adverse (to something); to have an antipathy, a distaste, a dislike (for); to deviate, to digress, to turn away, to depart (from); to drag or take someone or something along to’, *mayl* ‘inclination, tilt; bend, turn, deflection; obliqueness, obliquity, slant; slope, incline, declivity; deviation, divergence, declination; affection (for), attachment (to); predilection, liking, sympathy (for); propensity, disposition, bent, leaning, proclivity, taste, desire, wish, longing, tendency, trend, drift (to or toward)’, *māʔil* ‘inclining (to or toward); bending down, bowing down, leaning over; bent, tilted; sloping, declivitous (terrain); inclined, slanting, oblique’; Ḥarsūsi *meyōl* ‘to turn away, to turn aside’; Mehri *məyūl* ‘to look, to turn sideways, to turn aside, to incline to one side’, *həmyūl* ‘to incline to one side’; Śḥeri / Jibbāli *mēl* ‘to turn sideways, to incline’, *šəmyél* ‘to be inclined to one side’. Zammit 2002:392. Arabic *malwiyy* ‘twisted, plaited’, *malwūḳ* ‘bent, folded; distorted’, *mulawwa* ‘distorted’.

B. Dravidian: Tamil *malukku* ‘slip-knot’; Kannaḍa *malaku* ‘a turn, twist, fold, bend; a sash’, *mallaṇi*, *mallaṛi* ‘turning round, wandering about’; Telugu *malāgu* ‘to wander, to roam about, to turn back (intr.); to become crooked’, *malāpu* ‘to turn back (intr.)’, *malapu* ‘to turn back (tr.)’, *malācu* ‘to turn back, to bend, to cause to slant’, *mala-gonu* ‘to be twisted’, *malayu* ‘to be twisted; to wander, to roam’, *malāka* ‘a twist, curved line, crookedness,

spiral', *maluku* 'a turn, twist, fold, slip-knot', *malugu*, *maluvu* 'a turning'; Kolami *malay-* 'to return', *malāy-* 'to return, to roam'; Parji *mell-* 'to return'; Gondi *mallānā*, *mall-*, *mal-*, *maldānā* 'to return', (caus.) *malluhtānā*, *mallahtānā* 'to turn back'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:419, no. 4734. Kannaḍa *malagu*, *malaṅgu* '(vb.) to recline, to rest, to lie down; (n.) pillow, cushion'; Koḍagu *malaŋg-* (*malaŋgi-*) 'to lie down, neglecting work'; Tuḷu *malaguni* 'to lie down, to sleep', *maleṅguni* 'to recline, to lean against'; Kolami *maŋg-* (*maŋkt-*) 'to sleep, to have sexual intercourse', *maŋ-* 'to sleep'; Naikṛi *maŋg-* 'to sleep'; Naiki (of Chanda) *maŋg-* 'to sleep, to lie down', *maŋgup-* 'to make to sleep'; Gondi *malŋ* 'bedstead'; Pengo *mag-* (*makt-*) 'to lie, to sleep', *mak-* 'to cause to lie, to fell (tree)'; Kuwi *meg-* 'to fall down, to fall off'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:419, no. 4735. Tamil *malar* 'to turn the face or mouth upward (as a pot)', *malarttu* (*malartti-*) 'to throw on one's back (as in wrestling)', *mallā*, *mallār* 'to fall or lie on the back', *mallāttu* (*mallātti-*) 'to make a person or thing lie on the back'; Malayalam *malaruka* 'to lie on the back', *malarttuka* 'to place on the back, to lie open', *malakkam* 'standing upright and bending the head backwards'; Koḍagu *mala·ra* 'outstretched with face upward', *male-* (*malev-*, *maland-*) 'to turn face upward (intr.)', *mala-* (*malap-*, *malat-*), *malat-* (*malati-*) 'to turn face upward (tr.)'; Tuḷu *malaṅkaṇi*, *malaṅkaṇè* 'on the back'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:420, no. 4740. Toda *malf-* (*malt-*) '(buffalo) to look sideways before charging'; Kannaḍa *mālu* 'to bend', *māla*, *mālu* 'sloping, slanting; slope, descent', *mālisu* 'to look obliquely, to turn the eye and cast a look from the corner, to bend to one side (as a post, etc.), to behold for the first time'; Tuḷu *māluni* 'to lean, to incline, to reel, to stagger, to totter', *mālāvuni* 'to make lean or incline, to cause to lean', *malave* 'man with squint eyes', *maleyuni*, *malevuni* 'to frown, to scowl, to stare'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:428—429, no. 4825. Perhaps also: Tamil *mālai* 'garland, wreath, necklace, anything strung together, line, row', *malai*, *milai* 'to wear, to put on (as a garland)'; Malayalam *māla* 'garland, wreath, necklace, dewlap'; Kannaḍa *māle* 'wreath, garland, necklace, row, line, series (one of the tatsamas)'; Koḍagu *ma·le* 'necklace, dewlap, jungle cock's ruff of neck-feathers'; Tuḷu *mālè* 'garland, wreath, necklace'; Telugu *māla* 'garland, wreath, necklace'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:429, no. 4827. Tamil *māl* 'a kind of net'; Malayalam *māl* 'a kind of net for carrying fruits, fishing, etc.', *māli* 'a coir net'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:428, no. 4823.

C. Proto-Altaic **malt^{h}e* 'to bend, to twist': Proto-Tungus *maltu-* 'to bend' > Evenki *maltu-* 'to bend'; Lamut / Even *maltъ-* 'to bend'; Negidal *maltị-* 'to bend'; Orok *māltịma* 'folding knife'; Solon *malta-* 'to bend'. Proto-Mongolian **möltü-re-* ~ **multu-ra-* (< **malt^{h}e-rV*) 'to twist, to contort, to disentangle' > Written Mongolian *möltüre-* 'to loosen, to detach; to be dislocated, disjointed; to escape', *möltüle-* 'to dislocate, to disjoint', *multura-* 'to pull out, to disentangle oneself; to be freed from; to disjoint;

to slip off, to escape; to break loose', *multul(a)-* 'to free by taking off or out, to pull out completely (as a plant with its roots); to unharness, to unyoke; to unlock, to uncouple, to unlink, to disconnect, to unscrew, to disjoint, to luxate'; Khalkha *möltlö-* / *multla-* 'to separate, to disconnect, to pull loose; to dislocate; to unharness, to unyoke; to free', *möltrö-* / *multra-* 'to break loose, to come loose; to become untied, disentangled; to become free'; Buriat *mülterχey* 'slippery, intangible'; Kalmyk *möltərə-* 'to twist, to contort, to disentangle'; Dongxiang *multurə-* 'to twist, to contort, to disentangle'; Monguor *mutirē-*, *mutərē-*; *mutili-*, *mutələ-* 'to twist, to contort, to disentangle'. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2006:899 **malt'e* 'to bend, to twist'.

D. Chukchi-Kamchatkan: Proto-Chukotian **məla-* 'supple, flexible' > Chukchi *m(ə)l-at-* 'to become supple (skin)', *rə-məla-w-* 'to make supple (skin), to make strong or agile (person)', *nə-mlilə-qin* 'flexible, supple'; Kerek *nə-mlˀa-ɯ-* 'to soften skin'; Koryak *jə-mla-w-* 'to make supple', *nə-mlə-qin* 'flexible'; Alyutor *msa-* 'supple (skin)'. Fortescue 2005:182. Proto-Chukotian **məl(ro)-* 'nimble' > Chukchi *nə-mətlo-qen*, *mətlo-lˀen*, *nə-mlə-qen* 'nimble, quick', *mələ-twe-* 'to become nimble' [Bogoraz has *nə-mlə-qen* 'nimble, flexible' but *nə-mlə-qin* 'lively']; Alyutor *məlru-*, (Palana) *ne-mcə-qen* 'nimble'; Kerek *nə-məlʲlʲuu-Xi* 'nimble, bold'; Koryak *nə-məllʲo-qen* 'nimble'. Fortescue 2005:181—182. Proto-Chukchi-Kamchatkan (?) **məlav-* 'to dance': Chukchi *məlaw-* 'to dance'; Kerek *mlau-* 'to dance'; Koryak *məlav-* 'to dance', *məlaw* (n.) 'dance'; Alyutor *məlʲav-* 'to dance', *məlavvə* (n.) 'dance'; Kamchadal / Itelmen *maˀɬkas* 'play', *maˀɬe-s* 'game', *mɬavo-kas* 'dance' (this may be a loan from Chukotian). Fortescue 2005:182.

Buck 1949:6.75 necklace; 9.14 bend (vb. tr.); 10.12 turn (vb.); 10.13 turn around (vb.); 10.14 wind, wrap (vb.); 10.15 roll (vb.); 10.44 dance (vb.). Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 1401, **malV* 'to incline, to bend'.

866. Proto-Nostratic root **mal-* (~ **məl-*):
(vb.) **mal-* 'to be confused, perplexed, disturbed, bewildered, mistaken';
(n.) **mal-a* 'confusion, perplexity, bewilderment'
Derivative of:
(vb.) **mal-* 'to bend, to twist, to turn';
(n.) **mal-a* 'bend, turn'

A. Afrasian: Highland East Cushitic: Sidamo *maalal-* 'to be surprised'; Kambata *maalal-* 'to be surprised', *maalal-siis-* 'to surprise, to startle', *malat'-* 'to cheat'. Hudson 1989:331, 332, and 383.

B. Dravidian: Tamil *malaṅku* (*malaṅki-*) 'to be agitated, turbid, confused; to shake, to move, to tremble (as the eyes), to perish', *malakkam* 'confusion of the mind, distress, bewilderment', *malakku* (*malakki-*) 'to bewilder, to

disturb, to confuse', *malai* (*-v-*, *-nt-*) 'to be staggered, doubtful, or confused', *malai* (*-pp-*, *-tt-*) 'to be staggered, doubtful, or confused; to be amazed; to afflict, to distress', *malaippu* 'confusion of mind, astonishment, amazement', *malaivu* 'delusion, confusion of mind, amazement, fright'; Malayalam *malekka* 'to grow thick or muddy; to be perturbed, to be perplexed', *maleppu* 'perplexity, wonder'; Kannaḍa *mallaṇi*, *mallaṟi* 'bodily agitation, bewilderment, fear, amazement'; Telugu *malayu* 'to be distressed, to grieve'; Kolami *melg-* (*melekt-*) 'to shake (intr.)', *melp-* (*melept-*), *melgip-* (*melgipt-*) 'to shake (tr.)', *melagang* 'to move (intr.)'; Gadba (Salur) *melg-* 'to stir, to move'; Gondi *melhānā* 'to shake', *talla melihānā* 'to shake the head in trance', *mellī-* 'to move'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:419, no. 4736. Tamil *māl* (*mālv-*, *māṉṟ-*) '(vb.) to be confused, perturbed; (n.) illusion, delusion, aberration of mind, dullness, stupor, confusion, desire, love, lust', *māli* 'toddy', *māṉṟār* 'those who are confused in mind', *māṉṟal* 'bewilderment', *māṉ* (*māṉv-*, *māṉṟ-*) 'to be doubtful, to be confused'; Malayalam *māl* 'infatuation, confusion, grief, sickness of mind', *mālu* 'toddy'; Telugu *mālugu* '(vb.) to be lazy; (n.) laziness', *mālũbōtu* 'lazy man, sluggard'; Naiki (of Chanda) *māl* 'liquor'; Parji *mēl* 'liquor'; Gadba (Ollari) *māl* 'liquor', (Salur) *māl* 'liquor, toddy'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:428, no. 4822.

C. Proto-Indo-European **mel-*/**mol-*/**mḷ-* '(vb.) to be confused, mistaken, wrong; (n.) wrong, falsehood; (adj.) wrong, false': Armenian *meł* 'sin, transgression', *molim* 'to become mad', *molorim* 'to err, to be confused, to be mistaken; to be mad', *molar* 'erring, deceiving', *moli* 'mad, furious'; Middle Irish *mell* 'fault, sin', *mellaim* 'to deceive', *maile* 'evil'; Old English *āmeallian* 'to become insipid'; West Frisian *māl* 'foolish, mad'; Middle Low German *mall* 'stupid, foolish'; Dutch *mal* 'foolish, funny, cracked, crazy, mad'; Lithuanian *mẽlas* 'lie, falsehood'; Latvian *meli* 'lie, falsehood'; (?) Sanskrit *malvá-ḥ* 'thoughtless, foolish, unwise'; (?) Greek μέλεος 'idle, useless; unhappy, miserable'. Pokorny 1959:719—720 **mel-* 'to miss, to fail (to do or achieve something); to deceive, to delude, to mislead'; Walde 1927—1932.II:291 **mel-*; Mann 1984—1987:752 **melos* (oblique *-es-*) 'wrong, falsehood; wrong, false'; Watkins 1985:40 **mel-* 'to miss, to deceive'; Mallory—Adams 1997:155 **melos* 'bad', **méles-* 'fault, mistake', **mel-* 'to fail' and 2006:194 **méles-*, 197 **melo-*, **méles-*; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.II:602; Boisacq 1950:623—624; Frisk 1970—1973.II:200; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:681; Hofmann 1966:196 **mel-*; Beekes 2010.II:925; Martirosyan 2008:378 **mel-s-eh$_2$-* and 381—382; Orël 2003:258 Proto-Germanic **mallaz*; Vercoullie 1898:181; Fraenkel 1962—1965.I:430; Smoczyński 2007.1:385—386.

D. Yukaghir (Northern / Tundra) *maalijuori-* 'to surprise', *malii-* 'to amaze', *maalaa-* 'to peer with curiosity', *maaličneŋ* 'strange, funny', *maaluu-* 'amazing', *maalej-* 'amazed'. Nikolaeva 2006:257.

E. Proto-Eskimo **malukali-* ‘to be crazy’: Central Alaskan Yupik (Norton Sound Unaliq) *malukkali-* ‘to be rabid, insane’ (this is probably a borrowing from Inuit); Seward Peninsula Inuit *malukali-* ‘to be crazy’, *malukaŋa-* ‘to act crazy’; North Alaskan Inuit *malukali-* ‘to be crazy’, *malukaɣi-* ‘to consider inferior, to be ashamed of’, (Nunamiut) *malukaliq* ‘madman, rabid animal’; Western Canadian Inuit (Siglit) *malukaliŋayuq* ‘idiot’. Fortescue—Jacobson—Kaplan 1994:187.

Buck 1949:12.74 crooked; 16.68 deceit; 16.76 fault, guilt; 16.77 mistake, error; 17.23 insane, mad, crazy. Different etymology in Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 1402, **mæLV* (= **mælV* ?) ‘to hide’.

867. Proto-Nostratic root **man-* (~ **mən-*):
(vb.) **man-* ‘to suckle, to nurse (a child), to breastfeed’;
(n.) **man-a* ‘suckling, young (of humans and animals); breast’

A. Proto-Afrasian **man-* ‘(vb.) to suckle, to nurse (a child), to breastfeed; to bring up, to raise; (n.) baby, child; breast’: Egyptian *mnʿ* ‘to suckle, to nurse (a child); to bring up, to raise (of a father who brings up his child)’, *mnʿt* ‘female nurse, foster-mother’, *mnʿy* ‘male nurse; tutor’, *mnḏ* ‘breast’; Coptic (Sahidic) *moone* [ⲙⲟⲟⲛⲉ], (Bohairic) *moni* [ⲙⲟⲛⲓ] ‘nurse’, *mnot* [ⲙⲛⲟⲧ] ‘breast’. Erman—Grapow 1921:65, 66 and 1926—1963.2:77—78, 2:92—93; Hannig 1995:338 and 343—344; Faulkner 1962:108 and 110; Gardiner 1957:568 and 569; Vycichl 1983:115 and 117; Černý 1976:85 and 86. Proto-Southern Cushitic **manaʕ-* ‘baby’ > Iraqw *naʿay* ‘baby’; Burunge *naw* ‘baby boy’; Dahalo *mánaʿe* ‘baby’. Ehret 1980:153.
B. Proto-Indo-European **men-t’-*/**mon-t’-*/**mn̥-t’-* ‘(vb.) to suckle, to nurse (a child), to breastfeed; (n.) suckling, young animal; breast’: Albanian *mënt* ‘to suckle, to breastfeed’; Old High German (pl.) *manzon* ‘udders’; Middle Irish *menn* ‘young animal, calf’; Welsh *mynnan* ‘kid’; Cornish *min* ‘a kid, young goat’; Breton *menn* ‘young animal’. Pokorny 1959:729 **mend-*, **mond-* (**mn̥d-*) ‘(vb.) to suck, to suckle; (n.) breast’; Walde 1927—1932.II:232 **mand-*; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.II:556 and 1995.I:474; Mann 1984—1987:730 **mandos*, *-i̯os* ‘young animal, foal, calf’; Orël 2003:259 Proto-Germanic **manđjō*.

Buck 1949:2.25 boy; 2.26 girl; 2.27 child; 2.28 infant; 4.40 breast (front of chest); 4.41 breast (of woman); 4.42 udder. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:657, no. 534.

868. Proto-Nostratic root **man-* (~ **mən-*):
(vb.) **man-* ‘to count, to reckon’ (> ‘to consider, to think’ > ‘to recount’ > ‘to say, to speak’);
(n.) **man-a* ‘counting, reckoning’

Note: There may be more than one Proto-Nostratic root involved here: (1) **man-* ‘to count, to reckon’ and (2) **man-* ‘to say, to speak’.

A. Proto-Afrasian **man-* ‘to count, to reckon; to consider, to think’: Proto-Semitic **man-ay-* ‘to count, to reckon’ > Hebrew *mānāh* [מָנָה] ‘to count, to number, to reckon, to assign’, *mānāh* [מָנָה] ‘part, portion, ration, share’; Aramaic *mənā* ‘to number, to count, to reckon’; Ugaritic *mnt* ‘counting’; Akkadian *manū* ‘to count, to reckon’; Epigraphic South Arabian *mnw* ‘to allot’, *mnyt* ‘fortune’. Murtonen 1989:261; Klein 1987:355. Lowland East Cushitic: Somali *maan-* ‘mind’. West Chadic **man-* ‘to know’ > Sura *man-* ‘to know’; Bole *mon-* ‘to know’; Buli *man-* ‘to know’; Ngizim (Kanuri) *mánà* ‘word, speech; intention’ (cf. Schuh 1981:110). Jungraithmayr—Ibriszimow 1994.II:216—217. Central Chadic **man-*/**mun-* (secondary **-u-*) ‘to understand, to analyze’ > Lame *man-*, *mun-* ‘to understand, to analyze’. Orël—Stolbova 1995:373, no. 1721, **man-* ‘to know, to test’.

B. (?) Dravidian: Iruḷa *maṇi* ‘to talk, to speak’; Kota *mayṇ-* (*maṇc-*) ‘to talk, to scold, to abuse’; Tuḷu *maṇipuni*, *manipuni* ‘to speak, to utter’ (used chiefly in negative). Burrow—Emeneau 1984:413, no. 4671. Tamil *maṉu* ‘petition, request, prayer, word, submission’; Kannaḍa *manave*, *manuve* ‘petition, request, solicitation’; Telugu *manavi* ‘a humble or respectful representation, request, solicitation, prayer, petition’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:424, no. 4775.

C. Proto-Indo-European **men-*/**mon-*/**mn̥-* ‘to reckon, to consider, to think’: Hittite (3rd sg. pres.) *me-ma-a-i* (< **me-mn-eA-*) ‘to say, to speak’; Sanskrit *mányate* ‘to think, to believe, to imagine, to suppose, to conjecture’, *matí-ḥ* ‘thought’, *mántu-ḥ* ‘advice, counsel’, *mánas-* ‘mind, intellect, perception, sense, will, soul, thought’, *mántra-ḥ* ‘thought, prayer, spell, counsel’, *mantráyate* ‘to speak (RV), to consult with, to advise (MhB)’; Pāḷi *manutē* ‘to think, to discern’, *manō* ‘mind, thought’, *maññati* ‘to think, to deem, to be sure of’, *manta-* ‘spell, advice’; Oriya *maṇibā* ‘to know, to think, to agree’, *maṇā* ‘understanding, knowledge’; Hindi *mānnā* ‘to respect, to obey’, *man* ‘mind’; Romany *mắnăr* ‘to think’; Sinhalese *mana* ‘mind’; Assamese *māt* (< *mántra-ḥ*) ‘voice, utterance, speech’; Bashkarīk *man-* ‘to say’, *mänā-* ‘to read’; Chilīs *man-* ‘to say’; Phalūṛa *man-* ‘to say’; Avestan *man-* ‘to think’, *manah-* ‘thought, spirit, mind’; Old Persian *man-* ‘to think’, *manah-* ‘thinking power, power of will’; Greek μιμνήσκω ‘to remember’, μνάομαι ‘to be mindful of’; Latin *meminī* ‘to remember’, *moneō* ‘to remind’, *mēns* ‘mind’; Old Irish *do-moinethar* ‘to think’, *menme* ‘mind, intelligence’; Gothic *munan* ‘to think, to consider’, *ga-munds* ‘remembrance, memory’, *muns* ‘thought, intention’, *ga-minþi* ‘memory’; Old Icelandic *muna* ‘to remember’, *munr* ‘mind’, *minna* ‘to remind of’, *minni* ‘memory’; Old English *manian* ‘to remind, to admonish, to exhort’, *myndgian* ‘to remember, to bear in mind, to intend (intr.); to

remind (tr.)', *ge-mynan* 'to remember', *ge-mynde* 'mindful', *ge-mynd* 'memory, remembrance', *ge-mun* 'remembering', *myne* 'memory, remembrance'; Middle High German *gi-munt* 'memory, recollection'; Lithuanian *miniù*, *minėti* 'to mention, to refer, to remember', *mintìs* 'thought, reflection, idea'; Old Church Slavic *мьnǫ*, *мьněti* 'to think', *pamętь* 'memory'; Old Russian *měniti* 'to speak'. Rix 1998a:391—393 **men-* 'to form an idea' and 403 **mneh$_2$-* 'to think about'; Pokorny 1959:726—728 **men-* 'to think'; Walde 1927—1932.II:264—266 **men-*; Mann 1984—1987:756 **menō* 'to remember, to think, to remind', 757 **menos*, *-es-* 'power, craft, ability, skill', 758 **mentis*, *-us* 'thought, remembrance', 778 **mn̥-*, 779 **mn̥is*, *-i̯ə* 'thought, memory', 780 **mn̥ō*, *-i̯ō* (**mən-*) 'to think, to remember', 781 **mn̥t-* 'mind, mindful; mental, concept, shape', 795 **moni̯ō*, **monei̯ō* 'to think, to advise', 795 **moni̯os*, *-i̯ə* 'mind, thought, memory', 796 **monus* 'wise, thinking, intelligent, thought'; Watkins 1985:41 **men-* and 2000:54 **men-* 'to think'; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.I:176, II:813 **men-*/**m$_e$n-* > **mn̥-* and 1995.I:142, I:713 **men-*/**m$_e$n-* > **mn̥-* 'to think, to remember, to talk', I:172 **mn̥t^{h}is* 'mind'; Mallory—Adams 1997:575 **men-* 'to think, to consider'; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.II:563—564 **men-*; **mn̥ti-*, **menti-*, II:564 **mn̥-tú-*, II:573—574, II:577—578, and II:583—584; Boisacq 1950:625—626 **me-mn̥-*; **men-*, **m(e)nā-*; **mn̥tí-*; **mn̥nēi-*; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:685 **mn̥ti-* and II:702—703 **mnā-*; Frisk 1970—1973.II:206—207 Greek μέ-μα-μεν < **mé-mn̥-me* and II:238—241 **mnā-*; Hofmann 1966:196—197 **me-mn̥-*; **men-*, **m(e)nā-*, and 202 **menēi-*; Beekes 2010.II:953—954 **mneh$_2$-*; Ernout—Meillet 1979:395 **men-* and 412; De Vaan 2008:371—372, 372, and 387; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.II:65—67 **men-*, II:69—70 **mn̥tís*, and II:107 **monéi̯ō*; Orël 2003:259 Proto-Germanic **mana*, 259 **manēnan*, 268 **menđiz*, 268 **menþjan*, 268 **menþjanan*, 275 **munđiz*, 275—276 **munđōjanan*, 276 **munđraz*, 276 **munđrīn*, 276 **munēnan*, 276 **muniz*; Kroonen 2013:375 Proto-Germanic **munan-* 'to think, to remember, to intend' and 375 **mundi-* 'memory, mind'; Lehmann 1986: 145 **men-* 'to think' and 260—261 **men-*, **mnā-* (**mneu̯-*); **mn̥-ye/o-*; **mn̥ti-*; **men-e/o-*; Feist 1939:193, 194 **men-*, **mn̥tós*, and 366—367 **men-*; De Vries 1977:388, 395, and 396; Klein 1971:455 **men-* 'to think, to remember'; Onions 1966:577 Old English *ġemynd* < Germanic **ǯamunđiz*, Proto-Indo-European **men-*, **mon-*, **mn-* 'to revolve in the mind, to think'; Kloekhorst 2008b:573—575; Puhvel 1984— .6:126—140 **men-* 'to think, to remember'; Fraenkel 1962—1965.I:26 and I:455—459; Smoczyński 2007.1:401; Derksen 2008:340—341 **mn-eh$_1$-* and 2015:318 **mn-eh$_1$-*.

D. Proto-Uralic **мanз-* (**monз-*) 'to consider, to conjecture; to recount, to say, to speak': Finnish *manaa-* 'to warn, to exhort, to admonish, to curse, to bewitch, to execrate, to wish evil to'; Estonian *mana-* 'to abuse, to upbraid, to ruin, to slander, to curse', *mõna-* 'to give to understand, to

indicate'; Lapp / Saami *moannâ-*/*moanâ-*, *moanâdâ-* 'to conjecture, to solve by conjecture', (Southern) *muonĕ-* 'to appoint, to order, to prescribe; to conjecture'; Hungarian *mond-* (*-d* is a suffix) 'to say, to tell', *monda* 'legend, saga, myth', *mondás* 'saying, expression', *mondogat* 'to keep saying, to repeat'; Cheremis / Mari *mana-* 'to speak, to say, to order'; Yurak Samoyed / Nenets *maan-* 'to say'; Tavgi Samoyed / Nganasan *muno-* 'to say, to command'; Selkup Samoyed *my-* 'to say'; Kamassian *ma-* 'to say'. Collinder 1955:33, 1960:407 **manз-*, and 1977:53; Rédei 1986—1988:290—291 **mɤnз-* (**monз-*); Décsy 1990:103 **mona* 'to say'; Janhunen 1977b:88 **må-* ~ **mån-*. Yukaghir (Southern / Kolyma) *mon-* 'to say'; (Northern / Tundra) *mon-* 'to say'. Nikolaeva 2006:274. Note also: Yukaghir (Southern / Kolyma) *möńd'ə*, *meńd'ə* 'news', (Northern / Tundra) *mönd'e-* 'to be awake; to hear (to not be deaf)', *möńčeban-*, *menčeban-* 'to be endowed with the gift of foresight, to be a hypnotizer'. Nikolaeva 2006:264.

E. Proto-Altaic **mana-* 'to learn, to try': Proto-Tungus **man-dū-* 'to try, to strive' > Evenki *mandūw-* 'to try, to strive'; Lamut / Even *manru-* 'to try, to strive'; Orok *mandụ-* 'to try, to strive'. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:901 **mana* 'to learn, to try'.

Buck 1949:11.66 account, reckoning; 17.14 think (= be of the opinion); 18.21 speak, talk; 18.22 say. Illič-Svityč 1971—1984.II:42—43, no. 281, **manu-* 'to think'; Bomhard—Kerns 1994:639—641, no. 519; Pudas-Marlow 1974:62, no. 165; Hakola 2000:102—103, no. 438; Greenberg 2002:167, no. 388; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 1428, **moñV* 'to test, to think' and, no. 1439, **manñ[Vy]V* 'to speak, to call, to invoke magic forces'.

869. Proto-Nostratic root **man-* (~ **mən-*):
(vb.) **man-* 'to stay, to remain, to abide, to dwell; to be firm, steadfast, established, enduring';
(n.) **man-a* 'dwelling, house, home'

A. Proto-Afrasian **man-* 'to stay, to remain, to abide, to dwell; to be firm, steadfast, established, enduring', **man-*/**min-* 'dwelling, house, home': Proto-Semitic **ʔa-man-* 'to make firm, or secure, to safeguard, to assure' > Amorite *ʔmn* 'to be true'; Hebrew *ʔāman* [אָמַן] 'to confirm, to support, to verify, to approve; to be strong, enduring, reliable, steady; to stay faithful to, to have stability, to remain, to continue', *ʔōmēn* [אֹמֵן] 'faith, trust, confidence, fidelity' (a hapax legomenon in the Bible), *ʔāmēn* [אָמֵן] '(n.) faithfulness, truth; (adv.) Amen!, true!, so be it!'; Aramaic *ʔəman* 'to believe, to trust'; Syriac *ʔamīn* 'true, lasting', *ʔeθʔemen* 'to be steadfast, to persevere'; Phoenician *ʔmn* 'support'; Arabic *ʔamina* 'to be safe, to feel safe; to reassure, to set someone's mind to rest; to assure, to ensure, to safeguard, to guarantee, to warrant, to bear out, to confirm', *ʔamuna* 'to be

faithful, reliable, trustworthy', *ʔamān* 'security, safety, protection, safeguard, escort', *ʔamn* 'safety, peace, security, protection', *maʔman* 'place of safety, safe place', *ʔamīn* 'reliable, trustworthy, loyal, faithful, upright, honest, safe, secure; superintendent, curator, custodian, guardian, keeper', *ʔīmān* 'faith, belief'; Sabaean *ʔmn* '(vb.) to give assurance, to assure; (n.) security, protection'; Ḥarsūsi *ʔāmōn* 'to believe, to believe in, to trust', *ʔamān* 'safe conduct'; Śḥeri / Jibbāli *ʔūn* (base *ʔmn*) 'to trust in, to believe in'; Mehri *hāmōn* 'to trust in someone or something'; Geez / Ethiopic *ʔamna* [**አምነ**] 'to believe, to trust, to have faith in, to have confidence, to be true, to profess the faith, to confess (sins), to admit', *ʔamān* [**አማን**] 'truth; true, right, faithful, valid; verily'; Tigrinya *ʔamänä* 'to believe'; Tigre *ʔamna* 'to believe, to trust'; Amharic *ammänä* 'to believe, to testify'; Gurage *amänä* 'to believe, to trust, to confess, to admit', *əmnät* 'confidence, reliance, belief'; Harari *amäna* 'to believe'. Murtonen 1989:93; Klein 1987:35; Leslau 1963:26, 1979:49, and 1987:24; Zammit 2002:79—80. Egyptian *mn* 'to remain, to abide, to dwell; to be firm, established, enduring'; Coptic *mun* [**ⲙⲟⲩⲛ**] 'to remain, to continue'. Hannig 1995:333; Faulkner 1962:106; Erman—Grapow 1921:63 and 1926—1963.2:60—62; Gardiner 1957:568; Vycichl 1983:114; Černý 1976:83. Proto-East Cushitic **man-/*min-* 'house' > Somali *min* 'bridal house'; Rendille *min* 'house'; Boni *miŋ* 'house'; Bayso *min* 'house'; Elmolo *min* 'house'; Galla / Oromo *man-a* 'house'; Konso *man-a* 'house'; Burji *mín-a* 'house'; Hadiyya *min-e* 'house'; Kambata *min-e* 'house', *min-* 'to build (a house)'; Gedeo / Darasa *min-e* 'house'; Sidamo *min-e* 'house', *min-* 'to build (a house)'; Alaba *min-o* 'house'; Gawwada *man-o* 'house'; Gidole *man-a* 'house'; Gollango *man-o* 'house'. Hudson 1989:81; Sasse 1979:24 and 1982:145. Proto-Southern Cushitic **min-* 'house' > Dahalo *mìni* 'house'; Ma'a *mi*, *mínda* 'house'. Ehret 1980:158. West Chadic **man-/*min-* 'house, place' > Tangale *man* 'house'; Dera *məna* 'house'; Pero *mina* 'house'; Sha *mun* 'place' (secondary *-u-*). West Chadic: Ngizim *mànú* 'to spend a year', (verbal noun) *mánù* 'spending a year', *mànànú* 'to spend several years'. East Chadic **man-* 'place' > Somray *mana* 'place'; Ndam *maan* 'place'; Tumak *man* 'place'. Orël—Stolbova 1995:374, no 1723, **man-/*min-* 'house' and 389, no. 1795, **mun-* 'to be, to remain'.

B. Dravidian: Tamil *maṉṉu* (*maṉṉi-*) 'to be permanent, to endure, to stay, to remain long, to persevere, to be steady', *maṉṉal* 'permanence, stability, steadiness'; Malayalam *mannuka* 'to stand fast, to persevere'; Telugu *manu* 'to live, to exist, to behave, to act, to conduct oneself', *man(i)ki* 'existence, living, life, residing, livelihood, abode, dwelling, home, place, locality', *manukuva* 'abode, dwelling, place', *manugaḍa* 'life, living, livelihood, subsistence', *manucu*, *manupu* 'to protect, to maintain, to preserve, to revive', *manupu* 'protection, maintenance', *manuvu* 'conduct', *manni* 'life', *mannu* 'to last, to be durable'; Naiki (of Chanda) *man-* 'to be'; Gadba (Ollari) *man-* (*may-*, *maṭ-*) 'to be, to stay', (Salur) *man-* (*manḍ-*,

manj-, *mey-*) ‘to be’; Gondi *mandānā* (*matt-*), *man-* ‘to remain, to abide, to be’; Parji *men-* (*mend-*, *mett-*) ‘to be, to stay’; Konḍa *man-* (*maʀ-*) ‘to be, to stay, to dwell’; Pengo *man-* (*mac-*) ‘to be’; Kui *manba* (*mas-*) ‘to be, to exist, to remain, to abide’; Kuwi *man-* (*macc-*) ‘to be’, *manjali* (*mac-*) ‘to remain’, *man-* (*mac-*) ‘to remain, to exist, to stay’, *mannai* (*macc-*) ‘to be’; Kuṛux *mannā* (*mańjas*) ‘to become, to come off, to result, to be, to turn out to be, to be in appearance, to act as if, to behave as though, to be abundant, to amount to’; Malto *mene* ‘to be or become’; Brahui *manning* ‘to become, to be’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:424—425, no. 4778. Tamil *maṉai* ‘house, dwelling, mansion, house-site, a land measure, wife, family, household, domestic life’, *maṉaiyāḷ*, *maṉaiyōḷ* ‘wife’, *maṉaivi* ‘wife, heroine of a pastoral or agricultural tract, female owner or resident of a house’; Malayalam *mana* ‘house’; Kota *mantanm* ‘affairs of a household’, *man devr* ‘household god’; Toda *man* ‘family, household’; Kannaḍa *mane* ‘habitation, abode, house, apartment, room’, *manetana*, *mantana* ‘household, household life’, *manetanasta* ‘householder; a worthy, honorable man’; Koḍagu *mane* ‘house’, *maneka·rë* ‘man of the house’; Tuḷu *manetana* ‘household’, *manè* ‘house, home’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:424, no. 4776; Krishnamurti 2003:90, 117—118, 279, 496, and 498—499 **man-* (**man-ṯ-*) ‘to be, to live, to stay’, 8 **man-ay* ‘house, place to stay in’.

C. Proto-Indo-European **men-*/**mon-*/**mn̥-* ‘to stay, to remain, to abide, to dwell; to be firm, steadfast, established, enduring’: Sanskrit *man-* ‘to wait, to stay, to hesitate’; Avestan *man-* ‘to remain’; Old Persian *man-* ‘to remain’; Armenian *mnam* ‘to remain’; Greek μένω ‘to stand fast; to stay at home, to stay where one is at; (of things) to be lasting, to remain, to stand, to be stable, to be permanent; to abide’, μί-μν-ω ‘to stay, to stand fast; to tarry; (of things) to remain; to await’, μόνη ‘a staying, abiding; permanence; stopping place, station, apartment, quarters, billets; monastery’, μόνιμος ‘staying in one’s place, stable; (of persons) steady, steadfast; (of things) lasting, enduring’; Latin *maneō* ‘to stay, to remain; to endure, to last; to abide; to wait for, to await’. Probably also Tocharian A/B *mäsk-* (< **mn̥-skʰ-e/o-*) ‘to be’ (cf. Adams 1999:458—459). Rix 1998a:393—394 **men-* ‘to stay, to remain, to abide’; Pokorny 1959:729 **men-* ‘to remain’; Walde 1927—1932.II:267 **men-*; Mann 1984—1987:756—757 **menō* (**mĭmĕnō*) ‘to remain, to be, to rest’, **mn̥ō*, *-i̯ō* (**mən-*) ‘to remain’, 796 **monos*, *-us* (**monu̯os*) ‘remaining, alone, single, individual’; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.II:573; Mallory—Adams 1997:482 **men-* ‘to remain, to stay’; Watkins 1985:41 **men-* and 2000:54 **men-* ‘to remain’; Boisacq 1950:627 **men-*; Beekes 2010.II:931—932 **men-*; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:686; Frisk 1970—1973.II:208—209 **men-*; Hofmann 1966:197 **men-*; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.II:26 **men-*; Ernout—Meillet 1979:383; De Vaan 2008:362 **m(o)n-ē-*.

D. (?) Yukaghir (Northern / Tundra) *med'uo-* (< **menč'-*) ‘to enter upon’. Nikolaeva 2006:264.

E. Altaic: Proto-Tungus **mēne-* ‘to settle down, to stay’ > Evenki *mēnē-* ‘to settle down’, *mēnē* ‘settled down’; Lamut / Even *mene* ‘settled down’; Negidal *meneže-* ‘to stay’; Orok *menežį-* ‘to stay’; Udihe *menže-* ‘to stay’. Semantically, the Tungus forms are a perfect match with those from the other Nostratic languages cited here. However, the root vowel is a problem. Perhaps, we are dealing with secondary developments within Tungus itself. In any case, the Altaic etymology proposed by Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak (2003:913) is not convincing.

Buck 1949:7.12 house; 9.91 be; 12.16 remain, stay, wait’. Caldwell 1913:601; Möller 1911:165; Illič-Svityč 1971—1984.II:51—52, no. 287, **mAnʌ* ‘to remain in place, to stand firmly’; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 1419, **mañV* ‘house, dwelling’ and, no. 1420, **mäña* ‘to remain, to stay’; Bomhard—Kerns 1994: 641—643, no. 520.

870. Proto-Nostratic root **man-* (~ **mən-*):
(vb.) **man-* ‘to protect, to watch over, to stand guard over, to care for, to take care of, to tend’;
(n.) **man-a* ‘protection, care, guardianship; watchman, herdsman, guardian, protector’

A. Afrasian: Egyptian *mnỉ* (*mỉnỉ*) ‘to tend flocks, to act as herdsman’, *mnỉw* (apparently originally *m(ỉ)nỉw*) ‘herdsman’; Coptic (Sahidic) *moone* [ⲙⲟⲟⲛⲉ], (Bohairic) *moni* [ⲙⲟⲛⲓ], *amoni* [ⲁⲙⲟⲛⲓ] ‘to pasture, to feed’, *man-* [ⲙⲁⲛ-], *mane-* [ⲙⲁⲛⲉ-] ‘herdsman’, *man-esow* [ⲙⲁⲛ-ⲉⲥⲟⲟⲩ] ‘shepherd’. Hannig 1995:337; Faulkner 1962:108; Gardiner 1957:568; Erman—Grapow 1921:65 and 1926—1963.2:74—75; Vycichl 1983:115—116; Černý 1976:84.

B. Indo-European: Proto-Germanic **munðō* ‘protection, guardianship’ > Old English *mundian* ‘to protect, to be guardian’, *mundiend* ‘protector’, *mund* ‘protection, guardianship; protector, guardian’, *gemynd* ‘caring for, solicitude’; Old Frisian *mund* ‘protection’, *mundele* ‘ward, minor’; Old Saxon *mundōn* ‘to protect’; Old High German *muntōn* ‘to protect someone’, *munt* ‘protection’; New High German *Mund* (f.) ‘protection’, *Mündel* ‘ward, minor’, *Mündelstand* ‘pupilage’, *Mündelgeld* ‘trust-money’, *mündelsicher* ‘absolutely safe (of investments, etc.)’, *-mund* in: *Vormund* ‘guardian, trustee’, *Vormundschaft* ‘guardianship, trusteeship, tutelage’. Orël 2003:275 Proto-Germanic **munđō* (< **mu̯-tā*); Boutkan—Siebinga 2005:267 and 272; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:493 **mu̯-tā́* and 826; Kluge—Seebold 1989:492 and 769. Note: Not related to words for ‘hand’ (see below, Proto-Nostratic (vb.) **man^{y}-* ‘to hold, to take’; (n.) **man^{y}-a* ‘hand, paw’).

C. Yukaghir (Northern / Tundra) *maanńe-* ‘to protect jealously without letting somebody go near somebody else’. Nikolaeva 2006:258 — Nikolaeva notes: “An irregular long vowel in a closed syllable suggests that *-ńə-* is a derivational suffix.”

D. Altaic: Mongolian *mana-* ‘to keep vigil, to hold night watch, to safeguard, to stand guard over, to make the rounds as guard during the night’, *manaγ-a(n)* ‘the act of watching or guarding; guard, night sentry, watch, patrol, post’, *manaγači* ‘watchman, guard’, *manaγul* ‘guard, sentinel, (night) watch’; Khalkha *mana-* ‘to guard, to watch’; Buriat *mana-* ‘to guard, to watch’; Kalmyk *manə-* ‘to guard, to watch’; Ordos *mana-* ‘to guard, to watch’; Dagur *mana-* ‘to guard, to watch’; Shira-Yughur *mana-* ‘to guard, to watch’; Monguor *mana-* ‘to guard, to watch’. Poppe 1960:70; Street 1974:19 **mana-* ‘to stand watch’. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak (2003:953—954) reconstruct Proto-Altaic **muńa* ‘to guard, to graze’ — while the semantics of their proposed etymology are good, there are problems with the phonetics.

Buck 1949:11.24 preserve, keep safe, save.

871. Proto-Nostratic root **man-* (~ **mən-*):
(vb.) **man-* ‘to swell, to expand, to grow, to increase’;
(n.) **man-a* ‘multitude, crowd, herd, flock’
Related to (extended form):
(vb.) **man-V-g-* ‘to swell, to expand, to grow, to increase’;
(n.) **man-g-a* ‘great number, large amount; abundance; multitude, crowd’; (adj.) ‘many, numerous, copious, abundant; swollen, big, fat, strong’

A. Afrasian: Egyptian (f.) (reduplicated) *mnmnt* ‘herds, cattle’. Hannig 1995:339; Faulkner 1962:109; Erman—Grapow 1921:65 and 1926—1963.2:81; Gardiner 1957:568.

B. Elamo-Dravidian: Neo-Elamite *man-da-qa* ‘filled, full’, *man-tak* ‘it was filled’. Dravidian: Tamil *mantai* ‘flock, herd, common pasture of a village, open space in the middle of a village common to the community’; Kannaḍa *mandi*, *mande* ‘flock of sheep or goats, herd of cattle or buffaloes, open place in the jungle or near a village where a flock or herd stands, pen, fold’; Telugu *manda* ‘flock, herd, drove, pack; place where flocks or herds are kept outside a village; hamlet inhabited by herdsmen’; Parji *manda* ‘herd, flock, company, association’; Gondi *manda* ‘herd, flock’; Koṇḍa *manda* ‘herd’; Kuwi *manda* ‘herd, flock’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:415, no. 4700a. Kannaḍa *mandi*, *mande* ‘persons, people’; Tuḷu *mandi*, *mandè* ‘persons, people’; Telugu *mandi* ‘crowd, collection of persons; retinue, following, infantry’; Pengo *mandanakar*, *madanakar* ‘people belonging to the same side or party’; Kolami *mandī* ‘men’, *mandi* ‘man’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:415, no. 4700b.

C. Uralic: Proto-Ugric **mänɜ* ‘herd’ > (?) Ostyak / Xanty *manəŋ* ‘herd (of reindeer, horses, cows)’; (?) Hungarian *mén* ‘stallion’, *ménes* ‘stud(-farm)’. Rédei 1986—1988:869 **mänɜ* ‘some kind of animal’. Note: Proto-Finno-Permian **mone* ‘a certain quantity, many’ is probably a loan from Indo-European (cf. Collinder 1955:133 and 1977:144; Rédei 1986—1988:279—280; Joki 1973:286).

D. Proto-Altaic **mana* ‘crowd, flock, herd’: Proto-Tungus **mani* ‘crowd, flock, herd’ > Oroch *mańi* ‘crowd, flock, herd’; Orok *mandị* ‘crowd, flock, herd’; Nanay / Gold *mandụ* ‘crowd, flock, herd’; Evenki *man* ‘crowd, flock, herd’; Negidal *man* ‘crowd, flock, herd’; Ulch *mandụ* ‘crowd, flock, herd’; Udihe *mani* ‘crowd, flock, herd’. (?) Proto-Mongolian **mandu-*, **mantu-* ‘big, large’ > Buriat *mandagar*, *mantan*, *mantagar* ‘big, large’; Written Mongolian *manduγur* ‘big, fat, stout’; Khalkha *mandgar*, *mantay* ‘big, large’. Proto-Turkic **bąnï-*, **bonï-* ‘big, large’ > Chuvash *mъʷnъʷ* ‘big, large’. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:901, **mana* ‘many, big’.

Buck 1949:13.19 multitude, crowd (sb.). Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 1418, **mAǹV* ‘herd/flock, gregarious animal(s)’; Hakola 2000:106, no. 454.

872. Proto-Nostratic root **man-* (~ **mən-*):
Extended form:
(vb.) **man-V-g-* ‘to swell, to expand, to grow, to increase’;
(n.) **man-g-a* ‘great number, large amount; abundance; multitude, crowd’; (adj.) ‘many, numerous, copious, abundant; swollen, big, fat, strong’
Related to:
(vb.) **man-* ‘to swell, to expand, to grow, to increase’;
(n.) **man-a* ‘multitude, crowd, herd, flock’

A. Afrasian: East Cushitic: Afar *mango-* ‘to be much, many’; Saho *mango* ‘many’, *mang-* ‘to be full, numerous’. Central Cushitic: Awngi / Awiya *ménč* ‘much, many’, *minčʸ-* ‘to be many’. Appleyard 2006:97.

B. Proto-Indo-European **men(e)gʰo-s/*mon(e)gʰo-s/*mŋgʰo-s* ‘copious, abundant, many’: Old Irish *menic(c)* ‘frequent, abundant’; Welsh *mynych* ‘frequent’; Cornish *menouch* ‘frequent’; Gothic **managʂ* ‘sufficient (in size), very large, many’, *managduþs* ‘abundance’, *manageі* ‘people, crowd, multitude’, **managnan* ‘to be plentiful, to abound, to increase; to be left over’, **managjan* ‘to increase, to make (more) abundant’, **managfalþs* ‘many times more’; Old Icelandic *mangr* ‘many’, *mengi* ‘multitude’; Old English *manig*, *monig* (later *mænig*) ‘many’, *menigo* ‘multitude, crowd, great number’; Old Frisian *man(i)ch*, *monich*, *menich* ‘many’, *menie* ‘crowd’; Old Saxon *manag* ‘much, many’, *menigi* ‘crowd’; Dutch *menig* ‘many’; Old High German *manig*, *menig* ‘much, many’ (New High German *manch*), *managē*, *menigī* ‘crowd’ (New High German *Menge*); Old Church Slavic *mъnogъ* ‘much, great, manifold, many’; Russian

mnógije [многие] ‘many’, *mnógo* [много] ‘much, plenty of; a lot of, many’. Walde 1927—1932.II:268—269 **men(e)gh-*, **mon(e)gh-*, **mn̥gh-*; Pokorny 1959:730 **men(e)gh-*, **mon(e)gh-*, **mn̥gh-* ‘copious, abundant, many’; Mann 1984—1987:795 **monoghos* ‘much, many, frequent’; Watkins 1985:41 **menegh-* and 2000:55 **menegh-* ‘copious’; Mallory—Adams 1997:3 **menegh-* ‘abundant’; Orël 2003:259 Proto-Germanic **manaɣa-falđaz*, 259 **manaɣaz*, 259 **manaɣīn*; Kroonen 2013:352 Proto-Germanic **managa-* ‘many’; Feist 1939:343—344; Lehmann 1986:243; De Vries 1977:378 and 384; Onions 1966:554 **monogho-*, **menogho-*; Klein 1971:444; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:458 **men(e)gh-*, **mon(e)gh-*, **mn̥gh-* and 474; Kluge—Seebold 1989:458 and 473; Boutkan—Siebinga 2005:256—257; Derksen 2008:334.

C. Altaic: Proto-Tungus **maŋga* ‘strong, hard’ > Evenki *maŋa* ‘strong, hard’; Lamut / Even *maŋ* ‘strong, hard’; Negidal *maŋga* ‘strong, hard’; Manchu *maŋɢa* ‘hard, difficult; strong, fierce’, *meŋge* ‘hard (of foods), hard to chew’; Jurchen *maŋ-ga* ‘strong, hard’; Ulch *maŋɢa* ‘strong, hard’; Orok *maŋɢa* ‘strong, hard’; Nanay / Gold *maŋɢa* ‘strong, hard’; Oroch *maŋga*, *maŋasi* ‘strong, hard’; Udihe *maŋga*, *maŋahi* ‘strong, hard’; Solon *mandə̂*, *mandī* ‘very, heavily’. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:903 **maŋga* (~ *-o*) ‘big, strong’.

Buck 1949:4.81 strong, mighty, powerful; 13.15 much; many; 15.74 hard. Illič-Svityč 1965:348 **m/o/nʌ*, **m/o/n/g/ʌ* ‘many’ [‘много’]; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 1443, **manṼga* (or **maŋga* ?) ‘strong, numerous’; Greenberg 2002:114, no. 260.

873. Proto-Nostratic root **man^{y}-* (~ **mən^{y}-*):
(vb.) **man^{y}-* ‘to lust after, to desire passionately, to copulate with, to have sexual intercourse, to beget’;
(n.) **man^{y}-a* ‘ardent desire, passion, lust’
Derivative:
(n.) **man^{y}-a* ‘progenitor, begetter, man, male; penis’

A. Proto-Afrasian **man-* ‘(vb.) to lust after, to desire passionately, to copulate with, to have sexual intercourse, to beget; (n.) ardent desire, passion, lust’: Proto-Semitic **man-ay-* ‘(vb.) to lust after, to desire passionately, to copulate with, to have sexual intercourse, to beget; (n.) ardent desire, passion, lust’ > Akkadian *menū*, *manū* ‘to love, to become fond of someone’, *mēnu* ‘love’ (?); Arabic *manā* (base *mny*) ‘to desire, to wish for, to ejaculate; to practice onanism, to masturbate’, *minan* ‘semen, sperm’, *munya*, *minya* ‘wish, desire; object of desire’; Śḥeri / Jibbāli *mútni* (base *mny*) ‘to want, to wish’; Ḥarsūsi *emtōni* (base *mny*) ‘to wish’; Mehri *metōni* (base *mny*) ‘to wish’; Geez / Ethiopic *tamannaya* [ተመነየ] ‘to wish, to desire, to be eager for’, *tamnet* [ተምኔት] ‘wish, desire, lust’; Tigrinya

(tä)männäyä ‘to wish, to desire’; Tigre *(tə)manna* ‘to wish, to desire’; Amharic *(tä)mäññä* ‘to desire, to wish, to be desirous of, to covet, to aspire to’, *məññot* ‘wish, desire, ambition, aspiration’; Gurage (Ennemor, Gyeto) *(tä)mēñä*, (Gogot) *tämeññä*, (Endegeñ) *tämēññä*, (Selṭi) *tämēñe*, (Wolane) *tämeññe*, (Zway) *tämäñī*, (Eža, Muher) *tämänna*, (Chaha) *tämena*, (Masqan) *tämenna*, (Soddo) *täminna* ‘to wish, *to have sexual intercourse, to be covered (cattle), to be coupled, to conceive (cattle)’, (Chaha) *mənuta*, *tämäññat*, (Eža) *mənnutta*, *täm^{w}ennat*, (Gogot, Soddo, Wolane) *məññot*, (Muher) *məññutta*, (Gyeto) *tämäñät*, (Ennemor) *tämeñät*, (Selṭi) *tämēñät*, (Endegeñ) *tämäññäd* ‘wish, *sexual desire’, (Eža, Muher) *amäññat bädda*, (Chaha) *amäññat bäta* ‘to be covered (cattle), to be coupled, to conceive (cattle)’ (literally, ‘the desire took’); Argobba *(əm)meññä* ‘to wish, to desire’; Harari *(tä)männi* ‘wish’; Gafat *(tä)mēñä* ‘to wish, to have sexual intercourse’. Zammit 2002:389; Leslau 1963:108, 1979:414, and 1987: 352—353. Egyptian *Mnw* ‘the god Min’ (an ithyphallic god of generation), *mnmn* ‘to copulate’ (the god Min, with his mother). Hannig 1995:339 and 1208; Faulkner 1962:108; Gardiner 1957:568; Erman—Grapow 1921:64 and 1926—1963.2:72, 2:81. Central Chadic: Lame *mun* ‘preferred’; Masa *min-* ‘to want’. West Chadic: Fyer *muni* ‘to love, to like’; Sha *mun* ‘to love, to like’; Pero *meno* ‘to love, to like’. [Orël—Stolbova 1995:384, no. 1772, **min-* ‘to want’ and 389, no. 1796, **mun-* ‘to love’.]

B. Dravidian: Tamil *maṇa* ‘to be united, mingled; to come together; to happen, to be fixed, attached; to wed; to copulate with; to live in company with; to embrace’, *maṇappu* ‘copulation, essence, possession of extensive properties’, *maṇam* ‘union (as of lovers), marriage, respectability, dignity, prosperity, influence’, *maṇantav̲n̲*, *maṇavāḷa̲n̲*, *maṇavāḷi* ‘bridegroom, husband’; Malayalam *maṇāḷan*, *maṇavāḷan* ‘bridegroom, husband’, *maṇam* ‘reputation, marriage’, *maṇāṭṭi* ‘bride’; Gondi *marming* ‘marriage’; Telugu *manumu*, *manuvu* ‘marrying a husband, marriage of a woman’; Malto *manye* ‘to love, to marry’, *manc-naqe* ‘to love each other, to marry each other’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:413, no. 4667.

C. Proto-Indo-European **men-*/**mon-*/**mn̥-* ‘(vb.) to desire passionately, to yearn for; (n.) ardent desire, passion, lust’: Tocharian B *mañu* ‘desire’, A *mnu* ‘spirit, appreciation, desire’ (< Proto-Tocharian **mäñäu-* ‘desire’ < Proto-Indo-European **men-ew-* ‘desire’); Sanskrit *man-* (RV) ‘to hope or wish for’ (also ‘to think’), *mánas-* ‘spirit, passion’ (also ‘mind, intellect, perception, sense’), *manasyú-* (RV) ‘wishing, desiring’, *manā́* (RV) ‘devotion, attachment, zeal, eagerness’, *manīṣita-* (MBh) ‘desired, wished (for); desire, wish’, *manyú-* (RV) ‘high spirit or temper, ardor, zeal, passion’; Greek μενεαίνω ‘to desire earnestly or eagerly’, μένος ‘spirit, passion’, μέμονα (perfect used as present) ‘to desire or wish eagerly, to yearn for, to strive for’, μενοινή ‘eager desire’, μενοινάω ‘to desire eagerly’; Old Irish *menn-* ‘to desire’, *menme* ‘feeling, desire’ (also ‘mind, intelligence’); Welsh *mynnu* ‘wish, will’, *mynnwys* ‘desired’; Cornish

mynnes ‘will’; Middle Breton *mennat* (Modern Breton *mennout*) ‘to wish, to desire’; Old Icelandic *muna* ‘to like, to long for’, *munaðr* ‘delight’, *munr* ‘love’, *munuð* or *munúð* ‘pleasure, lust’; Norwegian *mun* ‘pleasure, enjoyment’; Old English *myne* ‘desire, love, affection’ (also ‘memory’), *mynle* ‘desire’, *mynelic* ‘desirable’; Old Frisian *minne* ‘love’; Old Saxon *minnea*, *minnia* ‘love’; Dutch (poetical) *minne* ‘love’, *beminnen* ‘to love’; Old High German *minna* ‘love’ (New High German [poetical] *Minne* ‘love’), *minnōn*, *minneōn* ‘to love’. According to Feist (1939:193, under Gothic *ga-minþi*), the Old High German, Dutch, Old Saxon, and Old Frisian forms are from Proto-Indo-European **menḭ̯ā*. Bomhard 2004a:33—34; Mann 1984—1987:755 **menā* ‘thought, desire’; De Vries 1977:395 and 396; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:480; Kluge—Seebold 1989:480; Boutkan—Siebinga 2005:262—263. Note: Not related to Proto-Indo-European **men-* ‘to think, to remember’.

D. Uralic: Estonian *mõnu* ‘pleasure, relish, gusto’, *mõnule-* ‘to enjoy oneself, to take pleasure, to feel cozy’, *mõnus* ‘pleasant, pleasurable’.

E. Chukchi-Kamchatkan: Proto-Chukotian **mænnuk-* ‘to be indulgent towards someone’ > Chukchi *re-mənnu-ŋ-* ‘to smile’ (with **ðæ- -ŋ(ə)-*); Koryak *mannuku ləŋ-* ‘to spoil, to be indulgent towards’. Fortescue 2005:173.

Buck 1949:16.61 will, wish (vb.); 16.62 desire (vb.). Bomhard—Kerns 1994:663—664, no. 541; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 1440, **mAn̲VyV* or **mAńV* ‘genitalia; to copulate’.

874. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **man^{y}-a* ‘progenitor, begetter, man, male; penis’:
Derivative of:
(vb.) **man^{y}-* ‘to lust after, to desire passionately, to copulate with, to have sexual intercourse, to beget’;
(n.) **man^{y}-a* ‘ardent desire, passion, lust’

A. Proto-Afrasian **man-* ‘progenitor, begetter, man, male’: Proto-Highland East Cushitic **man(n)-* ‘man, person’, (pl.) ‘people’ > Burji *lámmi* ‘man, person’, (n. coll.) *méena* ‘people’; Gedeo / Darasa *manjo*, *manj-icco* ‘man, person’, *manna* ‘man, person, people’; Kambata *man-cu* ‘man, person’, (pl.) *manna* ‘men, people’; Sidamo *man-co* ‘man, woman, person’, (pl.) *manna* ‘men, people’; Hadiyya *man-co* ‘man, person’, (pl.) *manna* ‘people’. Sasse 1982:133 and 143; Hudson 1989:96 and 112. Proto-East Cushitic **man-t-/*min-t-* ‘woman’ (with fossilized feminine suffix) > Burji *mand-ée* ‘virgin, young unmarried girl, young woman’; Kambata *ment-iccu(-ta)* ‘woman’, (pl.) *meento* ‘women’; Dasenech *minni* (< **min-ti*) ‘woman’; Gedeo / Darasa *manj-icco* ‘woman’; Hadiyya *mento* ‘woman’; Sidamo *man-co* ‘man, woman, person’, (pl.) *meento* ‘women’. Sasse 1982:140; Hudson 1989:170. Bayso *man-to* ‘penis’, *man-tiiti* ‘vagina’;

Burji *múnn-aa* ‘vagina’. According to Sasse (1982:133), Highland East Cushitic has metathesized Proto-East Cushitic **nam-*/**nim-*/**num-* ‘man’ (cf. Saho-Afar *num* ‘man’; Somali *nin* ‘man’, [pl.] *nim-an*; Galla / Oromo *nam-a* ‘man’; Konso *nam-a* ‘man’; Gidole *nam-a* ‘man’ [cf. Sasse 1979:24]). However, in view of the forms for ‘woman’, ‘penis’, and ‘vagina’, which are clearly derivatives from a primary **man-*/**min-*/**mun-*, as well as related forms in other Afrasian languages, Highland East Cushitic **man(n)-* ‘man, person’ may well be original. West Chadic: Geji *má·nì*/*ma:nì* ‘man’; Buli *manne*/*mánə̀*/*manì* ‘man’; Tule *ma:ŋə̀* ‘man’; Wangday *mánè*/*manì* ‘man’. Central Chadic: Kotoko-Logone *méni*/*mééni* ‘man’ (pl. *mááwéé* ‘men’). Jungraithmayr—Ibriszimow 1994.II:230—231. Orël—Stolbova 1995:373—374, no. 1722, **man-*/**mayan-* ‘man’.

B. Dravidian: (?) Tamil *māntar* ‘human beings, male persons’; Kolami *ma·s* ‘man’, *māc* ‘husband’; Naikṛi *mās* ‘man, husband’; Naiki (of Chanda) *mās* ‘husband’; Parji *mañja*, *mañña* ‘man’; Gondi *manja* ‘man, human being’; Konḍa *māsi* ‘husband’; Kuṛux *mẽ̄t*, *mēt* ‘adult man, husband’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:425—426, no. 4791. Tamil *māṇi* ‘penis’; Malayalam *māṇi* ‘penis’; Kannaḍa *māṇi* ‘penis’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:427, no. 4805.

C. Proto-Indo-European **manu-s* ‘man, begetter, progenitor’: Sanskrit *mánu-ḥ* ‘man, mankind, father of men’; Avestan *manuš-* ‘man, person’ in *Manuš-čiθra-*; Gothic *manna* ‘man, person’; Old Icelandic *mannr* ‘man, human being’; Norwegian *mann* ‘man’; Swedish *man* ‘man’; Danish *mand* ‘man’; Old English *mann* ‘man, human being’; Old Frisian *mann*, *monn* ‘man’; Old Saxon *mann* ‘man’; Old High German *man(n)* ‘man’ (New High German *Mann*); Old Church Slavic *mǫžь* ‘man’; Russian *muž* [муж] ‘husband, man’. Pokorny 1959:700 **manu-s* (or **monu-s*) ‘man, mankind’; Walde 1927—1932.II:266; Mann 1984—1987:731—732 **manus* (**man-*, **manusṭios*) ‘man, human being, husband’; Mallory—Adams 1997:366—367 **mVnus* ‘man’; Watkins 1985:38 **man-* (also **mon-*) and 2000:51 **man-* (also **mon-*) ‘man’; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.II:475, II:759 **manu-* and 1995.I:396, I:661 **manu-* ‘person, man’; Mallory—Adams 1997:366 **mVnus* ‘man’; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.II:575—576; Orël 2003:260 Proto-Germanic **manniskaz*, 260 **mannōjanan*, 260 **mannz*; Kroonen 2013:353—354 Proto-Germanic **mannan-* ‘man’ and 354 **manniska-* ‘human’; Feist 1939:344—345; Lehmann 1986:244 **manu-s*, **monu-s*; De Vries 1977:374—375; Falk—Torp 1903—1906.I:495—496 Germanic **manna-*; Onions 1966:549—550; Klein 1971:441; Boutkan—Siebinga 2005:249—250 and 266—267; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:459—460; Kluge—Seebold 1989:460; Liberman 2008:149—157; Preobrazhensky 1951:565—566; Derksen 2008:330.

D. Uralic: Proto-Finno-Ugrian **manʸtʸз* ‘man, male’ > Finnish *mies*/*miehe-* ‘man (human male)’; Vogul / Mansi *mɛ́ńći*, *mańśi* ‘a Vogul’; Hungarian *magyar* ‘Hungarian’. Collinder 1955:99 and 1977:114; Rédei 1986—1988:866—867 **mańćз*.

Buck 1949:2.1 man (human being); 2.21 man (vs. woman). Bomhard—Kerns 1994:664—665, no. 542; Illič-Svityč 1971—1984.II:58—59, no. 292, **mänʌ* ‘man, male’; Blažek 2002:177, no. 32; Greenberg 2002:128—129, no. 294; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 1421, **manīU* ‘man, male’ and, no. 1440, **mAn̲VyV* or **mAńV* ‘genitalia; to copulate’.

875. Proto-Nostratic root **man^{y}-* (~ **mən^{y}-*):
(vb.) **man^{y}-* ‘to hold, to take’;
(n.) **man^{y}-a* ‘hand, paw’

A. Proto-Afrasian **man-* ‘to hold, to take’: Proto-Semitic **man-aʕ-* ‘to hold, to take, to take hold of, to hold back’ > Hebrew *mānaʿ* [מָנַע] ‘to prevent, to withhold, to keep back’; Aramaic *mənaʿ* ‘to keep back, to withhold’; Arabic *manaʿa* ‘to stop, to detain, to keep from entering or passing; to hinder, to prevent; to keep, to restrain, to hold back; to bar, to block, to obstruct; to withdraw, to take away, to deprive; to forbid, to interdict, to prohibit; to decline to accept, to declare impossible or out of the question; to refuse, to deny, to withhold; to stop, to cease; to abstain, to refrain; to ward off, to avert, to keep away; to protect, to guard; to defend’, *manʿ* ‘hindering, impeding, obstruction; prevention, obviation, preclusion; prohibition, interdiction, ban, injunction; stop, closure, discontinuation, embargo; withdrawal, deprival, dispossession; detention, withholding’; Sabaean *mnʿ* ‘to repel, to prevent, to defend oneself against’; Śḥeri / Jibbāli *mínaʿ* ‘to hold, to take hold of’, *mútnaʿ* ‘to refrain from, to hold back’; Ḥarsūsi *mōna* ‘to take, to catch, to hold’, *mátneʔ* ‘to stop’; Mehri *mūna* ‘to catch, to get, to take’, *mátna* ‘to refrain from, to hold back’; Tigre *mänʿa* ‘to withhold, to refuse’; Harari *mannāʔ* ‘one who prevents someone from doing something because of jealousy or animosity’ (Arabic loan). Murtonen 1989:261; Klein 1987:358; Leslau 1963:108; Zammit 2002:388. West Chadic **man-H-* ‘to take’ > Sura *maŋ-* ‘to take’; Mupun *maŋ-* ‘to take’; Gerka *maŋ-* ‘to take’. Orël—Stolbova 1995:374, no. 1725, **manVʕ-* ‘to hold, to take’. [Ehret 1995:307, no. 589, **man-* ‘to lose, to lack, to be without’ (> Arabic *manaʿa* ‘to refuse, to hinder, to prevent, to repel’) and 307, no. 590, **man-*/**mun-* or **maŋ-*/**muŋ-* or **maɲ-*/**muɲ-* ‘to tie up’ (> Modern South Arabian **mnʕ* ‘to take, to catch, to hold’).]

B. Dravidian: Tamil *maṇṇu* (*maṇṇi-*) ‘to do, to make, to perform, to adorn, to beautify, to decorate, to polish, to perfect, to finish’, *maṇṇu-r̲u* ‘to polish (as a gem)’, *ma̲nai* ‘to make, to create, to form, to fashion, to shape’; Malayalam *manayuka*, *maniyuka* ‘to fashion, to form earthenware, to make as a potter’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:414, no. 4685. Semantic development as in Old Icelandic *mynda* ‘to shape, to form’ or Gothic *manwjan* ‘to (make) ready, to prepare’, cited below.

C. Proto-Indo-European **man-*(/**mon-*)/**mn̥-* ‘hand’: Latin *manus* ‘hand’; Umbrian (abl. sg.) *mani* ‘hand’; Oscan (acc. sg.) *manim* ‘hand’; Gothic

manwus ‘at hand, ready’, *manwjan* ‘to (make) ready, to prepare’, **ga-manwjan* ‘to have prepared, to have ready’, *manwiþa* ‘readiness’, (adv.) *manwuba* ‘ready’; Old Icelandic *mund* ‘hand’, *mynda* ‘to shape, to form’; Old English *mund* ‘hand’; Old High German *munt* ‘hand’; Hittite (3rd sg. pres. act.) *ma-(a-)ni-ya-aḫ-ḫi*, *ma-ni-aḫ-ḫi*, *ma-ni-ya-aḫ-zi*, *ma-ni-i-ya-aḫ-zi*, *ma-ni-aḫ-zi* (< **mn̥-yo-*) ‘to hand out, to hand over, to consign, to accord, to allot, to present, to proffer, to impart, to dedicate, to dispose of’, (dat.-loc. sg.) *ma-a-ni-ya-aḫ-ḫi-ya-at-ti* ‘handout, consignment’, (nom. sg.) *ma-ni-ya-aḫ-ḫa-aš* ‘governance, government, jurisdiction, bailiwick, domain, province, realm’. Pokorny 1959:740—741**mə-r* (gen. **mə-n-és*, **mn̥tós*) ‘hand’ (heteroclitic *r/n*-stem); Walde 1927—1932.II:272 **mə-r*, **mə-n-és*, **mn̥tós*; Mann 1984—1987:732 **manu̯os* (**manos*) ‘hand, strength; hand, at hand, to hand; to lead, to take’; Watkins 1985:38 **man-* and 2000:51 **man-* ‘hand’; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.II:806—807 **mH̥r-/n-(t[ʰ])-* and 1995.I:707 **mH̥r-/n-(tʰ)-* ‘hand, power; to put into (someone’s) possession, to govern’; Mallory—Adams 1997:254—255 **méh₂r* (gen. **mn̥ₐnós*) ‘hand’; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.II:34—35 Latin *manus* ‘hand’ may perhaps be derived from a heteroclitic *r/n* stem: **(a)mər* : **mə-nés*; De Vaan 2008:363—364; Ernout—Meillet 1979:386 **mn̥-*; Orël 2003:275 Proto-Germanic **munđō*; Kroonen 2013:375—376 Proto-Germanic **mundō-* ‘hand’; Lehmann 1986:244—245 (Old Icelandic *mund* ‘hand’ < **mn̥-tós* ‘hand’; **man-u-*; **man-i-*); Feist 1939:345—346; De Vries 1977:395; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:493 **mn̥-tā́* (Latin *manus* ‘hand’ < **mən-*); Kluge—Seebold 1989:492; Kloekhorst 2005:553—554; Puhvel 1984— .6:44—52 *mn̥-yo-*.

D. Yukaghir (Southern / Kolyma) *mid'-/miń-* (< **menč'-/*minč'-*) ‘to take’, *mid'ej-* ‘to grasp’, (Northern / Tundra) *meń-/med'-* ‘to take’, *menče-* ‘to fetch’, *mennube* ‘handle; place from which something is taken’. Nikolaeva 2006:264.

E. Proto-Altaic **mānʸa* ‘hand, paw’: Proto-Tungus **manʸa* ‘paw (of an animal)’ > Evenki *mana*, *mańa* ‘paw (of an animal)’; Negidal *mańa* ‘paw (of an animal)’; Lamut / Even *māna* ‘paw (of an animal)’; Ulch *mańa*, *maī* ‘paw (of an animal)’; Nanay / Gold *māya* ‘paw (of an animal)’; Oroch *mańaka* ‘paw (of an animal)’; Udihe *mana* ‘paw (of an animal)’. Proto-Turkic **bĀnʸ-* ‘palm (of hand), sole (of foot)’ > Turkish *maya* ‘fleshy part of the palm’; Azerbaijani (dial.) *maya* ‘flat of a hoof’; Turkmenian (dial.) *paypaq* (< **bĀnʸ-mak*) ‘footwear’; Uzbek *paypɔq* ‘footwear’; Tatar *maymaq* ‘stable, steadfast (of an animal’s paw, hoof)’, (dial.) *paypaq* ‘footwear’; Kirghiz *baymaq* ‘lower part of shank’, *baypaq* ‘footwear’, *maypïq* ‘flat (of a horse’s hoof, bear’s paw)’; Kazakh *baypaq* ‘footwear’; Tuva *mayïq* ‘sole (of foot)’. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:902 **māńa* ‘paw, hand’.

F. Chukchi-Kamchatkan: Proto-Chukotian **mənyə* ‘hand’ > Chukchi *mənyəlyən* ‘hand, arm’, *mənyəkwən* ‘earnings’, *mənyə-kw-at-* ‘to earn’;

Kerek *mənəɣəŋa* ‘hand’, *mənə-qal* ‘hand’, *mənəɣə-kw-at-* ‘to earn’; Koryak *mənɣəlŋən* (dual *mənɣət*) ‘hand’; Alyutor *mənɣəlŋən* ‘hand’. Fortescue 2005:184.

Buck 1949:4.33 hand; 9.11 do, make; 11.13 take; 11.15 hold; 19.59 hinder, prevent. Greenberg 2002:88—89, no. 194; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 1437, **mænt̲ɣV* (= **mæŋɣV* ?) ‘to hold, to carry’ and, no. 1438, **maǹy[û]* ‘paw, foot/leg of animals’.

876. Proto-Nostratic root **maq^{wh}-* (~ **məq^{wh}-*):
(vb.) **maq^{wh}-* ‘to twist, to turn; to overturn, to turn upside down, to turn round’;
(n.) **maq^{wh}-a* ‘twist, turn; overturning’

A. Dravidian: Tamil *makiṭi* ‘to be overturned’; Kota *maki·r-* (*mak(a)rc-*) ‘(tree) is uprooted and falls’; Kannaḍa *magaṟ* (*maguṛd-*), *mogaṟ* ‘to turn round (intr.), to be turned upside down, to return, to turn back, to recede, to retreat, to happen or do again’, *maguṛu* ‘receding’, *maguṛcu* ‘to cause the face to go or turn backwards, to turn away (tr.), to turn round, to grind, to return (tr.)’, *magacu*, *magucu*, *maguṛcu*, *mogacu*, *mogucu* ‘to turn round (intr.), to return; to turn upside down, to turn (as the page of a book), to overthrow; to grind, to whet’; Tuḷu *magu̯puni*, *magupuni*, *magucuni*, *mogapuni* ‘to turn, to upset (tr.)’, *magu̯pu*, *magpu* ‘a turn’, *magu̯tè* ‘again, a second time’, *magu̯ru̯*, *magaru̯*, *magru̯* ‘next, following; again, once more’, *magapuni* ‘to draw and turn over (for example, water)’, *mag(a)runi* ‘to fall, to tumble, to feel a reeling sensation’, *magrāvoṇuni* ‘to prostrate oneself’, *makar(i)yuni* ‘to be changed’; Telugu *maguḍu* ‘to turn back, to return’, *maguḍincu*, *maguḍ(u)cu* ‘to turn or bring back, to avert’, *magiḍi*, *maguḍa* ‘again, anew, back, in return’, *magucu* ‘to cause to return, to turn back’, *makkaḷincu* ‘to turn back; to change, to adjust’; Kolami *maguḍ-* (*maguṭ-*), *maguṛ-*, *maguḷ-*, *magūl-*, *magḍ-* ‘to vomit’; Naikṛi *maguṛ* ‘vomit’; Konḍa *mak-* ‘to turn over (as a stone), to turn upside down, to dig’; Kuwi *meg-* ‘to fall down or off, (tree) to fall’, *mekh’nai* ‘to outroot’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:408, no. 4617.

B. Proto-Kartvelian **mqw-* ‘to overthrow, to overturn’: Georgian *mx-* ‘to overthrow, to overturn’; Mingrelian *xu-*, *xv-* (< **mxu-* < **mqw-*) ‘to overthrow, to overturn’; Laz *xu-* ‘to throw, to splash out’; Svan *nqw-* ‘to overthrow, to fall’. Klimov 1964:149 **nqw-* and 1998:134—135 **mqw-* ‘to overthrow, to overturn’; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:256—257 **mqw-*; Fähnrich 2007:308 **mqw-*.

C. Proto-Indo-European (**mek^{wh}-*/)**mok^{wh}-* ‘to twist, to turn, to churn’: Hittite (acc. sg.) *ma-ak-ku-ya-an* ‘churn’; Sanskrit *mácate* ‘to pound, to grind’. Puhvel 1984— .6:20; Kloekhorst 2008b:545 **m(o)k^{w}-i̯o-* ??.

D. Proto-Altaic **mak^{h}o-* ‘to wind, to twist, to bend’: Proto-Tungus **makti-* ‘to turn (ropes); to wrap up (cloth); to bend, to wrap’ > Negidal *makčị-nda-* ‘to wind (ropes)’; Manchu *mači-* ‘when patching a garment, to gather the edges of the patch on the inside while smoothing the outside surface’, *mačika* ‘border or edge of a mat or a net’, *mačika ara-* ‘to weave the rope border of a hunting or fishing net’; Ulch *maqtị-la-* ‘to wind (ropes)’, *moqpụlị-* ‘to bend, to wrap’; Orok *mụqpụri-* ‘to bend, to wrap’; Nanay / Gold *maχčị-ra-* ‘to wind ropes’; Oroch *makči-nda-* ‘to wind (ropes)’; Udihe *maktigi* ‘a device for winding ropes’. Proto-Mongolian **makiyi-* ‘to bend, to curve’ > Written Mongolian *makiyi-* ‘to bend, to curve’; Khalkha *maχiy-* ‘to bend, to curve’, *maχir* ‘bent, curved’; Kalmyk *mäki-* ‘to bend, to curve’. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:897 **ma[k‘]o* ‘to wind, to twist, to bend’.

E. Eskimo: Proto-Inuit **makpiq-* ‘to turn (as the page of a book), to open or fold back’ > Seward Peninsula Inuit *makpiq-* ‘to fold back, to open, to turn over’; North Alaskan Inuit *makpiq-* ‘to open a book, to turn a page’; Western Canadian Inuit *makpiq-* ‘to open a book, to turn a page, to fold back (wound)’, *makpiʁaat* ‘book’; Eastern Canadian Inuit *mappi(q)-* ‘to open, to raise on one side (window, book, stone)’, *mappitaq* ‘page of a book’, *mappituʁaq-* ‘to raise a garment several times’; Greenlandic Inuit *mappiʁ-* ‘to open (chest, door, book, etc.)’, *mappikaaʁ-* ‘to be opened, lifted up (one after another)’, *mappiʁsakkat* ‘book’. Fortescue—Jacobson—Kaplan 1994:186.

Buck 1949:10.12 turn; 10.13 turn around (vb.); 10.23 fall (vb.).

877. Proto-Nostratic root **mar-* (~ **mər-*):
(vb.) **mar-* ‘to strive against, to oppose, to fight with or against; to argue, to quarrel, to contend, to dispute, to disagree’;
(n.) **mar-a* ‘quarrel, argument, dispute, fight’

A. Proto-Afrasian **mar-* ‘to oppose, to contend with, to dispute’: Proto-Semitic **mar-ad-* ‘to revolt, to rebel, to assail, to attack’ > Hebrew *māraḏ* [מָרַד] ‘to rebel’, *mereḏ* [מֶרֶד] ‘rebellion, revolt’ (a hapax legomenon in the Bible); Syriac *mərað* ‘to rebel, to escape, to resist, to prevail’; Arabic *marada* ‘to be refectory, recalcitrant, rebellious; to revolt, to rebel’; Epigraphic South Arabian *mrd* ‘(warlike) incursion’; Geez / Ethiopic *marrada* [መረደ] ‘to leap, to hasten, to walk fast, to run about, to rush in, to attack, to bother, to annoy’, *mərrād* [ምራድ], *marād* [መራድ] ‘uproar, rushing, race, assault, attack, battle, persecution, raid’, (with reduplication of the third radical) *mardada* [መርደደ] ‘to hasten’; Tigrinya *märräd* ‘incursion, raid, pillage’; Amharic *märrädä* ‘to hasten, to raid, to pillage’. Murtonen 1989:264; Klein 1987:383; Leslau 1987:357; Zammit 2002:381. Proto-Semitic **mar-ay-* ‘to argue, to rebel against, to contend with’ >

Hebrew *mārāh* [מָרָה] ‘to be contentious, refractory, rebellious’; Syriac *mərā* ‘to contend with’; Arabic *marā* (base *mry*) ‘to wrangle, to argue, to dispute (with someone); to resist, to oppose (someone); to contest; to doubt’, *murya*, *mirya* ‘doubt, quarrel, wrangle, argument, dispute’. Klein 1987:383; Murtonen 1989:265; Zammit 2002:381—382.

B. Dravidian: Tamil *maṟam* ‘valor, bravery, anger, wrath, enmity, hatred, strength, power, victory, war, killing, murder’, *maṟal* ‘hate, enmity, disagreement, fight, war, death’, *maṟavai* ‘anything cruel by nature’, *maṟalu* (*maṟali-*) ‘to oppose, to give fight, to kill’, *maṟavōṉ* ‘warrior’, *maṟavaṉ* ‘inhabitant of desert tract, of hilly tract, one belonging to the caste of hunters, person of the Maṟava caste, warrior, hero, commander, military chief; a cruel or wicked person’, *maṟatti* ‘woman of the Maṟava caste, woman of desert tracts, woman of hilly tracts’; Malayalam *maṟam* ‘disagreement, war’, *maṟal* ‘death’, *maṟavar* ‘Maravar, the Tamil tribe of warriors’; Tuḷu *marava* ‘the caste of Maravas’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:423, no. 4763.

C. Proto-Indo-European **mer-s-/*mor-s-/*mr̥-s-* ‘to disturb, to offend, to irritate’: Gothic **marzjan* ‘to offend’, **af-marzjan* ‘to take offense’, **ga-marzjan* ‘to cause offense’, *marzeins* ‘offense, stumbling block’; Old English *mierran* ‘to disturb, to confuse; to scatter, to squander, to waste; to upset, to hinder, to obstruct’, *mierra* ‘deceiver’, *mierrelse* ‘cause of offense’, *mierring* ‘hindering, squandering, waste’; Old Frisian *mēria* ‘to prevent’, *mēre* ‘bond, fetter’; Old Saxon *merrian* ‘to disturb, to hinder’; Old High German *marren*, *merren* ‘to give offense, to prevent, to injure, to mar’. Pokorny 1959:737—738 **mer-*, **mer-s-* ‘to disturb, to irritate, to neglect, to forget’; Walde 1927—1932.II:279; Mann 1984—1987:733—734 **mar-* (**marsō*, *-i̯ō*; **marsos*) ‘(adj.) bad; (vb.) to be bad, to err; (n.) wickedness, error’; Mallory—Adams 1997:209 **mers-* ‘to forget’ (< **mer-* ‘to disturb, to forget’); Rix 1998a:397 **mers-* ‘to forget’; Kroonen 2013:356 Proto-Germanic **marzjan-* ‘to impede’; Orël 2003:262 Proto-Germanic **marzjanan*; Feist 1939:347—348; Lehmann 1986:246 “Etymology unclear; possibly from PIE **mer-(s-)* ‘to disturb, to irritate, to neglect, to forget’…”; Onions 1966:554 West Germanic **marrjan*; Klein 1971:444 **mer-* ‘to rub, to consume, to wear away’. Note: The Proto-Indo-European stem **mer-s-/*mor-s-/*mr̥-s-* ‘to disturb, to offend, to irritate’ was distinct from **mer-s-/*mor-s-/*mr̥̊-s-* ‘to forget’.

D. Proto-Altaic **mara-* (~ *-rʸ-*) ‘to refuse, to quarrel’: Proto-Tungus **mari-* ‘to refuse, to resist; to quarrel; to be stubborn’ > Manchu *mara-* ‘to decline, to reject, to turn down, to refuse’, *marandu-*, *maranu-* ‘to refuse, to decline together’; Ulch *moriqu* ‘to be stubborn’; Nanay / Gold *mariа-* ‘to quarrel, to be stubborn’; Oroch *mari-* ‘to quarrel’; Udihe *malea-* ‘to quarrel’. Proto-Mongolian **margu-* ‘to quarrel, to resist, to contest’ > Written Mongolian *marγu-* ‘to argue, to refuse, to decline, to resist’; Khalkha *marga-* ‘to quarrel, to resist, to contest’; Buriat *marga-* ‘to quarrel, to resist, to

contest'; Kalmyk *maryə-* 'to quarrel, to resist, to contest'; Ordos *marɢuči-* 'to quarrel, to resist, to contest'; Monguor *marɢāndo* 'quarrel'; Shira-Yughur *marɢāda* 'quarrel'. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:904 **mara* (~ *-ŕ-*) 'to refuse, to quarrel'.

E. Chukchi-Kamchatkan: Chukchi *maraw*, *marak-wəryən* 'battle, fight', *nə-mara-qen* 'pugnacious'; Kerek *majaw-jan* 'warrior, fighter', *maajʁa(a)t-* 'to fight'. Fortescue (2005:170) reconstructs Proto-Chukchi-Kamchatkan **mar(av)* 'fight'.

Buck 1949:20.11 fight (vb.); 20.13 war; 20.41 victory. Bomhard 1996a:208—209.

878. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **mar-a* '(young) man, male (human or animal)':

A. Proto-Afrasian **mar-* 'man, male': Proto-Semitic **marʔ-*/**mərʔ-* 'man, male' > Arabic *marʔ*, *mirʔ*, *murʔ* 'man', *maruʾa* 'to be manly', *ʔimraʔ* 'a man, person, human being'; Himyaritic *marī* 'lord'; Sabaean *mrʔ* 'man, person, lord'; Syriac *mārēʔ* 'lord'; Akkadian *māru*, *merʔu*, *marʔu* 'son, descendant, offspring; young, offspring of an animal; darling, lover'. Diakonoff 1992:85 *mr̥ʔ-*; Zammit 2002:380. [Orël—Stolbova 1995:377—378, no. 1740, **mar-*/**maraʔ-* 'man'.]

B. Proto-Dravidian **maṟ-i* 'male child, the young of an animal': Tamil *maṟi* 'young of sheep, horse, deer, etc.; female of sheep, horse, deer, etc.; sheep, deer'; Malayalam *maṟi* 'offspring, the young of animals, a young deer'; Kannaḍa *maṟi* 'the young of any animal (except cattle and buffaloes), a young child; a shoot, sapling'; Telugu *maṟaka* 'a kid'; Tuḷu *mari* 'a young animal'; Kota *mayr* 'young of animals (except cattle)'; Toda *maṟy* 'young of animals (except buffaloes) and birds'; Gondi *mari*, *marri*/*marr*, *maṛi*, *marrī* 'son'; Pengo *mazi* 'son'; Koṇḍa *maṟin* 'son', *maṟisi* 'son', *mē-mari* 'husband, man'; Kui *mrienji*, *mrīenju* 'son'; Kuwi *miresi* 'son', *mrīesi* 'son, nephew', *mirʔesi* 'son'; Brahui *mār* 'son, boy, lad'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:423, no. 4764; Krishnamurti 2003:7 and 10 **maṯ-i(nṯu)* 'male child, the young of an animal'.

C. Kartvelian: Svan *māre* 'man (male)'.

D. Proto-Indo-European **mer-yo-* '(young) man': Greek (m.) μειράκιον 'a boy, lad, stripling', (f.) μεῖραξ 'a young girl, lass'; Sanskrit *márya-ḥ* 'man, (especially) young man, lover, suitor', *maryaká-ḥ* 'young stud (said of a bull among cows)'; Avestan *mairya-* 'young man'; Old Persian *marīka-* (contracted from **mariyaka-*) 'person of lower rank, subject'. Pokorny 1959:738—739 **merḭo-* 'young man'; Walde 1927—1932.II:284 **merḭo-*; Mann 1984—1987:760 **merḭək-* 'child, youngster'; Mallory—Adams 1997:656 **mérḭos* 'young man'; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.II:596—597; Boisacq 1950:621 (Sanskrit *márya-ḥ* < **mér-ḭo-s*); Hofmann 1966:194; Kent 1953:202 **mer-*; Frisk 1970—1973.II:195—196; Chantraine 1968—

1980.II:678; Beekes 2010.II:921—922 **mer-io-*; Benveniste 1969.I:246—247 and 1973:199—200.

E. Proto-Altaic **mi̯ara* (~ *-rʸ-*) ‘male, mature’: Proto-Tungus **miare-* ‘to marry’ > Evenki *mirē-* ‘to marry’; Lamut / Even *mierъn-* ‘to marry’; Negidal *miyēn-* ‘to marry’; Ulch *miren-* ‘to marry’; Orok *mīren-* ‘to marry’; Nanay / Gold (dial.) *marin-* ‘to marry’. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:923 **mi̯ara* (~ *-ŕ-*) ‘male, mature’.

Buck 1949:2.25 boy. Möller 1911:167; Illič-Svityč 1965:373 **marʌ* ‘youth’ [‘юноша’] and 1971—1984.II:39—41, no. 277, **maj*rʌ ‘young male’; Bomhard—Kerns 1994:643—644, no. 522; Greenberg 2002:36, no. 63; Brunner 1969:21, no. 20; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 1469, **mariʔV* ‘young man, young male’.

879. Proto-Nostratic root **mar-* (~ **mər-*):
(vb.) **mar-* ‘to turn: to overturn, to turn round, to turn over, etc.; to twist, to whirl, to roll; to bend’;
(n.) **mar-a* ‘the act of turning, turning over, turning round, etc.; rope, coil, string, cord’
Derivative:
(vb.) **mar-* ‘to go (round), to walk, to run; to go after, to run or chase after’ (> ‘to seek, to pursue’);
(n.) **mar-a* ‘walk, walking, passage; road, track, way’
Note also:
(vb.) **mur-* ‘to turn, to twist, to bend’;
(n.) **mur-a* ‘bend, curve’

A. Proto-Afrasian **mar-* ‘to twist, to turn’: Proto-East Cushitic **mar-* ‘(vb.) to twist, to go around; (adj.) round’ > Galla / Oromo *mar-* ‘coil, rope’, (Eastern) *mar-ti* ‘useless person who goes from house to house’; Rendille *mar-* ‘to be round’; Afar *mar-o* ‘round’; Konso *mar-* ‘to roll up’. Sasse 1979:24 and 1982:140—141. Galla / Oromo *mars-* ‘to encircle’; Burji *mars-* ‘to surround, to encircle (tr.)’ (loan from Galla / Oromo); Konso *marš-* ‘to go in a group to attack someone’. Sasse 1982:141. Proto-Rift **mar-* ‘to wring’ > Iraqw (reduplicated) *marmar-* ‘to wring’; Iraqw *mal-* ‘to wring’; Asa *mad-* ‘to wash clothes’. Ehret 1980:342. West Chadic: Tangale *mari-* ‘to twist, to wring’. Omotic: Bench / Gimira *mar-* ‘to plait hair’. Ehret 1995:308, no. 591, **mar-* ‘to bind’; Orël—Stolbova 1995:375, no. 1730, **mar-* ‘to bind, to roll up’.

B. Dravidian: Tamil *maṟaṅku* (*maṟaṅki-*) ‘to be bewildered, confused’, *maṟam* ‘bewilderment’, *maṟi* (*-v-*, *-nt-*) ‘to be turned upside down, to return, to recede, to turn back, to retreat, to fall down, to bend, to rise up (as a wave), to be twisted, to go about often, to walk to and fro’, *maṟi* (*-pp-*, *-tt-*) ‘to turn about, to return, to turn upside down, to upset, to repeat,

to double', *maṟi-taral* 'returning, coming back', *maṟivi* 'return', *maṟukkam* 'whirling, unsteadiness, distress, affliction, sorrow, perplexity, relapse of a disease', *maṟuku* (*maṟuki-*) 'to whirl, to go about often, to wander, to be bewildered, to be confused, to be unsteady, to be unsettled, to be distressed', *maṟukali*, *maṟukaḷi*, *makkaḷi* 'to return, to relapse (as a disease)'; Malayalam *maṟi* 'a turn, a fresh start, corner, a shift, turning round or inside, deceit', *maṟiyuka* 'to turn back, to turn over, to be upset, to turn over and over, to tumble head over heals, to roll', *maṟiccal* 'turning over, returning, tumbling head over heals, rolling, turning topsy-turvy, deceit', *maṟivu* 'change, rolling, tumbling, confusion, deceit', *maṟikka* 'to turn upside down, to turn back', *maṟippu* 'an upset', *maṟukuka* 'to flounder, to welter'; Kota *mayr-* (*marc-*) 'to fall (a tree); to pull up by the root', *marṇ-* (*marḍ-*) 'to overturn (intr.), to roll over once and end over end', *marṭ-* (*marṭy-*) 'to overturn by levering'; Toda *maṟy-* (*maṟs-*) 'to fall (tree, wall), to fall out (teeth), to be broken (horn)', *maṟy-* (*maṟc-*) 'to fell (a tree), to pull down, to take (honey) from comb'; Kannaḍa *maral*, *maraḷ*, *malar* 'to be turned or averted (the face), to turn back or backward; to turn, to retreat, to return; to happen or occur again, to do again', *maralcu*, *maraḷisu*, *maraḷcu* 'to turn or avert the face, to turn, to cause to retreat, to return'; Koḍagu *mari-* (*mariv-*, *mariñj-*) 'to roll (intr., in lying position), to overflow, to go up (steps of a house, as a bride does)', *mari-* (*marip-*, *maric-*) 'to roll (tr., in lying position)'; Tuḷu *maraṅkaṇè*, *marakaṇè* 'on the back, topsy-turvy', *marapuni* 'to fell, to pull down a wall', *maraḷikke* 'hinge'; Telugu *mara* 'joint, hinge, spring, catch, contrivance', *maṟalu*, *maralu*, *maḷḷu* 'to turn back, to go or come back, to return', *maṟalincu*, *maralincu* 'to turn back, to recall, to rescind, to abrogate, to annul, to ward off, to turn, to elude, to evade', *maralucu* 'to turn or bring back, to cause to return', *maṟala(n)*, *marala* 'again, anew, afresh, back, in return', *maralã-baḍu* 'to turn back, to rebel', *maralã-baṭu* 'turning back, rebelling', *mraggu* 'to be distressed; to fall down', *mraṅgu* 'to decrease, to be abated, to be humbled; to fall down, to perish', *mrandu* 'to die, to be afflicted; to crush; to droop'; Koṇḍa *maṟ-* (*maʀt-*) 'to turn (intr.)', *maʀ-* 'to turn (tr.)'; Pengo *maz-* (*mast-*) 'to turn (intr.), to turn round, to return; to turn into, to be transformed into', *mah-* (*mast-*) 'to turn round, to turn over (tr.); to turn into, to transform'; Kuwi *mar-* 'to creep, to crawl, to lie down flat'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:422—423, no. 4761.

C. [Proto-Indo-European **mer-*/**mor-*/**mr̥-* 'to twist, to turn, to plait': Greek μέρμῖς 'cord, string, rope'; Old Icelandic *merðr* 'fish-trap'; Middle Low German *mōren* 'to tie'; Middle Dutch *marren* 'to tie'. Pokorny 1959:733 **mer-* 'to plait, to weave'; Walde 1927—1932.II:272—273 **mer-*; Watkins 1985:42 **mer-* 'to tie'; Mallory—Adams 1997:64 **mer-* 'to braid, to bind'; Boisacq 1950:628; Hofmann 1966:198; Frisk 1970—1973.II:211 **mer-* 'to braid, to plait'; Beekes 2010.II:932 (pre-Greek); Chantraine 1968—1980.II:687 (obscure); De Vries 1977:384 **mer-* 'to braid, to plait,

to weave'.] The Indo-European forms may belong with Proto-Nostratic **mur-* (~ **mor-*) 'to turn, to twist, to bend' instead, as suggested by Illič-Svityč (1971—1984.II:74—75, no. 309, **muri-* 'to twist').

D. Proto-Altaic **maro-* (~ *-rʸ-*) 'to roll, to bend': Proto-Tungus **mari-* 'to bend, to curl; to turn, to return' > Evenki *mariw-* 'to bend, to curl'; Lamut / Even *marlu-* 'to bend, to curl'; Manchu *mari-* 'to return, to go back, to turn around', *marin* 'turning around, return, return trip'; Spoken Manchu (Sibo) *mari-* 'to return'. Proto-Mongolian **mariya-*, **miriya-* 'to creep up on, to crawl, to stalk' > Written Mongolian *mariya-*, *miraγa-*, *miriya-* 'to approach furtively, to creep up stealthily, to crawl; to stalk game'; Khalkha *márā-* [мярааx] 'to creep up on stealthily, to stalk game'; Buriat *maŕā-* 'to creep up on, to crawl, to stalk'; Kalmyk *merā̈-* 'to creep up on, to crawl, to stalk'; Monguor *mara* 'to creep up on, to crawl, to stalk'. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:905 **maro* (~ *-ŕ-*) 'to roll, to bend'.

Buck 1949:9.14 bend (vb. tr.); 9.19 rope, cord; 10.12 turn (vb.); 10.13 turn around (vb.); 10.14 wind, wrap (vb.); 10.15 roll (vb.). Bomhard—Kerns 1994:653—655, no. 531; Illič-Svityč 1971—1984.II:74—75, no. 309, **muri-* 'to twist'.

880. Proto-Nostratic root **mar-* (~ **mər-*):
(vb.) **mar-* 'to go (round), to walk, to run; to go after, to run or chase after' (> 'to seek, to pursue');
(n.) **mar-a* 'walk, walking, passage; road, track, way'
Derivative of:
(vb.) **mar-* 'to turn: to overturn, to turn round, to turn over, etc.; to twist, to whirl, to roll; to bend';
(n.) **mar-a* 'the act of turning, turning over, turning round, etc.; rope, coil, string, cord'

A. Proto-Afrasian **mar-* 'to go, to walk, to run': Proto-Semitic **mar-ar-* 'to pass; to go, walk, saunter, or stroll by or past; to come, go, walk, or pass along something; to cross, to traverse; to depart, to go away, to leave; to continue' > Arabic *marra* 'to pass; to go, walk, saunter, or stroll by or past; to come, go, walk, or pass along something; to cross, to traverse; to depart, to go away, to leave; to continue', *marr* 'passing or going by; passage, transit; transition; crossing; progression, process, lapse, course (of time)', *mamarr* 'passing, going by; elapsing; lapse, expiration (of time); transition, crossing; access, approach'; Ḥarsūsi *mer* 'to continue, to go', *márreh* 'time; once, at once'; Mehri *mər* 'to pass'; Śḥeri / Jibbāli *mirr* 'to pass'; Akkadian *marāru* 'to leave, to go away'. Zammit 2002:381. Berber: Tuareg *əmmər* 'to pass by, to pass by a place, to drop by', *sumər* 'to make pass by'; Tamazight *amər* 'to hurry, to go faster, to hasten', *imər* 'action of hurrying, hastening, going faster'. Proto-Highland East Cushitic **mar-* 'to

go' > Burji *mar-* 'to go (intr.)', *mara* 'going, journey'; Sidamo *mar-* 'to go (intr.)'; Kambata *mar-* 'to go (intr.)', *mar-aancata* 'journey', *mar-am-* 'to walk (intr.)'; Hadiyya *mar-* 'to go (intr.)'; Gedeo / Darasa *mar-* 'to go (intr.)', *mar-am-* 'to turn (around) (intr.)'. Sasse 1982:140—141; Hudson 1989:71. Proto-Southern Cushitic **mar-* 'to go round' > K'wadza *malengayo* 'neck ring'; Dahalo *mar-* 'to go round', *maraðið-* 'to take around, to put around'. Ehret 1980:154. Orël—Stolbova 1995:375—376, no. 1731, **mar-* 'to walk'.

B. Indo-European (only in Indo-Iranian): Sanskrit *mārga-ḥ* 'track, path, road', *mā́rgati*, *mārgayati* 'to seek, to look for; to seek after, to strive to attain; to request, to ask, to beg, to solicit anything from anyone', *mṛgyáti*, *mṛgáyati* 'to chase, to hunt, to pursue; to seek, to search for or through, to investigate, to examine'; Pāḷi *magga-* 'path, road', *maggati* 'to hunt for, to seek'; Marathi *māg* 'road, track'. Walde 1927—1932.II:284; Mann 1984—1987:804 (**mr̥g-* 'to go'); Mayrhofer 1956—1980.II:626. For the semantic development, note Buck's (1949:764) comments: "Words for 'seek' reflect notions such as 'to go about, to go after, to track, to look for'."

C. (?) Yukaghir (Northern / Tundra) *marxi-* 'to move'. Nikolaeva 2006:259.

D. Proto-Altaic **m[i̯o]ri-* '(vb.) to walk, to go; (n.) road, track': Proto-Mongolian **mör* 'road, track' > Written Mongolian *mör* 'way, path, trace, trail', *mör-de-* 'to trail, to trace, to follow; to investigate, to adhere to (as a schedule or program)'; Khalkha *mör* 'road, track'; Buriat *mür* 'road, track'; Kalmyk *mör* 'road, track'; Ordos *mör* 'road, track'; Moghol *mür* 'road, track'; Dagur *mure* 'road, track'; Shira-Yughur *mör* 'road, track'; Monguor *mōr* 'road, track'. Proto-Turkic **bar-* 'to walk, to go (away); to come, to reach' > Old Turkic (Orkhon, Old Uighur) *bar-* 'to walk, to go away'; Karakhanide Turkic *bar-* 'to walk, to go away'; Turkish *var-* 'to go towards, to approach; to arrive; to reach, to attain; to result, to end in'; Gagauz *var-* 'to walk, to go (away); to come, to reach'; Azerbaijani *var-* 'to come, to reach'; Turkmenian *bar-* 'to walk, to go (away)'; Uzbek *bɔr-* 'to walk, to go (away); to come, to reach'; Uighur *ba(r)-* 'to walk, to go (away)'; Karaim *bar-* 'to walk, to go (away)'; Tatar *bar-* 'to walk, to go (away)'; Bashkir *bar-* 'to walk, to go (away)'; Kirghiz *bar-* 'to walk, to go (away)'; Kazakh *bar-* 'to walk, to go (away)'; Noghay *bar-* 'to walk, to go (away)'; Oyrot (Mountain Altai) *bar-* 'to walk, to go (away); to come, to reach'; Tuva *bar-* 'to walk, to go (away)'; Chuvash *pïr-* 'to walk, to go (away)'; Yakut *bar-* 'to walk, to go (away)'; Dolgan *bar-* 'to walk, to go (away)'. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:930 **mi̯ori* '(vb.) to walk, to go; (n.) road, track'.

Sumerian *mar* 'to go to that place; to run, hasten, or rush to or towards', *mar* 'path, way'.

Buck 1949:3.79 hunt (vb.); 10.45 walk (vb.); 10.47 go; 10.53 pursue; 11.31 seek.

881. Proto-Nostratic root *_mar-_ (~ *_mər-_):
(vb.) *_mar-_ ‘to smear, to anoint, to rub (with grease, oil, fat, ointment)’;
(n.) *_mar-a_ ‘grease, oil, fat, ointment, unguent’

A. Proto-Afrasian *_mar-_ ‘to smear, to anoint, to rub (with grease, fat, ointment)’: Proto-Semitic *_mar-ax-_ ‘to oil, to anoint, to rub’ > Hebrew _māraḥ_ [מָרַח] ‘to rub, to smear’, _meraḥ_ [מֶרַח] ‘ointment, plaster, paste, daub’; Aramaic _məraḥ_ ‘to rub’; Akkadian _marāḫu_ ‘to rub in’; Arabic _maraḫa_ ‘to oil, to anoint, to rub’; Śḥeri / Jibbāli _mírəx_ ‘to smear’. Murtonen 1989:265; Klein 1987:384. Proto-Semitic *_mar-ak’-_ ‘to rub clean, to scour, to polish’ > Hebrew _māraḳ_ [מָרַק] ‘to scour, to polish, to cleanse’, _mārāḳ_ [מָרָק] ‘a scraping, rubbing’; Aramaic _məraḳ_ ‘to scour, to polish’; Śḥeri / Jibbāli _ẽrḳaḥ_ (base _mrḳḥ_) ‘to clean up, to tidy, to wipe up’; Ḥarsūsi _amárḳeḥ_ ‘to tidy up’; Mehri _amárḳəḥ_ ‘to clear, to wipe, to tidy up’. Klein 1987:386—387; Murtonen 1989:266. Proto-Semitic *_mar-at’-_ ‘to rub, to scour’ > Hebrew _māraṭ_ [מָרַט] ‘to make smooth, to scour, to polish’; Akkadian _marāṭu_ ‘to rub, to scratch’. Murtonen 1989:265; Klein 1987:384. Arabic _maraʿa_ ‘to rub over, to anoint’. Egyptian _mrḥ_ ‘to anoint, to rub with fat or oil’, _mrḥt_ ‘oil, grease’. Hannig 1995:349; Faulkner 1962:112; Erman—Grapow 1921:68 and 1926—1963.2:111; Gardiner 1957:569. Berber: Tuareg _əmri_ ‘to be rubbed with something hard; to rub with something hard’, _səmri_ ‘to make rub’; Ghadames _əmrəy_ ‘to be painful, to suffer’; Tamazight _mrəy_ ‘’to rub, to be rubbed, to grate’, _amray_ ‘rubbing, friction, grating’; Kabyle _əmri_ ‘to rub, to scrape (vegetables)’. Proto-Chadic *_mar_ ‘oil’ > Hausa _mâi_ ‘oil, fat, grease’; Zaar _mīr_ ‘oil’; Tera _mor_ ‘oil’; Mofu _mal_ ‘oil’. Newman 1977:30. [Orël—Stolbova 1995:386, no. 1784, *_moriʔ-_/*_moriḥ-_ ‘fat, oil’.]

B. Elamo-Dravidian: Middle Elamite _mi-ir-ri-_ ‘to rub or smear onself with fat or oil’. Dravidian: Parji _mer-_ ‘to rub oneself’, _merpip-_ (_merpit-_), _mercip-_, (_mercit-_) ‘to rub another with the hand’; Gadba _mar-_ ‘to rub (oil, etc.) on oneself’, _marup-_ (_marut-_) ‘to rub (oil, etc.) on another’; Gondi _marehtānā_ ‘to rub’, _marahtānā_, _marehtānā_ ‘to smear’, _marehtàlle_ ‘to apply’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:416, no. 4709.

C. Proto-Indo-European *_(s)mer-_/*_(s)mor-_/*_(s)mr̥-_ ‘to smear, to anoint, to rub (with grease, fat, ointment)’: Gothic _smairþr_ ‘richness, fatness’; Old Icelandic _smyrja_, _smyrva_ ‘to anoint, to rub with ointment’, _smjör_ ‘butter, fat’, _smyrsl_ ‘ointment, unguent’; Swedish _smörja_ ‘to rub with ointment, to anoint, to smear’, _smör_ ‘butter, fat’; Old English _smierwan_, _smierian_ ‘to anoint’, _smeoru_ ‘grease, fat, suet, tallow’; Old Frisian _smere_ ‘tallow’; Middle Low German _smeren_ ‘to smear’; Dutch _smeer_ ‘fat, grease, suet’, _smeren_ ‘to smear’; Old High German _smirwen_ ‘to smear’ (New High

German *schmieren*), *smero* ‘fat, grease, suet’ (New High German *Schmer*); Old Irish *smiur* ‘marrow’; Welsh *mer* ‘marrow’; Tocharian B *ṣmare* ‘oily, smooth’. Perhaps also Greek μύρον ‘sweet juice extracted from plants, sweet-oil, unguent, balsam’, σμύρνα (Ionic σμύρνη, Aeolian μύρρα) ‘myrrh (the resinous gum of an Arabian tree, used for embalming the dead; also used for anointing and as a salve)’. Pokorny 1959:970—971 **smeru-* ‘grease, fat’; Walde 1927—1932.II:690—691 **smeru-*; Mann 1984—1987:1223 **smer̯os*, **smerus*, **smer̯ā* ‘grease, drip, marrow’; Watkins 1985:52 **(s)mer-* and 2000:80—81 **(s)mer-* ‘grease, fat’; Szemerényi 1964b:50—53; Mallory—Adams 1997:194 **sméru-* ‘oil, grease’; Boisacq 1950:652 Greek μύρρᾱ < Semitic and 886 **smer-*; Hofmann 1966:208—209 Greek μύρρᾱ < Semitic and 323; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:723—724, II:724 Greek μύρρα < Semitic, and II:1029; Frisk 1970—1973.II:273, II:274 Greek μύρρα < Semitic, and II:751—752; Beekes 2010.II:983; Orël 2003:353—354 Proto-Germanic **smerwan* ~ **smerwōn*, 354 **smerwislan*, 354 **smerwjanan*; Kroonen 2013:458 Proto-Germanic **smerwa-* ‘butter, grease’; Lehmann 1986:315 **smer(u)-* ‘fat, grease’; De Vries 1977:520 and 521; Feist 1939:438 **smer-*; Onions 1966:838 Common Germanic **smerwjan*; Klein 1971:692 **smeru-* ‘grease’; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:663 **smeru-* and 665; Kluge—Seebold 1989:643 and 643—644; Vercoullie 1898:265; Van Windekens 1976—1982.I:456 **smero-s*; Adams 1999:668 **smer(w)os*; Wodtko—Irslinger—Schneider 2008:622 **smer-*.

Sumerian *mar* ‘to daub, to anoint’.

Buck 1949:6.94 ointment. Illič-Svityč 1971—1984.II:61—62, no. 296, (?) **meŕA* ‘fat; to smear with grease or fat’; Brunner 1969:19, no. 3 and 4; Bomhard—Kerns 1994:660, no. 538; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 1469a, **maRiʔV* (or **maŕiʔV*) ‘animal fat’ and, no. 1485, **meŕûqV* ‘to smear’.

882. Proto-Nostratic root **mar-* (~ **mər-*):
(vb.) **mar-* ‘to soil, to stain’;
(n.) **mar-a* ‘spot, stain, dirt’; (adj.) ‘dark, dirty, soiled’

A. Dravidian: Tamil *mar̲u* ‘stigma, blemish, fault, stain, blot, spot (especially on the moon), sign, symbol, mode, freckle’, *mar̲ai* ‘freckle, mole, spot’, *marai* ‘flaw in a precious stone’; Malayalam *mar̲u* ‘spot, freckle, mole, wart’; Toda *maṣt* ‘black pigmented spot on the body’; Telugu *mar̲aka* ‘stain, blot, spot’; Gondi *marrō* ‘black mole or wart’, *marror* ‘black mole’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:424, no. 4767.
B. Proto-Indo-European **mer-*/**mor-*/**mr̥-* ‘(vb.) to soil, to stain; (n.) spot, stain, dirt; (adj.) dark, dirty, soiled’: Greek μορύσσω ‘to soil, to stain, to defile’ (perfect past participle μεμορυγμένα καπνῷ), Μόρυχος epithet of Dionysius in Sicily (from μορύσσω) because his face was smeared with

wine lees at the vintage; Armenian *mṙayl* (< **muṙayl-* < **mor-so-*) ‘darkness, fog, dark cloud; dark, gloomy’, *maṙaxul* (< **mᵚ-so-*) ‘black mist, darkness’; Old Irish *merg-* ‘decay, rust’; Old Icelandic *myrkr* ‘dark, murky’; Old English *mierce* ‘murky, dark, black; evil’; Old Saxon *mirki* ‘dark, murky’; Lithuanian *mìršinu* ‘grimy, dirty’; Russian *marát'* [марать] ‘to soil, to sully, to stain, to tarnish’; Polish *morus* ‘a dirty person, a slob’; Czech *mrva* ‘mote, speck; splinter, dung’; Hittite (acc. sg.) *ma-ri-iḫ-ši-in* ‘spot, stain, speck, fleck’. Pokorny 1959:734 (**mer-*) **mor-(u-)* ‘(vb.) to blacken; (n.) dark color, spot of dirt’; Walde 1927—1932.II:279—280 (**mer-*) **mor-*; Mann 1984—1987:759 **merĝ-* ‘(adj.) dark, gloomy, grim; (n.) darkness, stain, grimness’, 809 **mᵚ̄u̯ā* ‘shred, fiber, remains, refuse, embers, dirt, rejected matter’; Boisacq 1950:645 **smer-*; Frisk 1970—1973.II:257; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:713—714; Hofmann 1966:205—206 **mer-*; Beekes 2010.II:969; Orël 2003:268 Proto-Germanic **merkwaz*; Kroonen 2013:366 Proto-Germanic **merkwu-* ‘dark’; De Vries 1977:398; Onions 1966:597; Klein 1971:482; Puhvel 1984— .6:72.

C. (?) Chukchi-Kamchatkan: Proto-Chukotian **mər(kəc)-* ‘to be disgusting’ (?) > Chukchi *mər-* ‘disgusting’, *mərkəc-ɣərɣən* ‘villain, bastard’, used as an angry expletive ‘damn!’, (Northwestern) *mər(ə)mər-* ‘something disgusting, dirt’, *mərker-at-* ‘to be disgusted by something’; Koryak *(lawcəŋ)məjkəcaw* ‘bad person’. Fortescue 2005:184.

Buck 1949:15.88 dirty, soiled. Illič-Svityč 1971—1984.II:52, no. 288, **mArʌ* ‘spot; dirty’; Bomhard—Kerns 1994:661, no. 539; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 1471, **mariqV* ‘spot, stain, (?) dirt’.

883. Proto-Nostratic (Eurasiatic only) (n.) **mar-a* ‘marsh, swamp’:

A. [Proto-Indo-European **mar-i-* or **mor-i-* ‘any body of water: sea, lake, swamp, marsh’: Latin *mare* ‘sea’; Old Irish *muir* ‘sea’; Gothic *marei* ‘sea’, *mari-* in *mari-saiws* ‘lake’; Old Icelandic *marr* ‘sea’; Old English *mere* ‘lake, pool, cistern; sea’; Old Saxon *meri* ‘sea’; Dutch *meer* ‘lake, pool’; Old High German *mari*, *meri* ‘sea’ (New High German *Meer*); Lithuanian *mãrė* ‘sea’; Old Prussian *mary* ‘lagoon, bay’; Old Church Slavic *morje* ‘sea’; Russian *móre* [море] ‘sea’; Hittite *marmar(r)a-*, ^{GIŠ}*mammarra-* ‘waterlogged woodland, overgrown swamp, wetland, slough, moor, marsh’. Derivative in: Proto-Germanic **mar-isk-* ‘marsh’ > Old English *mersc*, *merisc* ‘marsh’; Middle Low German *mersch*, *marsch* ‘marsh’; Middle Dutch *mersch(e)* ‘marsh’ (Dutch *marsk*); New High German *Marsch* ‘fen(land), alluvial land’. Pokorny 1959:748 **mori-*, **mōri-* ‘sea’; Walde 1927—1932.II:234—235 **mari*; Mann 1984—1987:732—733 **mari*, *-i̯ə* ‘sea’; Watkins 1985:43 **mori-* and 2000:56 **mori-* ‘body of water; lake (?), sea (?)’; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.II:943 **mor(i)-* and 1995.I:580 **mor-*/**mar-* ‘sea’; Benveniste 1935:76 **már-*, **máry-*, **móry-*,

**mor-éi-*; Mallory—Adams 1997:503—504 **móri* ‘sea’; Ernout—Meillet 1979:387; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.II:38—39 **mari*; De Vaan 2008:365; Orël 2003:261 Proto-Germanic **mariskaz*, 261 **mariz*; Kroonen 2013:354 Proto-Germanic **mari-* ‘lake, sea’; Feist 1939:346 **mari* (or **mori* ?) and 347; Lehmann 1986:245 **már-y-* or **mór-y-n*; De Vries 1977:379—380; Onions 1966:557 West Germanic **marisk-* and 570 **mori-*, **məri-*; Klein 1971:447 Germanic **mari-* ‘sea’ and 458; Vercoullie 1898:185; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:463—464 and 470 Common Germanic **mari-* ‘sea’; Kluge—Seebold 1989:463 and 470 **mari*; Derksen 2008: 325; Fraenkel 1962—1965.I:49—410; Puhvel 1984— .6:79—80.] Note: The Indo-European terms are phonologically ambiguous. They may belong here or with Proto-Nostratic **mor-* ‘any body of water: sea, lake, pool, cistern, reservoir, flood, stream, basin, canal, channel’.

B. Proto-Altaic **māro* ‘marsh’: Tungus: Evenki *mar*, *mari-kta* ‘moor, swamp’. Proto-Mongolian **mara-* ‘salt-marsh’ > Written Mongolian *mara*, *maraγan* ‘salt-marsh’; Khalkha *marā* ‘salt-marsh’; Buriat *marā* ‘salt-marsh’; Kalmyk *marā* ‘salt-marsh’. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003: 904—905 **māro* ‘sand, stony earth, marsh’.

C. Proto-Eskimo *maʀʀaʀ* ‘marsh, muddy ground, swampy area’: Alutiiq Alaskan Yupik *maʀaq* ‘swampy area’, (Kenai Peninsula) *maʀaɬaq*, *maʀaqcuk* ‘bog’; Central Alaskan Yupik *maʀaq* ‘marshy, muddy low land’, *maʀayaq* ‘mud’; Central Siberian Yupik (Chaplinski) *maʀaq* ‘marshy area’; Seward Peninsula Inuit *maʀʀaq* ‘mud’, *maʀaɬɬak* ‘swampy ground’; North Alaskan Inuit *maʀʀaq* ‘gravel, sand’; Western Canadian Inuit *maʀʀaq* ‘mud’, (Netsilik) *maʀukluk* ‘swamp’; Eastern Canadian Inuit *maʀʀaq* ‘clay’; Greenlandic Inuit (North Greenlandic / Polar Eskimo) *maʀʀak* ‘clay’, *maʀaɬɬuk*, *maʀuɬɬuk*, *maʀuyuk*, *maquɬɬuk* ‘marshy, swampy place’, *maʀulluk* ‘mud’. Fortescue—Jacobson—Kaplan 1994:193.

884. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **mar-a* ‘tree, wood’:

A. Afrasian: Egyptian *mrw* ‘Lebanese cedar’. Hannig 1995:348; Erman—Grapow 1921:67 and 1926—1963.2:108; Faulkner 1962:112; Gardiner 1957:569.

B. Dravidian: Tamil *maram* ‘tree, wood, timber’; Malayalam *maram* ‘tree, wood, timber’; Kota *marm* ‘tree’; Telugu *m(r)ānu*, *m(r)ãku* ‘tree’; Tuḷu *mara* ‘tree’; Kannaḍa *mara* ‘tree’; Koḍagu *mara* ‘tree’; Parji *meri* ‘tree’; Gadba (Ollari) *mar*, *marin* ‘tree’, (Salur) *māren* ‘tree’; Gondi *maṛā*, *mara*, *maṛa*, *māra*, *māṛa*, *marnu*, *mārnu* ‘tree’; Konḍa *maran* ‘tree’; Manḍa *mar* ‘tree’; Kuwi *mārnu*, *mṛānū*, *marnu*, *mrānu*, *mara* ‘tree’; Pengo *mar* ‘tree’; Kui *mrahnu*, *mrahunḍi*, *mrānu* ‘tree’. Krishnamurti 2003:107 **mar-am/n* ‘tree’; Burrow—Emeneau 1984:416, no. 4711.

C. Uralic: Proto-Finno-Ugrian **m[o]rɜ* ‘tree, wood’ > (?) Lapp / Saami *muorrâ* ‘tree, wood, fuel; stake, pole’; (?) Hungarian *mórágy*, *morágy*

'wood(s), forest'. Rédei 1986—1988:281 **morɜ* 'a kind of tree'; Illič-Svityč 1971—1984.II:45, no. 283, Proto-Uralic **m/a/re* 'tree'.

Buck 1949:1.41 woods, forest; 1.42 tree; 1.43 wood. Illič-Svityč 1971—1984.II:45, no. 283, **marʌ* 'tree'; Caldwell 1913:622; Bomhard—Kerns 1994:675, no. 554; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 1472, **m[a]rwê* 'tree'.

885. Proto-Nostratic root **mar^{y}-* (~ **mər^{y}-*):
(vb.) **mar^{y}-* 'to be weakened, to wither away, to decay; to be or become sick, to fall ill; to die (from a fatal disease), to perish';
(n.) **mar^{y}-a* 'sickness, illness, fatal disease, malady, ailment; death'

A. Proto-Afrasian **mar-* '(vb.) to be weakened, to wither away, to decay; to be or become sick, to fall ill; to die (from a fatal disease), to perish; (n.) sickness, illness, disease, malady, ailment; death': Proto-Semitic **mar-aṯ̲ʾ-* '(vb.) to be or become sick, to fall ill; (n.) disease, malady, ailment, illness, sickness; (adj.) sick, ill' > Akkadian *marāṣu* 'to fall ill, to have a disease; (stative) to be diseased', *marṣu* 'sick, diseased', *murṣu* 'illness', (adv.) *marṣiš* 'bitterly, with difficulty, with pain'; Hebrew *māraṣ* [מָרַץ] 'to be sick'; Aramaic *məraʿ* 'to fall ill, to become sick'; Ugaritic *mrṣ* 'to be sick'; Arabic *mariḍa* 'to be or become sick, to fall ill, to be taken ill', *maraḍ* 'disease, malady, ailment, illness, sickness', *marīḍ* 'sick, ill, ailing, diseased, unwell, indisposed; sick person, patient'; Sabaean *mrḍ* 'to be sick'; Ḥarsūsi *mēreź* 'to be unwell, ill', *merēź* 'illness'; Śḥeri / Jibbāli *mírʒ̲* 'to be ill', *méréʒ̲* 'illness', *méríʒ̲* 'ill'; Mehri *mērəź* 'to be ill', *mərēź* 'illness'. Murtonen 1989:265—266; Klein 1987:386; Zammit 2002:381—382. Egyptian *mr* '(vb.) to be sick, to suffer pain; (adj.) sick, ill; (n.) sickness, illness', *mrt* 'sickness, illness, fatal disease', *mrw* (adverb) 'painfully'. Hannig 1995:344 and 345; Faulkner 1963:110—111; Gardiner 1957:569; Erman—Grapow 1921:66 and 1926—1963.2:95, 2:96. Orël—Stolbova 1995:376—377, no. 1736, **mar-* 'to be ill, to be weak'.

B. Dravidian: Tamil *maṟu* 'blunt', *maṟuku* (*maṟuki-*) 'to become blunt, to be dim or obscure', *maṟuṅku* (*maṟuṅki-*) 'to be blunt or dull (as an edge or point), to be obscured, to be deprived of luster or glory, to fade, to disappear, to be lost, to become dull in feeling, to lose keenness of intellect, to be dim, to obscure (as the sun or moon in an eclipse or behind a cloud)', *maṟukku-* (*maṟukki-*) 'to blunt, to dull, to obscure (as luster or glory), to deprive the intellect of its keenness', *maṟuṅkal* 'that which is blunt, dim, or unpolished; blockhead, shameless person', *maṟuṅki* 'shameless woman', *maṟukkam* 'bluntness, reduced circumstances, dimness, cloudiness, obscurity of the sun in an eclipse, fading (as of color), dullness of intellect (as from age or disease)', *maṟa* 'confusion of mind', *makku* (< **mṟakku* [cf. Telugu *mraggu*, *maggu* below]) (*makki-*) 'to die, to perish, to become dull, to decay (as fruits), to molder, to be spoiled (as by

dampness)'; Malayalam *maṟunnanē āka* 'to grow blunt'; Kannaḍa *maṟa* 'dimness', *maṟal* '(the eyes) to become dim', *maṟgu* 'to grow dim or faint, to disappear or perish', *maṟgisu* 'to cause to disappear, to cause to perish, to destroy'; Tuḷu *margu̯* 'dead', *margu̯ āpini* 'to die'; Telugu *mraggu*, *maggu* 'to die, to perish', *m(r)akku* 'to fade, to lose shining or luster, to die'; Kuṛux *maṟxnā* 'to get dirty, soiled; to lose brightness or freshness; to be ashamed; to grow exhausted, to be spent'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:421, no. 4750. Tamil *māṟku* (*māṟki-*) 'to be bewildered, fascinated; to be spoiled or lost, to grow lazy', *māṟā* 'to be fascinated, to be confused, to be bewildered, to fade, to grow dim'; Malayalam *māṟkuka* 'to languish, to grow faint, to sleep, to die', *māṟkāta* 'unfailing, unremitting', *māṟkal*, *māṟca* 'faintness, dullness, laziness'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:429, no. 4830.

C. Proto-Indo-European **mer-*/**mor-*/**mr̥-* '(vb.) to perish; (n.) death': Hittite (3rd sg. pres.) *mi-ir-zi*, *me-ir-zi* 'to disappear, to vanish'; Sanskrit *márate*, *mriyáte* 'to die, to decease', *márta-ḥ* 'man, mortal', *mártya-ḥ* 'mortal, man, person', *mṛtá-ḥ* 'dead, deceased', *mṛti-ḥ* 'death', *mṛtyú-ḥ* 'death', *māra-ḥ* 'dying; death'; Armenian *meṙanim* 'to die'; Latin *morior* 'to die; to wither away, to decay', *mors*, *-tis* 'death'; Old Irish *marb* 'dead'; Welsh *marw* 'dead'; Gothic *maurþr* 'murder'; Old Icelandic *morð* 'murder', *myrða* 'to murder'; Old English *morþ* 'murder, homicide; death, destruction; crime; anything horrible', *morþor* 'murder, crime, sin; torment, misery', *for-myrþran*, *for-myrþrian* 'to murder'; Old Frisian *morth* 'murder', *morthia* 'to kill, to murder'; Old Saxon *morđ* 'murder'; Dutch *moord* 'murder'; Old High German *mord* 'murder' (New High German *Mord*), *murdreo* 'murderer, killer, assassin' (New High German *Mörder*); Lithuanian *mìršta*, *miřti* 'to die, to pass away', *mãras* 'plague, black death'; Old Church Slavic *mьrǫ*, *mrěti* 'to die', *morъ* 'plague'. Rix 1998a:395—396 **mer-* 'to pass away, to die'; Pokorny 1959:735 **mer-*, **merə-* 'to die'; Walde 1927—1932.II:276 **mer-*; Mann 1984—1987:732 **măr-* (**mər-*, **marənḭ̯ō*) 'to harass, to torture, to kill', 734 **mărṵos* (**mərṵos*, **mr̥ṵos*) 'dead, decayed, broken-down', 759 **mer-* (**mern-*), 759 **merdō*, *-ḭ̯ō* 'to wipe out, to extinguish, to die', 798 **moros*, *-ā*, *-ō(n)* 'plague, horror, bogey, nightmare, death', 798—799 **mōros*, *-ā* 'death, deadness, waste; useless, vain, mad', 799 **mortos* 'dead, killed; death', 804 **mr̥ḗḭ̯ō* (**mrḗḭ̯ō*) 'to fade away, to die', 805 **mr̥im-*, **mr̥m-*, **mr̥mn-* 'dead thing, corpse, body', 806 **mr̥ks-* (**mr̥sk-*, **mr̥sk̂-*) 'to die, to perish; dead, rotten', 806 **mr̄nō*, *-ḭ̯ō* 'to wither, to shrink, to pine, to die off', 806—807 **mr̥ō*, *-ḭ̯ō* (**mər-*) 'to die, to kill', 808 **mr̥tis* (**mərt-*) 'death', 808 **mr̥tos* 'dead; mortal, being, creature', 808 **mr̥tḭ̯ō* (**mr̥tiḭ̯ō*, **mr̥tṵḭ̯ō*) 'to kill', 809 **mr̥tṵos*, 809 **mr̥ṵos*, *-ḭ̯os* (**mərṵ-*) 'waste, dead, decayed, rotten', 765 **mərḭ̯os* (**mr̥ḭ̯os*) 'dead, deadly, mortal; death'; Watkins 1985:42 **mer-* and 2000:55 **mer-* 'to die'; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.II:475 **mer-* and 1995.I:396 **mer-* 'to die, to disappear'; Mallory—Adams 1997:150 **mer-*

‘to die’, **mr̥tós* ‘dead; mortal’, **mórtos* ‘person, mortal’, **mr̥tís* ‘death’, **mr̥tóm* ‘death’, **móros* ‘death’; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.II:112—113 **mer-*; Ernout—Meillet 1979:414—415 **mer-*; De Vaan 2008:389—390; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.II:594 **mórto-*, II:594—595, II:674 **mr̥tó-*, **mer-*; **mr̥tí-*, II:674—675 **mr̥tí-*, and II:696—697 **mer-*; Orël 2003:277 Proto-Germanic **murþan*, 277 **murþjanan*, 277 **murþran*, 277 **murþrjanan* ~ **murþrōjanan*, 277 **murþrjōn*; Kroonen 2013:378Proto-Germanic **murþa-* ‘murder’; Feist 1939:351—352 **mer-*; Lehmann 1986:249 **mer-*; De Vries 1977:392 and 398; Klein 1971:482; Onions 1966:597 **mr̥t-*; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:487—488 **mer-*, **mr̥-*; Kluge—Seebold 1989:488 **mer-*; Puhvel 1984— .6:148—150 **mer-* ‘to die’; Kloekhorst 2008b:577—578 **mér-t*/**mr-ént*; Smoczyński 2007.1:404—405; Fraenkel 1962—1965.I:457—459; Derksen 2008:308 **mer-*, 326, and 2015:321 **mer-*, **mr-*; Wodtko—Irslinger—Schneider 2008:488—491 **mer-*. Note: I have followed Kloekhorst (2008b:577—578) in assigning the meanings ‘to disappear, to vanish’ to the Hittite verb cited above and reinterpreted the meaning of the Proto-Indo-European verb as ‘to perish’ to accommodate the revised meaning of the Hittite form. I have not, however, changed the meaning of the Proto-Indo-European noun, which I have left as ‘death’.

D. (?) Proto-Eskimo **məʁnuʁ-* ‘to be tired’: Alutiiq Alaskan Yupik *məʁnuʁ-* ‘to be tired’; Central Alaskan Yupik *məʁnuʁ-* ‘to be tired’; Naukan Siberian Yupik *məɣnuʁ-* ‘to be tired’; Central Siberian Yupik *məʁnuʁ-* ‘to be tired’; Seward Peninsula Inuit *muʁnuq-*, (Qawiaraq) *munʁuq-* ‘to be tired’; North Alaskan Inuit *minʁuq-*, *minʁuqtuq-* ‘to be tired’; Eastern Canadian Inuit *miʁŋutuq-* ‘to be very tired’; Greenlandic Inuit *miʁŋuʁ-* ‘to become tired, to be without strength’. Fortescue—Jacobson—Kaplan 1994:198.

Buck 1949:4.75 die; dead; death; 4.84 sick; sickness. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:647—648, no. 525; Illič-Svityč 1971—1984.II:59—60, no. 293, **m/ä/rʌ* ‘to be ill, to die’; Möller 1911:165—166.

886. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **mat^{h}-a* or **met^{h}-a* ‘middle’; (particle) **mat^{h}-* or **met^{h}-* ‘in the middle of, with, among’:

A. Afrasian: Semitic: Arabic *matn* ‘middle of the road’. Egyptian *mtrt* (*mtt*) ‘middle’ in: *m mtt (nt) ỉb* ‘gladly’, literally, ‘in the middle of the heart’; Coptic *mēte* [ⲙⲏⲧⲉ] ‘middle’, *ntmēte* [ⲛⲧⲙⲏⲧⲉ] ‘in the midst of’ (= Late Egyptian *[m]tȝ mt n* ‘in the middle of’). Hannig 1995:376; Vycichl 1983:124; Černý 1976:93.

B. Proto-Indo-European **met^{h}-* ‘middle; in the middle of, with, among’: Avestan *maṯ* ‘with’; Greek μετά ‘in the midst of, among’ (Mycenaean *me-ta*); Gothic *miþ* ‘with, among’; Old Icelandic *með* ‘with, along with,

together with; by, through, with, using; among, between; in; along with'; Norwegian *med* 'with'; Swedish *med* 'with'; Danish *med* 'with'; Old English *mid*, *miþ* 'together with, with, among'; Old Frisian *mith*, *mithi* 'with'; Old Saxon *midi* 'with'; Old High German *miti*, *mit* 'with' (New High German *mit*); Albanian *mjet* 'middle'. Pokorny 1959:702—703 **me-*, **me-ta* 'mid, middle'; Walde 1927—1932.II:236 **me-*; Mann 1984—1987:762 **met-* (**metm̥-*) 'by, with, after'; Watkins 1985:39 **me-* and 2000:51 **me-* 'in the middle of' (suffixed form **me-ta*); Mallory—Adams 1997:380 **(s)me-* 'middle, among'; **me-th$_a$-*; Boisacq 1950:629—630; Frisk 1970—1973.II:216; Hofmann 1966:198—199 **me-ti* (**me-tu*, etc.); Chantraine 1968—1980.II:689—690; Beekes 2010.II:936—937 **meth$_2$*; Orël 1998:270 and 2003:268 Proto-Germanic **meþa*; Kroonen 2013:360 Proto-Germanic **medi* 'with'; Feist 1939:364 **metá*, **metí*; Lehmann 1986:258—259; Falk—Torp 1903—1906.I:505; De Vries 1977:380; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:482 **me-tí*; Kluge—Seebold 1989:482; Boutkan—Siebinga 2005:264—265.

Buck 1949:12.37 middle (adj.); 12.38 center. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:637, no. 517.

887. Proto-Nostratic root **mat'-* (~ **mət'-*):
(vb.) **mat'-* 'to stretch, to expand, to lengthen, to draw out, to measure out';
(n.) **mat'-a* 'measure, measurement, amount; extent, limit'
Note also:
(vb.) **mad-* 'to stretch, to expand, to lengthen, to draw out, to measure out';
(n.) **mad-a* 'measure, measurement, amount; extent, limit'

A. Proto-Afrasian **mat'-* 'to stretch, to expand, to lengthen, to draw out, to measure out': Proto-Semitic **mat'-* (**mat'-at'-*, **mat'-al-*, **mat'-an-*, **mat'-aw-*) 'to stretch, to expand, to lengthen, to draw out, to measure out' > Arabic *maṭṭa* 'to expand by pulling, to stretch, to draw out', *maṭṭ* 'expansion, extension, stretching, distention, lengthening, drawing out', *maṭala* 'to draw out, to lengthen, to extend, to stretch', *maṭan* 'stretching, extension', *maṭā* 'to stretch oneself and yawn, to lengthen, to draw long', *maṭw*, *miṭw* 'anything long, stretched'; Ḥarsūsi *meṭ* 'to stretch (tr.)'; Mehri *meṭ* 'to stretch'; Śḥeri / Jibbāli *miṭṭ* 'to stretch (like elastic) (tr.)', *múṭṭuṭ* 'to stretch oneself, to stretch (intr.)'; Geez / Ethiopic *maṭṭana* [መጠነ] 'to measure, to measure out, to estimate', *maṭan* [መጠን] 'measure, measurement, extent, circumference, amount, value, dimension, proportion, worth, quantity, size, duration, moderation'; Gurage (Soddo) *mäṭän* 'amount', (Chaha) *maṭä* (vb.) 'to estimate, to evaluate', *mäčq* (n.) 'estimate'; Amharic *mäṭṭänä* 'to measure out the right amount, to apportion, to practice moderation', *mäṭän* 'size, amount, magnitude, norm, proportion, extent, limit (extent), dosage, range'; Tigrinya *mäṭänä* 'amount,

dimension'. Leslau 1979:438 and 1987:372—373. [Orël—Stolbova 1995: 385, no. 1776, **miṭ-* 'to pull'.]

B. Proto-Kartvelian **mat'-* 'to augment, to increase, to add to': Georgian *mat'-* in *mat'-eb-a* 'to augment, to increase, to add to', *met'-i* 'more'; Svan *mt'-* in *li-mt'-e* 'to add to, to attach'. Fähnrich 2007:280—281 **maṭ-*.

C. Proto-Indo-European **met'-*/**mot'-* 'to measure, to measure out, to estimate, to reckon': Greek μέδομαι 'to provide for, to be mindful of', μέδω 'to protect, to rule over'; Latin *meditor* 'to think over, to consider', *modus* 'measure, standard of measure', *medeor* 'to heal, to cure'; Gothic *mitan* 'to measure'; Old Icelandic *meta* 'to reckon, to estimate'; Old English *metan* 'to measure, to mark off, to mete out, to compare'; Old Saxon *metan* 'to measure, to mete out'; Old High German *mezzan* 'to measure, to compare, to compute' (New High German *messen*), *mez* 'measure' (New High German *Meß-*); Hittite (gen. sg.) *mi-te-eš-na-aš* 'measure, weight', (abl. sg.) *mi-id-na-az* 'measure, counsel, ordinance, resolve, device'. Rix 1998a:380 **med-* 'to measure'; Pokorny 1959:705—706 **med-* 'to measure'; Walde 1927—1932.II:259 **med-*; Mann 1984—1987:739 **medimnos* 'measure; measurer', 739—740 **medō* 'to measure, to apportion, to reward, to determine, to fix', 740 **medos*, *-es-* 'measure', 782—783 **modos*, *-es-* 'measure, means'; Watkins 1985:39 **med-* and 2000:52 **med-* 'to take appropriate measures'; Mallory—Adams 1997:374 **med-* 'to measure, to weigh'; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.II:811 **met'-* and 1995.I:711 **met'-* 'to measure, to weigh'; Boisacq 1950:618—619; Frisk 1970—1973.II:191; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:675 **med-*; Beekes 2010.II:918—919 **med-*; Hofmann 1966:193—194 **mĕd-*; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.II:55—56; Ernout—Meillet 1979:392—393; De Vaan 2008:368 **med-*; Puhvel 1984— .6:167—168 and 6:168 **med-* 'to measure by bulk or weight'; Orël 2003:268 Proto-Germanic **metan*, 268 **metanan*; Kroonen 2013:367 Proto-Germanic **metan-* 'to measure, to evaluate'; Feist 1939:363—364 **mĕd-*; Lehmann 1986:257—258 **med-* 'to measure'; De Vries 1977:385—386; Onions 1966:573 Common Germanic **metan*, Proto-Indo-European base **med-*; Klein 1971:461 **mĕd-* 'to measure, to limit, to consider, to advise'; Walshe 1951:147 and 150; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:475—476 **med-*; Kluge—Seebold 1989:474 **med-*.

Buck 1949:9.32 stretch; 12.34 measure (vb.); 17.13 think (= reflect, etc.). Bomhard—Kerns 1994:650—651, no. 527; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 1498, **mAtVdV* ¬ **mAdVtV* 'to stretch, to measure' and, no. 1501, **mAṭV* 'to increase, to make long/broad'.

888. Proto-Nostratic root **mat'-* (~ **mət'-*):
(vb.) **mat'-* 'to be or become wet, moist';
(n.) **mat'-a* 'moisture, wetness; dew, rain'; (adj.) 'wet, moist'

A. Proto-Afrasian **mat'-* ‘to be or become wet, moist’: Proto-Semitic **mat'-ar-* ‘(vb.) to rain; (n.) rain’ > Akkadian *meṭru* ‘rain’; Hebrew *māṭār* [מָטָר] ‘rain’; Ugaritic *mṭr* ‘rain’; Arabic *maṭara* ‘to rain’, *maṭar* ‘rain’; Sabaean *mṭr* ‘field watered by rain’. Militarëv 2008a:217 and 2012:84 Proto-Semtic **miṭar-*; Murtonen 1989:257—258; Klein 1987:339—340; Zammit 2002: 384. Gurage (Chaha, Gyeto, Ennemor, Endegeñ, Wolane) *məṭämäṭa*, (Eža, Muher, Masqan, Gogot, Soddo, Wolane) *miṭämmäṭä*, (Selṭi) *miṭämäṭä* ‘to be soaked through by rain, to be drenched; to be rotten, to be putrid’. Leslau 1979:438. Highland East Cushitic: Kambata *mat'oo* ‘rainy season’. Hudson 1987: 332. Proto-Southern Cushitic **maḍ-* or **maaḍ-* ‘rain’ > Burunge *madiŋ* ‘rainy season’; Ma’a *máre* ‘rain’. Ehret 1980:153. North Bauchi Chadic **maɗ-* ‘dew’ > Pa’anci *maɗa* ‘dew’; Diryanci *maɗa* ‘dew’; Siryanci *mudì* ‘dew’; Warjanci *maɗ-ai* ‘dew’; Jimbinanci *amaɗa* ‘dew’. Skinner 1977:18. [Orël—Stolbova 1995:379, no. 1747, **maṭar-* ‘water’.]

B. Proto-Indo-European **mat'-* ‘to be wet, moist’: Sanskrit *mádati* ‘to be glad, to rejoice, to get drunk’, *máda-ḥ* ‘any exhilarating or intoxicating drink; hilarity, rapture, excitement, inspiration, intoxication; ardent passion for, sexual desire or enjoyment, wantonness, lust, ruttishness, rut (especially of an elephant); pride, arrogance, presumption, conceit of or about; semen’, *mádya-ḥ* ‘(adj.) intoxicating, exhilarating, gladdening, lovely; (n.) any intoxicating drink, vinous or spiritous liquor, wine, Soma’; Pāḷi *majjati* ‘to be exalted, intoxicated’, *matta-* ‘intoxicated, proud’, *mada-* ‘intoxication, sexual excess’; Avestan *mada-* ‘intoxicating drink’; Greek μαδάω ‘to be moist’; Latin *madeō* ‘to be wet’. Rix 1998a:378 **mad-* ‘to be or become wet’; Pokorny 1959:694—695 **mad-* ‘(vb.) to drip; (adj.) wet’; Walde 1927—1932.II:230—233 **mad-*; Mallory—Adams 1997:638—639 **m(e)h$_a$d-* ‘to become wet, moist, fat’; Mann 1984—1987:724 **mad-* (**madāi̯ō*, *-ēi̯ō*, *-i̯ō*) ‘to get wet, to be wet’; Watkins 1985:38 **mad-* and 2000:50 **mad-* ‘wet, moist’; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.II:568; Boisacq 1950:598—599; Hofmann 1966:187 **măd-*; Frisk 1970—1973.II:157—158; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:656—657 **madē-*; Beekes 2010.II:889—890 **meh$_2$d-*; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.II:6—8 Latin *madeō* < **madei̯ō*; De Vaan 2008:358 **mh$_2$d-eh$_1$-*; Ernout—Meillet 1979:377; Wodtko—Irslinger—Schneider 2008:455—457 **mad-*.

Buck 1949:1.75 rain (sb.); 4.98 drunk. Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 1496, **matV[ʔ]V* ‘moisture’; Bomhard—Kerns 1994:659, no. 537.

889. Proto-Nostratic root **maw-* (~ **məw-*):
(vb.) **maw-* ‘to be wet’;
(n.) **maw-a* ‘water, liquid, fluid’

A. Proto-Afrasian **maw-* ‘(vb.) to be wet; (n.) water, liquid, fluid’: Proto-Semitic **maw/y-* ‘water, liquid, fluid’ > Hebrew (pl.) *mayim* [מַיִם]

'waters'; Syriac *mayyā* 'water'; Mandaic *mai* 'water'; Ugaritic *my* 'water'; Akkadian *mū* 'water, liquid, fluid'; Arabic *māʔ* 'water'; Sabaean *mwy* 'water'; Ḥarsūsi *ḥe-myōh* 'water'; Śḥeri / Jibbāli *míh* (base *mwh*) 'water'; Mehri *ḥə-mōh* 'water'; Geez / Ethiopic *māy* [ማይ] 'water, liquid'; Tigrinya *may* 'water'; Tigre *may* 'water'; Gurage (Zway) *may*, (Selṭi, Wolane) *mäy* 'water, sea'; Harari *mī*, *mīy* 'water'; Amharic *may* 'miraculous water' (Geez loan). Murtonen 1989:252; Klein 1987:342; Leslau 1963:102, 1979:441, and 1987:376; Zammit 2002:391. Egyptian *mw* 'water', *mwy* 'to be watery, to flow', *mwyt* 'urine'; Coptic (Bohairic) *mōw* [ⲙⲱⲟⲩ] 'water', *mē* [ⲙⲏ] 'urine', (Sahidic) *mow* [ⲙⲟⲟⲩ] 'water'. Hannig 1995:329—330; Faulkner 1962:105; Gardiner 1957:568; Erman—Grapow 1921:63 and 1926—1963.2:50—53; Černý 1976:78 and 95; Vycichl 1983:107 and 126—127. Diakonoff 1992:23 *m̥Ḫw/y* 'water'; M. Cohen 1947:191—192, no. 485; Orël—Stolbova 1995:368—369, no. 1699, *maʔ- 'water' ("[n]ote parallel forms with sonants *may- and *maw- in Sem[itic], Eg[yptian] and C[entral] Ch[adic]"); Ehret 1995:300, no. 569, *-m- (*-ma- ?) 'to be wet'. It is perhaps best to agree with Vycichl (1984:126—127) that "[Egyptian *mw*] has correspondents in the Semitic languages but not in the other Hamitic languages". This means that the Proto-Afrasian root *maʔ- 'water' reconstructed, for example, by Orël—Stolbova (1995:368—369, no. 1699) on the basis of data from the other Afrasian languages is to be seen as a parallel, though unrelated, form.

B. Proto-Indo-European **mew(H)-/*mow(H)-/*mu(H)-* '(vb.) to be wet, damp; (n.) water, liquid, fluid': Hittite (3 sg. pres. act.) *mu-ú-ta-iz-zi* 'to wet; to wash off, to flush, to rinse'; Sanskrit *mū́tra-m* 'urine'; Greek μυδάω 'to be damp, clammy (from decay, of a corpse)', μύδος 'damp, clammy; dampness, clamminess, decay', μῡ́ρω 'to flow'; Middle Irish *mún* 'urine'; Lithuanian *máudau*, *máudžiau*, *máudyti* 'to bathe, to go for a swim'; Old Church Slavic *myjǫ*, *myti* 'to wash'; Russian *myt'* [мыть] 'to wash'; Czech *mýti* 'to wash'; Serbo-Croatian *mȉti* 'to wash'. Rix 1998a:400 **meu̯H-* 'to wash, to rinse'; Pokorny 1959:741—743 **meu-*, **meu̯ə-*, **mŭ̄-* 'damp'; Walde 1927—1932.II:249—252 **meu-*; Watkins 1985:42 **meu-* 'damp' (extended form **meus-* in Germanic **meus-*, **mus-*) and 2000:56 **meus-* 'damp'; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.II:663—664; Boisacq 1950:648 **meud-*; Frisk 1970—1973.II:263; Hofmann 1966:206 **meu-d-* and 209 **meu-r-* from **meu-*; Beekes 2010.II:974; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:717—718 **meu-*, **mŭ̄-*; Puhvel 1984— .6:194—195 **mew-H-*, **mew-d-*; Shevelov 1964:377; Fraenkel 1962—1965.I:417; Smoczyński 2007.1:378 **meu̯H-*; Derksen 2008:338 **muH-* and 2015:307.

C. Altaic: Proto-Tungus **mū* 'water' > Evenki *mū* 'water'; Lamut / Even *mō̄* 'water'; Negidal *mū* 'water'; Manchu *muke* 'water; river, stream'; Jurchen *mo* 'water'; Ulch *mū* 'water'; Orok *mū* 'water'; Nanay / Gold *muke* 'water'; Oroch *mū* 'water'; Udihe *mu-de* 'inundation'; Solon *mū* 'water'. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak (2003:935—936 **mi̯ūri* 'water') compare the

above forms with possible Mongolian, Japanese, and Korean cognates. However, Dolgopolsky (2008, no. 1382) is probably correct in rejecting this comparison.

Buck 1949:1.31 water; 4.65 urinate; urine; 15.83 wet, damp. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:643, no. 521; Illič-Svityč 1971—1984.II:62—63, no. 298, **mEwʌ* ‘water, moisture’; Möller 1911:168—169 (Semitic **m-u̯-*); Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 1382, **mûhi* (or **mûhyi* ?) ‘water, fluid’.

890. Proto-Nostratic root **mel-*:
(vb.) **mel-* ‘to rub’ (> ‘to rub into, to crush, to grind down; to rub smooth, to polish, to wipe; to wear out, to soften; to become worn out, weak, tired, weary’);
(n.) **mel-a* ‘smoothness, softness; weakness’; (adj.) ‘smooth, soft, tender, weak, worn out, tired, weary’
Note also:
(vb.) **mol-* ‘to rub’ (> ‘to rub into, to crush, to grind down; to rub smooth, to polish, to wipe; to wear out, to soften; to become worn out, weak, tired, weary’);
(n.) **mol-a* ‘crumb, piece, morsel; mortar’; (adj.) ‘crushed, ground, worn out or down’

A. Proto-Afrasian **mel-* ‘to rub, to crush, to grind down; to rub smooth, to polish, to wipe; to wear out, to soften; to become worn out, weak, tired, weary’: Proto-Semitic **mal-al-* ‘to be or become worn out, weak, tired, weary’ > Hebrew *mālal* [מָלַל] ‘to languish, to wither, to fade’, *ʔămēlāl* [אֲמֵלָל], *ʔumlāl* [אֻמְלָל] ‘feeble’, *ʔāmal* [אָמַל] (< **ʔa-mal-*) ‘to be weak, to languish’; Phoenician *ʔml* (< **ʔa-mal-*) ‘to languish, to be feeble; to enfeeble’; Arabic *malla* ‘to be or become weary, tired, bored, impatient; to tire, to become tired (of something), to become fed up (with)’, *mall* ‘weary, tired, fed up, bored’, *malūl* ‘tired, wearied, bored; weary, fed-up, disgusted’; Śḥeri / Jibbāli *mell* ‘to be fed up, to despair of finishing something with someone’, *emlél* ‘to tire, to make someone fed up’, *mellún* ‘easily, bored’; Mehri *məl* ‘to be fed up with someone, something’, *həmlūl* ‘to make someone fed up, tired’. Klein 1987:35 and 351; Murtonen 1989:93; Tomback 1978:24. Proto-Semitic **mal-al-* ‘to rub, to scrape’ > Hebrew *mālal* [מָלַל] ‘to rub, to scrape, to rub ears for husking the grain’; (?) Geez / Ethiopic *malala* [መለለ] ‘to plane (a board), to smooth with a plane’; (?) Amharic *mallälä* ‘to plane, to scrape’. Klein 1987:351; Leslau 1987:344. Proto-Semitic **mal-aʕ-* ‘to rub, to smear’ > Arabic (Daṯina) *malaʿ* ‘to smooth away’; Geez / Ethiopic *malʿa* [መልዐ] ‘to anoint, to grease, to smear’. Leslau 1987:342. Proto-Semitic **mal-ac-* ‘to make smooth’ > Arabic *malisa*, *malusa* ‘to be smooth, level, even; to make smooth, to smooth, to level, to even (something); to make slippery’, *malis*

‘smooth, sleek’, *malasa* ‘smooth, bald’; Geez / Ethiopic *malasa* [ሙለሰ] ‘to gleam, to shine, to glitter, to flash, to sparkle, to be polished; to polish, to smooth, to wipe clean’; Amharic *mälläsä* ‘to purify metal by repeated meltings’; Harari *(a)mōläsa* ‘to have a delicate and smooth appearance (person), to be smooth (skin) because of care given to it’. Leslau 1963:107 and 1987:345. Proto-Semitic **mal-ac’-* ‘to be smooth, slippery’ > Hebrew *mālaṣ* [מָלַץ] ‘to be smooth, slippery’ (a hapax legomenon in the Bible); Arabic *maliṣa* ‘to glide, to slide, to slip, to escape’, *maliṣ* ‘smooth, sleek, slippery’. Klein 1987:351. Proto-Semitic **mal-at’-* ‘to rub, to smear’ > Hebrew *meleṭ* [מֶלֶט] ‘mortar, cement’ (a hapax legomenon in the Bible); Syriac *məlaṭ* ‘to smear, to rub over’, *məlāṭā* ‘mortar’; Arabic *malaṭa* ‘to plaster with mud or mortar (a wall)’, *milāṭ* ‘mortar’ (Aramaic loans). Klein 1987:350. Proto-Semitic **mal-ad-* ‘to be tender’ > Arabic *malida* ‘to be tender’, *ʾamlad* ‘tender, flexible’, *mald* ‘soft and delicate’, *malad* ‘softness, delicacy; youthfulness; freshness of face’. The following Highland East Cushitic forms may belong here as well: Gedeo / Darasa (pl.) *melaalle* ‘female, women’; Sidamo (pl.) *meella* ‘women, wives’. Hudson 1989:170. For the semantics, cf. Tamil *melli* ‘woman’ cited below and perhaps also Latin *mulier* ‘woman, wife’ (< **mḷ-yes-ī*, comparative of *mollis* ‘soft, tender, pliant, supple, flexible, yielding’ [cf. Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.II:122; however, Ernout—Meillet 1979:418—419 consider Latin *mulier* to be of unknown origin; see also Sihler 1995:309—310, §299a]).

B. Dravidian: Tamil *mel* ‘soft, tender’, *melku* (*melki-*) ‘to become soft, to become light’, *mella*, *meḷḷa* ‘softly, slowly, gently’, *melli* ‘woman’, *mellikkai* ‘thinness’, *mellitu*, *mellicu* ‘that which is soft or fine; thinness, slenderness’, *melliyar* ‘the weak, the emaciated, the poor; low, mean person; woman (as of a delicate build)’, *mell-en̲al*, *meḷḷ-en̲al* ‘expression signifying being soft, gentle, being dull’, *melivu* ‘weakness, feebleness, languor, fatigue’, *meli* (*-v-*, *-nt-*) ‘to become weak; to become lean, thin; to suffer; to languish; to perish, to become poor, reduced in circumstances; to be softened; to be lowered in pitch (music)’, *meli* (*-pp-*, *-tt-*) ‘to weaken, to make lean, to make thin, to cause suffering, to destroy, to soften (a hard consonant), to lower in pitch’, *meliyavan̲* ‘weak, powerless man’; Malayalam *mel* ‘slender, tender’, *meliyuka* ‘to grow thin, lean’, *melivu*, *meliccal* ‘thinness, leanness’, *melluka*, *mellika* ‘to be thin, fine’, *mellē* ‘slowly, gently, softly’; Kota *melg-* (*melgy-*) ‘to soften (intr.) by action of water or heat’, *melk-* (*melky-*) ‘to soften (tr.) by action of water or heat’; Toda *mely* ‘slowly, stealthily’; Kannaḍa *mel(u)* ‘soft, tender, pliant, mild, gentle, kind, pleasant, slow’, *melpu* ‘softness, mildness’, *mella*, *mellane*, *melle* ‘gently, softly, slowly’, *mellitu*, *mellittu* ‘that which is soft, mild’; Koḍagu *melle* ‘lightly, slowly’; Tuḷu *mella* ‘slow, soft, gentle’, *melipuni* ‘to knead (as dough), to tread into a well-mixed mass (as earth)’, *melippu* ‘kneading, mixing well into a mass, macerating’, *meliyuni* ‘to become

well-mixed, to be reduced by sickness'; Telugu *melãta*, *melãtuka* 'woman', *melamella*, *melamellãgã* 'gently, mildly, quietly, slowly, softly', *mella* 'slowly', *mellãgẵ* 'slowly, tardily, quietly, gently, mildly, softly, gradually, by degrees', *mellana* 'slowness, tardiness', *mellanan* 'slowly, tardily', *mellani* 'slow, quiet'; Gadba (Salur) *mellaga* 'slowly'; Koṇḍa *meleka* 'slowly', *melesa* 'gently, softly'; Kui *mṛērna* 'soft, quiet, gentle'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:459, no. 5078; Krishnamurti 2003:118 **mel-k-* 'to become soft'.

C. [Proto-Indo-European **mel-*/**mḷ-* (secondary *o*-grade form: **mol-*) 'to rub into, to crush, to grind down; to rub smooth, to polish, to wipe; to wear out, to soften; to become worn out, weak, tired, weary': Hittite (3rd sg. pres.) *ma-al-la-i* 'to crush, to grind', (reduplicated) *me-ma-al* 'meal'; Sanskrit *mṛṇā́ti*, *mṛṇáti* 'to crush, to grind', *mṛdnā́ti*, *márdati*, *márdate* 'to rub, to stroke, to wipe, to rub into; to press, to squeeze, to crush, to pound', *mṛdú-ḥ* 'soft, delicate, tender, pliant, mild, gentle, weak, feeble', *mṛkṣáti* 'to rub, to curry, to stroke', *mṛjáti*, *mṛjáte* 'to wipe, to rub, to cleanse, to polish, to clean, to purify, to embellish, to adorn, to make smooth, to stroke', *mṛṣṭá-ḥ* 'washed, cleansed, polished, clean, pure, smeared, besmeared with', *mlā́yati* 'to wither, to fade'; Greek ἀμαλδῦνω 'to soften', ἀμαλός 'soft, weak, feeble', μαλακός 'soft', μαλάσσω 'to make soft', μύλη 'mill, handmill', μύλος 'millstone'; Albanian *mjel* 'meal, flour'; Armenian *malem* 'to crush', (reduplicated) *mlmlem* 'to rub'; Umbrian *maletu* 'crushed, ground'; Latin *molō* 'to grind', *mollis* 'soft, tender, pliant, supple, flexible, yielding', *mola* 'millstone', *molīna*, *molīnum* 'a mill'; Old Irish *melim* 'to grind'; Breton *meil* 'mill'; Welsh *melin* 'mill' (< Latin *molīna*); Gothic *malan* 'to grind', *mildiþa* 'mildness, kindness', *ga-malwjan* 'to grind up, to crush', *malma* 'sand', *mulda* 'dust'; Old Icelandic *mala* 'to grind', *meldr* 'grinding; flour', *melr* 'sand-bank, gravel-bank', *mildi* 'kindness, mercy, grace', *mildr* 'mild, gentle, gracious; munificent, liberal', *mola* 'to crush, to break into small pieces', *moli* 'small piece, crumb', *molna* 'to crumble into dust', *mjöl* 'meal, flour', *mylna* 'mill' (< Latin *molīna*), *mølva* (*mølda*) 'to crush, to pound'; Swedish *mala* 'to grind'; Old English *melu* 'meal, flour', *milde* 'gentle, mild; merciful, kind', *mildian* 'to become mild', *milts*, *milds* 'kindness, mercy', *molde* 'earth, soil, dust; ground, country, world', *molsnian* 'to molder, to decay', *mylen* 'mill' (< Latin *molīna*); Old Frisian *mele* 'flour, meal', *milde* 'mild, gentle'; Old Saxon *malan* 'to grind', *melo* 'flour, meal', *mildi* 'mild, soft, gentle'; Old High German *malan* 'to grind, to mill, to crush, to pulverize' (New High German *mahlen*), *melo* 'flour, meal' (New High German *Mehl*), *milti*, *milte* 'mild, soft, mellow, gentle' (New High German *mild*); Lithuanian *malù*, *málti* 'to grind'; Old Church Slavic *meljǫ*, *mlěti* 'to grind'; Tocharian A *malyw-*, B *mely-* 'to crush, to squeeze, to lay waste', B *mäl-* 'to crush, to repress, to oppress', B *mällarṣke* 'pressing' (?) or 'pliant' (?), B *mālle* 'ground-down, dull', B *māllalñe* 'crushing'. Rix 1998a:387

meld-* ‘to become weak, soft, mild, gentle, tender’, 388—389 **melh₂-* ‘to rub, to crush, to grind’, 390 **melh₂u̯-* ‘to rub, to crush, to grind’; Pokorny 1959:716—719 **mel-* ‘to crush, to grind’; Walde 1927—1932.II:284—291 **mel-*; Mann 1984—1987:728 **mălō*, *-i̯ō* (variant of type **mḷō*, *-i̯ō* ‘to grind, to mill’), 749 **meldō*, *-i̯ō* ‘to crush, to destroy’, 749 **meldhos* ‘soft, tender’, 750 **meleu̯os* (meləu̯os*, **melu̯os* ‘soft, effete, silly’, 750 **meleu̯os*, *-ā* (**meləu̯o-*) ‘millings, flour’, 751—752 **melk-* (**molk-*, **mḷk-*) ‘soft, limp’, 752 **melmos*, *-ā* ‘soft; soft matter, mud, pug, pugging, puddle’, 752 **melō*, *-i̯ō* ‘to grind, to crush’, 753 **melu̯os* ‘soft, sweet’, 753 **memәl-* (**mĭmәl-*, **mel-mel-*), 773 **mlētos* ‘crushed, pulped’, 773 **mḷd-* ‘crush, pulp, powder’, 773—774 **mḷdos*, *-is*, *-us* (**mḷdulos*) ‘soft, pappy, pulpy, powdery, weak, tender’, 774 **mḷdsnā* (*-os*, *-om*) ‘powder, dust, fine loam’, 774 **mḷdhos* (**məldh-*) ‘young, immature, silly’, 775—776 **mḷk-* (variants: **mḷks-*, **mḷsk-*) ‘soft, mild, silly’, 776 **mḷm-* ‘powder; powdery, crumbly; to crumble, to decompose’, 776—777 **mḷō*, *-i̯ō* ‘to grind, to crush’, 777 **mḷs-*, **mḷsk̂ō* ‘to crumble, to decay’, 777 **mḷtos* (**mḷt-*) ‘ground, crushed; powder’, 777—778 **mḷu̯ō* ‘to crush, to shatter’, 791—792 **moldis*, *-os*, *-us* ‘soft, sweet, slow, gentle, silly’, 792—793 **molks-* (**molsk-*, **molk̂s-*) ‘limp, soft’, 793 **molu̯i̯ō* ‘to beat, to crush’ (a Germanic variant), 815 **mul-i̯ō* ‘to grind, to crush’, 816 **mulos*, *-ā*, *-i̯om*, *-is* ‘grinding, milling; grindstone, millstone’; Watkins 1985:40 **mel-* ‘soft’, 40—41 **melə-* (also **mel-*) ‘to crush, to grind’ and 2000:53 **mel-* ‘soft’, 53—54 **melə-* (also **mel-*) ‘to crush, to grind’, with derivatives referring to various ground or crumbling substances (such as flour) and to instruments for grinding or crushing (such as millstones) (oldest form **mel₂-*); Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.II:692—693 **mel-* and 1995.I:190, I:200, I:567—568, I:598—599 **mel-* ‘to crush, to divide; to thresh; to grind; to grate’; Mallory—Adams 1997:247 **melh₂-* ‘to grind’; Puhvel 1984— .6:21—25 and 6:140—141; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.II:670—671, II:672—673, II:676, II:676—677, II:698—699; Boisacq 1950:49, 604, and 649—650; Frisk 1970—1973.I:84, I:85, II:165—166, and II:268—270; Hofmann 1966:14, 188, and 207; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:69, I:70, II:661 Greek μαλακός ‘soft’ < **mºl₂k-*, and II:721 **mel-*, **mel-₂₁-*, **mol-₂₁-*, **mºl-₂₁-*; Beekes 2010.I:80—81 and II:896 **mlh₂-k-*; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.II:104—106 **mel-* (**melāˣ-*); Ernout—Meillet 1979:410—411 Latin *mollis* < **moldwis* and 411 **molə-*/**melə-*/**mºlə-*; De Vaan 2008:386 and 286—387; Orël 2003:257 Proto-Germanic **malanan*, 257 **malđriz* ~ **malđran*, 258 **malmaz* ~ **malmōn*, 258—259 **malwjanan*, 266 **melđiþō*, 266 **melđjaz*, 266 **melđin*, 267 **melmaz*, 267 **meltanan*, 267 **melwan*, 275 **muldō(n)*, 275 **muljanan*; Kroonen 2013:351 Proto-Germanic **malan-* ‘to grind’, 351 **malta-* ‘soft; gone bad (?)’, 351—352 **maltjan-* ‘to make dissolve’, 352 **malwjan-* ‘to crush, to pound’, 362—363 **melda-* ‘pleasant, mild’, 363 **meltan-* ‘to dissolve, to be digested’, 365 **melwa-* ‘meal, flour’, 374—375 **multōjan-* ‘to become soft’, and 375

**mulwēn-* ‘to soften’; Feist 1939:192, 342, 343, 359, and 366; Lehmann 1986:144—145, 242—243, 243, 255, and 260; De Vries 1977:377, 383, 387, 390, 392, 397—398, and 400; Onions 1966:564—565, 576, and 593; Klein 1971:452, 464—465, and 471; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:454 **mel-*, 471, and 478—479; Kluge—Seebold 1989:455, 470, and 479; Fraenkel 1962—1965.I:403—404; Derksen 2008:307 **melH-* and 2015:302—303 **melH-*; Kloekhorst 2008b:547—548; Wodtko—Irslinger—Schneider 2008:482—485 **meld-*.] Note: The Indo-European forms are phonologically ambiguous. They either belong here or with Proto-Nostratic **mol-* ‘to rub’ (> ‘to rub into, to crush, to grind down; to rub smooth, to polish, to wipe; to wear out, to soften; to become worn out, weak, tired, weary’).

D. Proto-Chukchi-Kamchatkan **məl-* ‘small, fine’: Kerek *nə-mlə-Xi* ‘small’; Koryak *nə-mlə-qen* ‘small’; Alyutor *nə-mlʲə-qin*, *məs(ə)-* ‘small, fine’; Kamchadal / Itelmen *milʲa-cX* ‘baby’ (with diminutive suffix). Fortescue 2005:181. Proto-Chukotian **məla-* ‘supple’ > Chukchi *m(ə)l-at-* ‘to become supple (skin)’, *rə-məla-w-* ‘to make supple (skin), to make strong or agile (person)’, *nə-mlilə-qin* ‘flexible, supple’; Kerek *mə-mlʔa-u-* ‘to soften skin’; Koryak *jə-mla-w-* ‘to make supple’, *nə-mlə-qin* ‘flexible’; Alyutor *msa-* ‘supple (skin)’. Fortescue 2005:182. Proto-Chukchi-Kamchatkan **məlæ-* ‘to break’: Chukchi *məle-* ‘to break, to be broken’; Kerek *mla-* ‘to break’, *nə-mla(a)u-* ‘to pulverize’; Koryak *məle-* ‘to break (tr.)’, *jə-mlʲa-v-* ‘to pulverize’, *məle-cʁən* ‘crumb’; Alyutor *mla-* ‘to break (tr.)’, *tə-mlʲa-v-* ‘to crush, to shatter’. Fortescue 2005:182.

Buck 1949:4.91 tired, weary; 5.56 grind; 9.31 rub; 15.75 soft; 15.77 smooth. Brunner 1969:20, no. 10; Möller 1911:161—162; Greenberg 2002:84—85, no. 186; Caldwell 1913:603—604; Bomhard—Kerns 1994:637—639, no. 518; Illič-Svityč 1971—1984.II:69—70, no. 302, **moLA* ‘to smash’; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 1412, **mel[H_1]V* ‘soft’.

891. Proto-Nostratic interrogative pronoun stem **mi-* (~ **me-*) ‘who?, which?, what?’, relative pronoun stem **ma-* (~ **mə-*) ‘who, which, what’:

A. Proto-Afrasian **ma-* ~ **mi-* interrogative and relative pronoun stem: Proto-Semitic **mă-* ~ **mĭ-* interrogative and relative pronoun stem > Akkadian (interj.) *mā* ‘what?, why?; indeed, verily’, (interrogative pronoun) *mannu*, *manna*, *manni*, *maʔu*, *man* ‘who?’, (interrogative and adverb) *mati* ‘when?’, (interrogative) *minsu* ‘what is it?, why?’, (interrogative pronoun) *minu* ‘who?’ (West Semitic loan), (interrogative) *mīnu*, *mīnum*, *minū*, *mīna*, *mīnam*, *mīni*, *mīnim*, *mīnumma*, *mīnamma*, *mīnammi*, *mīnimma*, *mīnimmi*, *min* ‘what?, why?, what for?, what reason?; what, whatever’; Hebrew (interrogative pronoun) *mah* [מַה], *māh* [מָה] ‘what?, how?’, *mān* [מָן] (= *māh*) ‘what?’, (interrogative pronoun) *mī* [מִי] ‘who?’; Syriac *mā(n)*, *mānā* ‘what?’, *man* ‘who?’; Phoenician *mh* ‘what’, *my* ‘who;

whoever'; Ugaritic *mh* 'what?', *my* 'who?', *mnm* 'whatever'; Arabic *mā* (interrogative) 'what?', *mā* (relative) 'that, which, what', (interrogative particle) *matā* 'when?, at what time?', (interrogative pronoun) *man* 'who?, which one?, which ones?', (relative pronoun) *man* 'who, the one who, those who, one who, whoever, whosoever, everyone who, he who', (conjunction) *mahmā* 'whatever, who ever, no matter how much, however much'; Sabaean (indefinite and interrogative pronoun) *mhn* 'what, what thing?'; Soqoṭri *mon* 'who?'; Ḥarsūsi *mōn* 'who?'; Śḥeri / Jibbāli *mun* 'who?'; Mehri *mōn* 'who?'; Geez / Ethiopic *mi* [ሚ] 'what?', *mannu* [መኑ] 'who?', *mənt* [ምንት] 'what?'; Tigre *mə*, *mi* 'what?', *män* 'who?'; Tigrinya *män*, *mən* 'who?', *mənəw*, *mənu* 'which?'; Harari *mān* 'who?', *min* 'what?'; Argobba *man* 'who?'; Gafat *man* 'who?'; Amharic *mən* 'what?, which?', *man* 'who?'; Gurage *mə* 'what?', *ma* 'who?', *man* 'who?', *mən* 'what?'. Lipiński 1997:328—331; Klein 1987:321, 340, and 354; Leslau 1963:108, 1979:385, 407, and 1987:321, 348, 352; Zammit 2002:377. Egyptian *m* 'who?, what?'; Coptic *nim* [ⲛⲓⲙ] (< *i̯n m*) 'who?, what?'. Hannig 1995:313; Faulkner 1962:100; Gardiner 1957:567; Erman—Grapow 1921:59 and 1926—1963.2:4; Vycichl 1983:142; Černý 1976:108. Berber: Tamazight *m-ay* 'who?, what?'; Tuareg *mi* 'who'; Kabyle *mi* 'when', *məlmi* 'when?' (*si məlmi* 'since when?'). Proto-East Cushitic **maʔ* 'what?' > Kambata *maʔa* 'what?'; Alaba *ma* 'what?'; Gedeo / Darasa *maa* (< **maʔa*) 'what?'; Sidamo *mai* 'what?'; Hadiyya *maha* (< **maħa* < **maʔ waħa* 'what thing?') 'what?'; Somali *maħaa* 'what?'; Rendille *maħ(a)* 'what?'; Bayso *me* (< **maħ*) 'what?'; Boni *mahaa* 'what?'; Afar *maħa* 'what?'; Burji *míya* (? < **maʔ+yaa*) 'what?'; Gedeo / Darasa *maacco* 'what?'. Sasse 1982:146; Hudson 1989:166. Proto-East Cushitic **meʔ-* (or **meeʔ-*) 'how many?' > Burji *míʔa* 'how many?'; Sidamo *meʔe* 'how many?'; Kambata *meʔo* 'how many?, how much?'; Dullay *meeʔe* 'how many?'; Gawwada *meeʔe* 'how many?'; Dobase *meeʔe* 'how many?'; Harso *meeʔe* 'how many?'; Tsamay *meek* 'how many?'; Dasenech *miya* 'how many?'; Galla / Oromo *meek'a* 'how many?'; Gidole *meek'-* 'how many?'; Konso *meeqaa* 'how many?'; Gedeo / Darasa *meʔe* 'how many?, how much?'; Hadiyya *meeʔo* 'how many?, how much?'. Sasse 1982:143; Hudson 1989:83. Burji *máama* 'how?'. Sasse 1982:138. Proto-Highland East Cushitic **mi-ha* 'why?' > Burji *miyaa-ga* 'why?'; Gedeo / Darasa *maya* 'why?'; Hadiyya *mahi-na* 'why?'; Kambata *mii(-ha)*, *mahiiha* 'why?'; Sidamo *mae-ra* 'why?'. Hudson 1989:167. Proto-Southern Cushitic **ma* 'which?' > Iraqw *-ma-* in: *amaga* 'how many?', *ahema* 'who?', *asma* 'why?', *ama* 'when?'; Ma'a *-ma* in: *-hamá* 'which?', *-mo* in: *kimomo* 'how?', (verb enclitic) *-mo* 'how many?'; K'wadza *-ma-* in: *gaʔamayo* 'when?'. Ehret 1980:153. Proto-Southern Cushitic **me* 'how many?' > Ma'a *mé* 'how many?'; Dahalo *méék'a* 'how many?'. Ehret 1980:157. Proto-Southern Cushitic *mi* 'what kind of?' > Alagwa *mi* 'what?', *miya* 'who?'; Iraqw *-mi-* in: *amila* 'what?'; K'wadza *-mi* in: *homi*

'what?', *mi* 'so that'; Ma'a *mina* 'what kind of?'. Ehret 1980:158. Proto-Chadic **mi*, **mə* 'what?' > Ngizim *t-âm* 'what?'; Dangla *maa* 'what?'; Ron *mi* 'what?'; Margi *mi* 'what?'; Bachama *munə* 'what?'; Nancere *me*, *mene* 'what?'; Zime *mi* 'what?'. Newman 1977:34. Perhaps also Ongota *mìyá* 'how much?'. Fleming 2002b:50. Ehret 1995:301, no. 571, **ma*, **mi* 'what?'; Diakonoff 1988:83, §4.4.2; Militarëv 2015b:132 and 133.

B. Proto-Kartvelian interrogative pronoun (?) **mi-n-* 'who?': Georgian *vin-* 'who?'; Mingrelian *mi-*, *min-* 'who?'; Laz *min-* 'who?'. Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:135 **wi-*; Fähnrich 2007:162—163 **wi-*; Klimov 1964:135 **mi-n-* and 1998:53 **win-* 'who'. Proto-Kartvelian **ma-* 'what': Georgian [*ma-*] 'what'; Mingrelian *mu-* 'what'; Laz *mu-* 'what'; Svan *ma(j)*, *mäj* 'what'. Klimov 1964:124 **ma-* and 1998:112 **ma-* 'what'; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:226—227 **ma-*; Fähnrich 2007:276 **ma-*.

C. Proto-Indo-European **me-*/**mo-* interrogative and relative pronoun stem: Cornish (conjunction) *ma*, *may* 'that'; Breton (conjunction) *ma*, *may*, Middle Breton *maz* (from *ma+ez*) 'that'; Tocharian B *mäksu* (a) interrogative pronoun: 'which?, who?', (b) interrogative adjective: 'which?, what?', (c) relative pronoun: 'which, who', B *mäkte* (a) interrogative pronoun: 'how?', (b) comparative: 'as', (c) causal: 'because', (d) temporal: 'as, while', (e) final: 'so, in order that', (f) manner: 'how', A *mänt*, *mät* 'how?'; Hittite *maši(ya)-* 'how much?, how many?; as many as, as much as', *ma-a-an*, *ma-an* (adverb and conjunction) 'how, whether, like, (even) as, if'. J. Friedrich 1952:138; Puhvel 1984— .6:39—43 **me-*/**mo-* and 6:94—97; Adams 1999:451 and 451—452; Van Windekens 1976—1982.I:285—286 and I:287—288; Lewis—Pedersen 1937:127 and 241—242; Mann 1984—1987:729 **mă̆n* 'but, so, indeed, yet'.

D. Proto-Uralic **mi* ~ **mü* (?) interrogative-relative stem: Finnish *mikä* ~ *mi-* 'which?, what kind?; which'; Lapp / Saami *mi* ~ *mâ-* 'what, which, what kind; [that] which; which, who, what'; Mordvin *meze* 'what'; Cheremis / Mari *ma*, *mo* 'what, which, what kind'; Votyak / Udmurt *ma* 'what, which, what kind'; Zyrian / Komi *myj* 'what, which, what kind'; Vogul / Mansi *män* 'which, what kind'; Ostyak / Xanty *mŏ̆gi* 'which, what', *mətä* 'any, which, who'; Hungarian *mi* 'what, which, what kind'; Tavgi Samoyed / Nganasan *ma* 'what'; etc. Collinder 1955:34—35, 1965:141 **mi* ~ **my* (?), and 1977:54; Rédei 1986—1988:296 **mɜ*; Décsy 1990:103 **mi* 'what; thing'; Janhunen 1977b:91 **mę*.

E. Proto-Altaic **mV* interrogative stem: Proto-Mongolian **-mu*, **-mi* suffixed interrogative particle > Middle Mongolian *-mu*, *-mi* suffixed interrogative particle. Proto-Turkic **-mi* suffixed interrogative particle > Old Turkic *-mu* suffixed interrogative particle; Karakhanide Turkic *-mu* suffixed interrogative particle; Turkish *-mi*/*-mı*/*-mu*/*-mü* suffixed interrogative particle; Gagauz *-mi* suffixed interrogative particle; Azerbaijani *-mi* suffixed interrogative particle; Turkmenian *-mi* suffixed interrogative particle; Uzbek *-mi* suffixed interrogative particle; Uighur *-mu* suffixed

interrogative particle; Karaim *-mo* suffixed interrogative particle; Tatar *-mi* suffixed interrogative particle; Bashkir *-mï* suffixed interrogative particle; Kirghiz *-bï* suffixed interrogative particle; Kazakh *-ma*/*-me* suffixed interrogative particle; Noghay *-ma*/*-me* suffixed interrogative particle; Oyrot (Mountain Altai) *-ba*/*-be* suffixed interrogative particle; Tuva *-be* suffixed interrogative particle; Chuvash *-im* suffixed interrogative particle. Note also Chuvash *měn*, *měsker* 'what?', *miśe* 'how much (in number)?', *měnšěn* 'why?', *měnle* 'what kind of?' (cf. Greenberg 2000:230; L. Clark 1998:440). Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:958 **mV* interrogative root.

F. Proto-Chukchi-Kamchatkan **mikæ* 'who?': Chukchi *mik(ə)-* 'who?, someone'; Kerek *maki* 'who?'; Koryak *meki* (Kamen *maki*) (< **mæki*, metathesized form of **mikæ*) 'who?'; Alyutor *miɣɣa* 'who?', *mikin* 'whose'; (?) Kamchadal / Itelmen *k'e* (pl. *k'nəntx*) 'who?'. Fortescue 2005:175; Greenberg 2000:231; Mudrak 1989b:102 **mki*, **mkin-* 'who'. Proto-Chukchi-Kamchatkan **miŋ(kə)* 'where?': Chukchi *miŋkə* 'where?', *miŋkəri(lə)* 'to where?'; Kerek *miŋkiil* "to where?'; Koryak *miŋkə* 'where?', *miŋkəje* 'to where?', *meŋqo* 'from where?'; Alyutor *məʔannu* (Palana *miŋkə*, *meje*) 'where?', *maŋkət(əŋ)* 'to where?'; Kamchadal / Itelmen *maʔ* 'where?', *manke* 'to where?', *manxʔal* 'from where?'. Fortescue 2005:177; Mudrak 1989b:101 **ma-* 'where', 102 **miŋ* 'which'. Proto-Chukchi-Kamchatkan **miŋkəði* 'how?': Chukchi *miŋkəri* 'how?, what kind?'; Kerek *miŋkii* 'how'; Koryak *miŋkəje*'how?, what kind?'; Alyutor *maŋkət* 'how?'; Kamchadal / Itelmen (Sedanka) *mank* 'how?'. Fortescue 2005:177. Proto-Chukchi-Kamchatkan **mæŋin* 'what kind?': Chukchi *meŋin* used as the suppletive absolutive case form of *mik(ə)-* 'who?, someone'; Kerek *maŋin ippa* 'which?'; Koryak *meŋin* 'what kind of?'; Alyutor *maŋin* 'what kind of?'; Kamchadal / Itelmen *min* 'what kind?'. Fortescue 2005:173.

G. Proto-Eskimo (enclitic) **-mi* 'what about?': Alutiiq Alaskan Yupik *+mi* 'I wonder, how about?'; Central Alaskan Yupik *+mi* 'how about?, contrast'; Naukan Siberian Yupik *#mi* '…or other' (with question words); Central Siberian Yupik *+mi* 'how about?, contrast'; Sirenik *+mi* emphatic enclitic; Seward Peninsula Inuit (+)*mi* 'why (not)?'; North Alaskan Inuit (Uummarmiut) *+mi* 'what about?'; Greenlandic Inuit *+mi* 'but, indeed, what about? (contrastive emphasis)'. Fortescue—Jacobson—Kaplan 1994:411.

Sumerian interrogative stem **me-* in: *me-na-àm* 'when?', *me-a* 'where?', *me-šè* 'where to?'.

Illič-Svityč 1971—1984.II:66—68, no. 300, **mi* 'what?'; Bomhard—Kerns 1994:645—647, no. 524; Greenberg 2000:229—231, no. 62; Hakola 2000:106, no. 452; Nafiqoff 2003:53—55 **mi*; Assadian—Hakola 2003:85, no. 273; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 1355, **mi* 'what?'; Fortescue 1998:155.

892. Proto-Nostratic first person singular **mi* (~ **me*) ‘I, me’, first person plural (inclusive) **ma* (~ **mə*) ‘we, us’:

Note: In Afrasian and Dravidian, first person singular **mi* and first person plural (inclusive) **ma* have been mostly lost. For an overview of the personal pronouns in Afrasian, cf. Diakonoff 1988:70—79 and Lipiński 1997:297—311 (emphasis on Semitic); for Elamo-Dravidian, cf. McAlpin 1981:112—117; for Dravidian, cf. Krishnamurti 2003:244—253, Steever 1998a:21—23, and Zvelebil 1977:40—52.

A. Afrasian: This stem appears only in Chadic as an independent pronoun: Hausa (pl.) *maa* ‘we’, (indirect object pl.) *manà* ‘us, to us, for us’, (pl.) *muu* ‘we, us, our’, (past tense subj. pl.) *mun* ‘we’, (continuous tense subj. pl.) *munàa* ‘we’, (indirect object sg.) *minì* ‘me, to me, for me’; Kotoko *mi* ‘we, us’; Mandara *ma* ‘we, us’; Musgu (sg.) *mu* ‘I, me’, (pl.) *mi* ‘we, us’; Bole *mu* ‘we, us’. It also serves as the basis of the first singular verbal suffix in part of Highland East Cushitic: cf. the perfect endings in Hadiyya: *-ummo*, Kambata: *-oommi*, and Sidamo: *-ummo*. In Burji and Gedeo / Darasa, on the other hand, the perfect suffixes are *-anni* and *-enne* respectively, which are based upon the first person stem **na*.

B. Proto-Dravidian first plural suffix **-m* in: (a) first person plural exclusive **yā-m-* (obl. **yă-m-*) and (b) first person plural inclusive **ñā-m-* (obl. **ñă-m(m)-*): (a) Tamil *yām* ‘we’; Kota *a·m* ‘we’; Kannaḍa *ām* ‘we’; Telugu *ēmu* ‘we’; Kolami *a·m* ‘we’; Naikṛi *ām* ‘we’; Parji *ām* ‘we’; Gadba (Ollari) *ām* ‘we’; Manḍa *ām* ‘we’; Kuṛux *ēm* ‘we’; Malto *ém* ‘we’; etc. (cf. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:467—468, no. 5154); (b) Tamil *nām* ‘we’ (inclusive); Malayalam *nām* ‘we’ (inclusive); Kuṛux *nām* ‘we’ (inclusive); Malto *nám* ‘we’ (inclusive); etc. (cf. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:322, no. 3647). It also occurs as the first plural suffix in finite verbs: **-V̆m* > Tamil *-mu*, *-mi* first plural exclusive suffix, *-amu* first plural inclusive suffix; Kui *-amu*, *-ami* first plural exclusive suffix; Kuwi *-amu*, *-omi* first plural exclusive suffix; Kuṛux *-m* first plural exclusive suffix; Malto *-im*, *-em*, *-om* first plural exclusive suffix; Parji *-am*, *-um*, *-om*, *-m* first plural exclusive suffix; Kolami *-um*, *-am*, *-m* first plural exclusive suffix, *-am* first plural inclusive suffix; etc. Krishnamurti 2003:246—248 and 308—312. Finally, it is found in the alternative forms of the first plural exclusive pronoun in: Telugu (nom. pl.) *mēmu* ‘we’, (obl. pl.) *mamm-*, *mā-* ‘us’; Gondi (dial.) (nom. pl.) *mamm-ăṭ*, *mā-ṭ*, *mām-aṭ*, *mamm-oṭ*, *mamo-o*, *mar-at*, *mamm-a*, *mā-m* ‘we’, (obl. pl.) *mā-* ‘us’; Koṇḍa (nom. pl.) *māp* ‘we’, (obl. pl.) *mā-* ‘us’; Kui (nom. pl.) *māmu* ‘we’, (obl. pl.) *mā-* ‘us’; Kuwi (nom. pl.) *māmu* ‘we’, (obl. pl.) *mā-* ‘us’; Pengo (obl. pl.) *maŋg-*, *mā-* ‘us’. Krishnamurti 2003:247.

C. Proto-Kartvelian **me-*, **men-* first person personal pronoun stem: Georgian *me-*, *men-*, *mena-* ‘I’; Mingrelian *ma-* ‘I’; Zan *ma*, *man* ‘I’; Svan

mi- ‘I’. It occurs in Georgian *m-* first person singular verb prefix (objective conjugation) and is also found in Svan as the first person personal formant (objective) *m-* (cf. Tuite 1997:23). Schmidt 1962:123 **me* ‘I’; Klimov 1964:132 **me(n)* and 1998:119 **men* ‘I’; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:223—224 **m-* first person verb prefix, and 233—234 **me-* ‘I’; Fähnrich 2007:273 **m-* and 284 **me-*.

D. Proto-Indo-European **me-* used to form the oblique cases of the first person personal pronoun stem: Sanskrit (acc. sg.) *mā́m*, *mā*, (gen. sg.) *máma*, *me*, (abl. sg.) *mát*, (dat. sg.) *máhya(m)*, (loc. sg.) *máyi*, (inst. sg.) *máyā*, (gen.-dat. sg.) *me*; Greek (acc. sg.) ἐμέ, με, (gen.-abl. sg.) μου, ἐμοῦ, (gen. sg.) ἐμεῖο (μευ), (dat.-loc. sg.) ἐμοί, ἐμίν, (gen.-dat. sg.) μοι; Old Latin (acc.-abl. sg.) *mēd*, (gen. sg.) *meī*, *mīs*, (dat. sg.) *mihī*; Old Irish *mé*, *messe* ‘I’, (acc. sg.) *mé*, *messe*, *-m* ‘me’, (gen. sg.) *mo*, *mu*; Gothic (acc. sg.) *mik*, (gen. sg.) *meina*, (dat. sg.) *mis*, (possessive) *meins*; Lithuanian (acc. sg.) *manę̀*, (gen. sg.) *manę̃s*, *mãno*, (dat. sg.) *mánei*, *mi*, (loc. sg.) *manyjè*, (instr. sg.) *manimì*, (nom. pl.) *mẽs*, (acc. pl.) *mùs*, (gen. pl.) *músū*, (dat. pl.) *mùms*; Old Church Slavic (acc. sg.) *mę*, *mene*, (dat.-loc. sg.) *mьně*, (dat. sg.) *mi*, (nom. pl.) *my* ‘we’; Hittite *-mi*, *-mu*; *am-mu-uk*, *mi-iš*. Pokorny 1959:702 **me-* ‘me’; Walde 1927—1932.II:236 **me-*; Mann 1984—1987:240 **eme*, **mē*, **mene*, **mnē* ‘me’, 240 **emeo̯s* (**emo̯s*, **emos*) ‘my; mine’, 738—739 **mē* (**me*, **men*, **mene*, **mone*, **mnē*) ‘me’, 747 **meo̯s* (**mə̯os*) ‘my’, 786 **moi* (enclitic) ‘to me’; Watkins 1985:39 **me-* and 2000:51 **me-* oblique form of the personal pronoun of the first person singular; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.I:254—255 **me*, **[m]eme*, **m-mé* and 1995.I:222 **me*, **[m]eme*, **m-mé*; Brugmann 1904:407—413; Meillet 1964:332—336; Szemerényi 1996:211—220; Fortson 2004:127—129; Beekes 1995:207—209 and 2010.I:416; Meier-Brügger 2003:225—227; Watkins 1998:67; Haudry 1979:61—63; Adrados 1975.II:784—813; Adrados—Bernabé—Mendoza 1995—1998.III:27—68; Schmitt-Brandt 1998:228—231; Buck 1933:216—221; Sihler 1995:369—382; Burrow 1973:263—269; Liebert 1957; Orël 2003:83 Proto-Germanic **meke*, **mez*, **mīna*. Proto-Indo-European (a) **-mi* first person singular non-thematic primary ending, (b) **-m* first person singular non-thematic secondary ending: Sanskrit (1st sg. primary) *-mi*, (1st sg. secondary) *-m*, (1st pl. primary active) *-mas*, (1st pl. primary middle, 1st pl. secondary perfect) *-mahe*, (1st pl. secondary active, 1st pl. secondary perfect) *-ma*, (1st pl. secondary middle) *-mahi*; Hittite (1st sg. primary *mi*-conjugation) *-mi*, (1st sg. secondary) *-n* (< **-m*), (1st pl. active *mi*-conjugation, if the stem ends in *-u-*) *-meni*, *-mani*, (1st pl. preterite *mi*-conjugation, if the stem ends in *-u-*) *-men*; Greek (Homeric) (1st sg. active indicative athematic primary) -μι, (1st sg. secondary) -ν (< **-m*), (1st pl. active indicative) -μεν, (1st sg. middle indicative) -μαι, (1st dual middle indicative) -μεθον, (1st pl. middle indicative) -μεθα (-μεσθα); Latin (1st sg. primary and secondary) *-m*, (1st pl.) *-mus*; Gothic (1st pl. present indicative) *-m*, (1st pl. optative)

-ma; the 1st sg. primary ending **-mi* is preserved in *im* ‘I am’; Old Church Slavic (1st sg. athematic) *-mь*, (1st pl.) *-mъ*. Brugmann 1904:407—413 and 588—596; Meillet 1964:227—235 and 332—335; Beekes 1995:207—209 and 232—237; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1995.I:254—260; Szemerényi 1996:211—218, 233—242, and 327—331; Meier-Brügger 2003:178—179; Fortson 2004:84—86; Watkins 1998:60; Clackson 2007:123—125. Note: According to Greenberg (2000:77—78), in Proto-Indo-European, this **-m* was added to the nominative singular of the first person independent pronoun: **ʔe-gʰŏ+m*, **ʔe-k’ŏ+m* ‘I’: Sanskrit *ahám* ‘I’; Avestan *azəm* ‘I’; Greek ἐγώ(ν) ‘I’; etc.

E. Proto-Uralic **mV* first person independent personal pronoun stem — (a) first person singular: Finnish *minä*/*minu-* ‘I’; Lapp / Saami *mon*/*mú-* ‘I’; Mordvin *mon* ‘I’; Cheremis / Mari *mĭń*, *mõj(õ)* ‘I’; Votyak / Udmurt *mon* ‘I’; Zyrian / Komi *me* (acc. *menõ*) ‘I’; Ostyak / Xanty *mä*, *mən-* ‘I’; Yurak Samoyed / Nenets *mań* ‘I’; Tavgi Samoyed / Nganasan *mannaŋ* ‘I’; Yenisei Samoyed / Enets *mod'i* ‘I’; Selkup Samoyed *man*, *mat* ‘I’; Kamassian *man* ‘I’; (b) first person plural: Finnish *me* ‘we’; Lapp / Saami *mí* ‘we’; Mordvin *min* ‘we’; Cheremis / Mari *mä*, *me* ‘we’; Votyak / Udmurt *mi* ‘we’; Zyrian / Komi *mi* ‘we’; Vogul / Mansi *man* ‘we’; Ostyak / Xanty *mŏŋ* ‘we’; Hungarian *mi* ‘we’; Yurak Samoyed / Nenets *mańaʔ* ‘we’; Tavgi Samoyed / Nganasan *meeŋ* ‘we’; Yenisei Samoyed / Enets *mod'iʔ* ‘we’; Selkup Samoyed *mee*, *mii* ‘we’; Kamassian *miʔ* ‘we’. Proto-Uralic first person personal/possessive suffix **-m(V)*: Finnish *pala-m* ‘I burn’; Lapp / Saami *buola-m* ‘I burn’; Mordvin *vana-n* ‘I see’; Cheremis / Mari *wide-m* ‘I lead’; Vogul / Mansi *totegu-m* ‘I bring’; Ostyak / Xanty *tetə-m* ‘I eat’; Hungarian *esze-m* ‘I eat’; Kamassian *nereel'ɛ-m* ‘I become afraid’; Tavgi Samoyed / Nganasan *mataʔa-m* ‘I cut’; Yurak Samoyed / Nenets *mada-m* ‘I cut’. Collinder 1960:308—310, 1965:134—135, 141 Common Uralic **minä* ~ **myna* ‘I’, and 1977:53, 54; Abondolo 1998a:24—25; Rédei 1986—1988:294 **mŭ* ‘I’ and 294—295 **mŭ* ‘we’; Décsy 1990:103 **me* ‘I’ and **me* ‘we’; Janhunen 1977b:86 **mân*. The first person independent pronouns in Yukaghir are: (Southern / Kolyma) (sg.) *mət* ‘I’, (pl.) *mit* ‘we’, (Northern / Tundra) (sg.) *met* ‘I’, (pl.) *mit* ‘we’. Nikolaeva 2006:267 and 269—270. In Yukaghir, a suffix *-m* is found as a first person singular subject of the verb in its interrogative form. Nikolaeva 2006:81.

F. Proto-Altaic **bĭ* first person singular independent pronoun (if from **mi*) ‘I’: Proto-Tungus **bi* ‘I’ > Manchu *bi* ‘I’; Evenki *bi* ‘I’; Lamut / Even *bi* ‘I’; Negidal *bi* ‘I’; Ulch *bi* ‘I’; Orok *bi* ‘I’; Nanay / Gold *mi* (dial. *bi*) ‘I’; Oroch *bi* ‘I’; Udihe *bi* ‘I’; Solon *bi* ‘I’. Proto-Mongolian **bi* ‘I’ > Written Mongolian *bi* ‘I’ (gen. *minu*); Dagur *bī* ‘I’ (gen. *minī*); Monguor *bu* ‘I’ (gen. *muni*); Ordos *bi* ‘I’ (gen. *mini*); Khalkha *bi* ‘I’ (gen. *miniy*); Buriat *bi* ‘I’ (gen. *menī*); Kalmyk *bi* ‘I’ (gen. *minē*); Moghol *bi* ‘I’ (gen. *mini*). Poppe 1955:209—219. Proto-Turkic **bẹ-* ‘I’ > Old Turkic (Orkhon,

Yenisei, Old Uighur) *ben* ~ *men* ‘I’; Karakhanide Turkic *men* ‘I’; Turkish *ben* ‘I’; Gagauz *ben* ‘I’; Azerbaijani *män* ‘I’; Turkmenian *men* ‘I’; Tatar *min* ‘I’; Bashkir *min* ‘I’; Karaim *men* ‘I’; Kazakh *min* ‘I’; Kirghiz *men* ‘I’; Noghay *men* ‘I’; Uzbek *men* ‘I’; Uighur *män* ‘I’; Yakut *min* ‘I’; Chuvash *e-bə* ‘I’; Dolgan *min* ‘I’. Menges 1968b:119—120; Poppe 1960:116; Street 1974:9 **bi* ‘I’; Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:341—342 **bǐ* ‘I’. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak (2003:342) note: “An alternation **bi* / **mi-ne-* (sing.); **ba* / **mi̯u-n-* (plur.) should be reconstructed”. In Turkic, **-m* occurs as the first person singular personal marker of the subject in the verb and as possessive in the noun (cf. Dolgopolsky 1984:77). Similar suffixes are found in the Tungus languages — first person possessive suffixes: (sg.) **-m*, (pl.) **-m* plus plural marker (exclusive), with variation between *m-*, *b-*, and *w-* in the individual daughter languages (cf. Sinor 1988:726).

G. Proto-Chukchi-Kamchatkan **mur(i)* ‘we’: Chukchi *mu-ri* ‘we’, *muɣ-in* ‘our’; Kerek (pl.) *məjəkku* ‘we’, (dual) *məəj* ‘we two’; Koryak (dual) *muji* ‘we two’, (pl.) *muju* ‘we’, *mucɣ-in* ‘our’; Alyutor (pl.) *muruwwi* ‘we’, (dual) *muriɣ-* ‘we two’; Kamchadal / Itelmen *muzaʔn* ‘we’, *mizvin* ‘our’. Fortescue 2005:179; Mudrak 1989b:102 **mur*, **murx-* ‘we’. Proto-Chukchi-Kamchatkan suffix **-m* in the first person singular independent personal pronoun **kə-m* ‘I’: Chukchi *ɣəm* ‘I’ (in predication: *-iɣəm* ~ *-eɣəm*); Kerek *umŋu* ‘I’; Koryak *ɣəmmo* ‘I’; Alyutor *ɣəmmə* (Palana *ɣəmme*) ‘I’; Kamchadal / Itelmen *kəm(m)a* ‘I’; *kəm(m)an* ‘my’. Fortescue 2005:146—147; Mudrak 1989b:109 **xəm*, **xəmn-* ‘I’.

H. Gilyak / Nivkh (Amur) first person pronoun: (dual) *mẹ-gi*, (pl.) *me-r* (inclusive). Gruzdeva 1998:25—26.

I. Eskimo-Aleut: Eskimo: perhaps preserved in Sirenik *məŋa* ‘I’. In Aleut, **-m(V)* is found in the affixed first person plural forms: (Central) *-mas*, (Eastern and Western) *-man*.

J. Etruscan *mi* ‘I’, *mini* ‘me’.

Sumerian (Emesal) *ma(-e)*, *me-a*, *me-e* ‘I’. According to earlier theories, the first plural pronominal suffix was *-me-*, but Thomsen (1987:148) points out that *-me-* is used as a dative element only, in the meaning ‘for us’. She considers *-me-* to be a case element rather than a pronominal element. However, both its form and meaning indicate that *-me-* should be included here. The first plural possessive suffix is *-me* ‘our’.

Illič-Svityč 1971—1984.II:52—56, no. 289, **mä* 1st person pl. inclusive personal pronoun: ‘we, us’, II:63—66, no. 299, **mi* 1st person sg. personal pronoun: ‘I, me’; Dolgopolsky 1984:85 **mi* ‘I, me, my’ and 2008, no. 1354, **mi* ‘I’, no. 1354a, (pl.) **mi ʔa* ‘we’; Bomhard—Kerns 1994:661—663, no. 540; Nafiqoff 2003:40—41, 46 **mä* (1st pl. inclusive), **mi* (1st sg.), and 58—

62; Greenberg 2000:61—67, §1; Hakola 2000:104, no. 445, and 105, no. 450; Assadian—Hakola 2003:85, no. 274; Fortescue 1998:96—123.

893. Proto-Nostratic root **miʔ-* (~ **meʔ-*):
(vb.) **miʔ-* ‘to cut’;
(n.) **miʔ-a* ‘cutting instrument: knife’ (later also ‘sickle, scythe’)

A. Afrasian: Egyptian *mꜣ* phonetic interpretation of the hieroglyph that represents a sickle, *mꜣ* ‘sickle-shaped end of a sacred boat’ (nautical term), (obsolete) *mꜣz* ‘knife’. Hannig 1995:313 and 321; Erman—Grapow 1926—1963.2:6 and 2:31; Gardiner 1957:567. Central Chadic: Bachama *má* ‘to cut’; Logone *miiyo* ‘knife’. Jungraithmayr—Ibriszimow 1994.II:97.
B. Proto-Indo-European **meʔ-* (> **mē-*) ‘to mow, to reap’: Greek ἀμάω ‘to reap’, ἄμητος ‘harvest’; Old English *māwan* ‘to mow’, *mæþ* ‘the act of mowing; hay-harvest’; Old Frisian *mēa* ‘to mow’; Middle Low German *mei(g)en* ‘to mow’; Dutch *maaien* ‘to mow’; Old High German *māen* ‘to mow, to cut, to reap’ (New High German *mähen*). Pokorny 1959:703 **mē-* ‘to mow’; Walde 1927—1932.II:259 **mē-*; Mann 1984—1987:747 **mēi̯ō* (**məi̯ō*) ‘to mow’; Watkins 1985:39 **mē-* (contracted from **meə̯-*) and 2000:52 **mē-* ‘to cut down grass or grain with a sickle or scythe’ (oldest form **ə̯$_2$meə̯$_1$-*, contracted to **ə̯$_2$mē-*); Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.II:691 **meH(i)-* and 1995.I:597 **meH(i)-* ‘(vb.) to ripen, to harvest; (n.) time of ripening harvest’; Mallory—Adams 1997:258 **h$_2$meh$_1$-* ‘to mow’; Beekes 1969:43 **h$_2$meh$_1$-*/**h$_2$emh$_1$-* and 2010.I:84 **h$_2$meh$_1$-*; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:72; Frisk 1970—1973.I:88; Orël 2003:269 Proto-Germanic **mēanan*; Kroonen 2013:360 Proto-Germanic **mēan-* ‘to mow’; Onions 1966:594; Klein 1971:479 **mē-*, **mə-* ‘to mow’; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:453—454; Kluge—Seebold 1989:455. Note: According to Puhvel (1984— .3:69—75), Hittite (gen. sg.) *ḫa-me-eš-ḫa-aš* ‘spring(-summer)’ does not belong here. He cautiously supports Goetze’s suggestion that it may originally have been a compound: **ḫant-weššḫa-* ‘front-spring’, which was shortened to the attested form as follows: **ḫan-weššḫa-* > **ḫamweššḫa-* > *ḫam(m)ešḫa-*. Puhvel notes that a similar construction is found in Italian *primavera* ‘spring’. Though Kloekhorst (2008b:279—281) supports Sturtevant’s proposal that Hittite *ḫam(m)ešḫa-* ‘spring’ is related to the forms listed above, the fact remains that spring is not the season during which crops are harvested, the use of the Sumerogram Ú.BAR$_8$ ‘harvest’ notwithstanding. Rather, spring is the season during which crops are planted. Thus, it seems prudent to exclude Hittite *ḫam(m)ešḫa-* here.
C. Altaic: Proto-Tungus **mūi̯-* (< **mūy-*) ‘to cut’ > Evenki *mī-* ‘to cut’; Lamut / Even *mī-ne-* ‘to cut’; Negidal *mī-* ‘to cut’; Manchu *mei-le-* ‘to carve up, to dissect (a carcass), to cut off, to cut out’, *mei-te-* ‘to cut off, to cut in two, to excise’; Ulch *ŋui-* ‘to cut’; Orok *mī-* ‘to cut’; Nanay / Gold *mui-* ‘to cut’;

Oroch *mi-* ‘to cut’; Udihe *mi-ne-* ‘to chop (with an axe)’. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:949 **mūjV* ‘to cut, to tear’.

Buck 1949:8.32 mow, reap. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:636—637, no. 516; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 1358, **mUʔæ* (probably **muʔe*) ‘to cut, to reap’ (→ ‘to mow’).

894. Proto-Nostratic root **mig-* (~ **meg-*):
(vb.) **mig-* ‘to give’;
(n.) **mig-a* ‘gift’

A. Afrasian: Proto-Semitic **mag-an-* ‘to deliver, to offer’ > Akkadian *magannu* ‘gift, present’; Amorite *mgn* ‘to present, to donate’; Hebrew (piel.) *miggēn* [מִגֵּן] ‘to deliver up, to deliver, to give’; Post-Biblical Hebrew *maggān* [מַגָּן] ‘gift, present’; Phoenician *mgn* ‘to deliver, to offer’; Ugaritic *mgn* ‘to beseech (with gifts)’; Jewish Palestinian Aramaic *maggān* ‘(undeserved) gift, grace’; Arabic *maǧǧān* ‘free, free of charge, gratuitous’ (Aramaic loan). Murtonen 1989:253; Klein 1987:316. The Semitic forms are usually taken to be loans from Sanskrit (cf. Murtonen 1989:253). However, O’Connor (1989:25—32) has persuasively argued against Sanskrit origin.
B. Proto-Indo-European **meg^{h}-* ‘to give’: Sanskrit *máṁhate* (< **me-mg^{h}-*) ‘to give, to grant, to bestow’, *maghá-ḥ* ‘gift, reward, bounty, wealth, power’; Avestan *maga-* ‘gift, grace’. Mayrhofer 1956—1980.II:537—538 and II:545—546.
C. Proto-Uralic **mixe-* ‘to give, to sell’: Finnish *myy-*, *myö-* ‘to sell’, *myymi* ‘gifts of a bride to her parents-in-law’; Livonian *müüm* ‘gifts of a bride to the retinue of the bridegroom’; Lapp / Saami (Kola) *miikka-* ‘to sell’; Mordvin *mije-* ‘to sell’; (?) Votyak / Udmurt *med-* ‘wages, pay, reward for work, payment’; Vogul / Mansi *maj-*, *mäj-*, *myyg-* ‘to give’; Ostyak / Xanty *mə-*, *məj-* ‘to give’; Yurak Samoyed / Nenets *mi-*/*mis-* ‘to give’; Tavgi Samoyed / Nganasan *miij-* ‘to give’; Yenisei Samoyed / Enets *mis-* ‘to give’; Selkup Samoyed *mi-* ‘to deliver, to render, to return’; Kamassian *mi-* ‘to give, to deliver’. Collinder 1955:37 and 1977:56; Rédei 1986—1988:275 **miγe-*; Décsy 1990:103 **mingä* ‘to give, to sell’; Sammallahti 1988:538 **mexi-* ‘to give, to sell’; Janhunen 1977b:94 **mi-*.

Buck 1949:11.21 give; 11.82 sell. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:636, no. 515; Hakola 2000:111—112, no. 477; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 1376, **migV* ‘to make a present’.

895. Proto-Nostratic root **miħ-* (~ **meħ-*):
(vb.) **miħ-* ‘to measure, to mark off’;
(n.) **miħ-a* ‘measure, measurement’

A. Afrasian: Egyptian *mḥ* a linear measure: ‘cubit, forearm’; Coptic *mahe* [ⲙⲁϩⲉ] ‘ell, cubit’. Erman—Grapow 1921:68 and 1926—1963.2:120; Hannig 1995:353; Gardiner 1957:569; Faulkner 1962:113; Černý 1976:99; Vycichl 1983:129.

B. Proto-Indo-European **miḫ͡ḫ-* [**meḫ͡ḫ-*] (> **mē-*) ‘to measure, to mark off’: Hittite (nom.-acc. sg.) *me-e-ḫu-ur*, *me-e-ḫur*, *me-ḫur* ‘time’; Sanskrit *māti-ḥ* ‘measure, accurate knowledge’, *mā́ti*, *mímāti* ‘to measure, to mete out, to mark off’; Latin *mētior* ‘to measure’; Gothic *mēl* ‘time’; Old Icelandic *mál* ‘measure; time, high time; meal’; Old English *mǣþ* ‘measure, degree, proportion’, *mǣl* ‘measure; (appointed) time, occasion; time for eating, meal’; Old Frisian *mēl* ‘time, mealtime’; Dutch *maal* ‘(n.) meal; (m.) time’; Old High German *māl* ‘time’ (New High German *Mal* ‘time, occasion’, *Mahl* ‘meal’). Rix 1998a:381—382 **meh$_1$-* ‘to measure’; Pokorny 1959:703—704 **mē-* ‘to measure, to mark off’; Walde 1927—1932.II:237—238 **mē-*; Mann 1984—1987:748 **mēl-* ‘time, period, measure’, 762—763 **mētis* ‘measure, judgment’; Watkins 1985:39 **mē-* and 2000:51 **mē-* ‘to measure’ (contracted from earlier **meə$_1$-*); Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.I:172 **meĥ-* and 1995.I:137, I:148 **meĥ-* ‘to measure’; Mallory—Adams 1997:374 **meh$_1$tis* ‘measure’; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.II:638; Ernout—Meillet 1979:401 **mēti-*; **mĕ̄-*; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.II:81—82 **mē-* ‘to measure’; **mē-tis* ‘measure’; De Vaan 2008:377; Orël 2003:269 Proto-Germanic **mēlan* I; Kroonen 2013:362 Proto-Germanic **mēla-* ‘point in time’. 362 **mēla-* ‘measure, amount’, and 367 **mēþi-* ‘measure’; Feist 1939:353 **mē-*; Lehmann 1986:250 **mē-* ‘to measure’; De Vries 1977:376 **mē-*; Onions 1966:565 Common Germanic **mǣlaz*, *-am*, from Proto-Indo-European **mē-*; Klein 1971:452 **mē-*; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:454 **mē-* and 456; Kluge—Seebold 1989:455 **mē-* and 457; Puhvel 1984— .6:108—112 **meE$^{y}_{2}$-* > **mē-*; Kloekhorst 2008b:567—568.

C. (?) Proto-Altaic (**miH̥-l^{y}a-* >) **mi̯al^{y}a-* ‘(vb.) to measure; (n.) a measure’: Proto-Tungus **miali-* ‘(vb.) to measure; (n.) a measure’ > Manchu *miyali-* (Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:922 write *ḿali-*) ‘to measure’, *miyalin* (Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:922 write *ḿalin*) ‘a measure’, *miyalikū* ‘measurer, measure; powder measure (for guns)’; Jurchen *mia-liaŋ-ha* ‘a measure (of weight)’; Nanay / Gold *mialaqo* ‘a measure (for powder)’. Proto-Mongolian **malu* ‘vessel, basket (for grain)’ > Written Mongolian *malu* ‘large bottle, vase, jar; earthen jar with a narrow opening used for oil’; Kalmyk *mal* ‘vessel, basket (for grain)’. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:922 **mi̯aĺa* ‘(vb.) to measure; (n.) a measure’.

Buck 1949:12.54 measure (vb.). Bomhard—Kerns 1994:550, no. 408.

896. Proto-Nostratic root **mik’-* (~ **mek’-*):

(vb.) **mik'-* 'to exceed, to surpass, to be in excess, to grow, to increase, to swell, to expand';
(n.) **mik'-a* 'growth, excess, increase, abundance, fullness'; (adj.) 'large, big, great, much'
Note also:
(vb.) **mak'-* 'to be great, strong, mighty, powerful';
(n.) **mak'-a* 'strength, power'; (adj.) 'great, strong, powerful; much, many'

A. Dravidian: Tamil *miku* (*mikuv-*, *mikk-*) 'to exceed, to surpass, to be in excess, to grow, to increase, to swell, to crowd, to be great, to be excellent, to be superior, to remain, to be left over, to be superfluous, to be arrogant, to be self-conceited', *miku* (*-pp-*, *-tt-*) 'to augment, to make large, to excel, to surpass, to increase, to regard with pride', *miku* 'great', *mikuttu* (*mikutti-*) 'to save, to spare, to leave over', *mikkatu* 'that which is abundant or excessive; that which is excellent, superior; that which remains over (as food after a meal); that which oversteps the limits; excess, transgression', *mikkavar*, *mikkār* 'great persons, superior persons, majority of persons, most people', *mikkō<u>n</u>* 'great person', *mika*, *mikku* 'very much, abundantly', *mikka* 'great, much, superior, excellent', *mikutam* 'abundance, profusion, redundancy', *mikuti* 'much, abundance, fullness, satiety, crowd, excess, surplus, increase, remainder, excellence, arrogance', *mikavu* 'abundance', *mikal* 'being plentiful or abundant, greatness, victory', *mikunta* 'much, great, excessive, remaining', *mikai* '(vb.) to increase, to swell, to be proud; (n.) abundance, excess, excellent thing, excellence, greatness, that which is unnecessary, that which is superfluous, that which remains or is left over, that which is extra, arrogance, evil deed, fault, defect, error'; Malayalam *mikuka* (*mikk-*) 'to surpass, to abound, to be foremost', *mikekka* 'to exceed, to increase, to thrive, to prosper', *mikka* 'the greater part, the chief part', *mikavu* 'eminence, plenty, much', *mikakka*, *mikukka* 'to increase, to be foremost'; Kota *mik-* (*miky-*) 'to be left over, to be saved from death'; Toda *mik-* (*miky-*) 'to be left over, to remain'; Kannaḍa *mikku* '(vb.) to grow abundant, to increase, to exceed, to remain over; (n.) excess, state of being more or above or other, remainder, rest', *migu* (*mikk-*) 'to grow great, to grow abundant or excessive, to exceed, to grow more or larger, to superabound, to be left as a remnant, to remain, to go beyond, to surpass', *migate* 'surplus, remnant, rest', *migil(u)*, *migalu* 'greatness, muchness, abundance, excellence, superiority, superabundance, excess, remainder, rest', *mige* '(n.) superabundance, excess; (adv.) so as to abound, abundantly, excessively, much'; Tuḷu *migguni*, *mikkuni* 'to surpass, to exceed, to transgress, to remain, to be left', *mikka* 'left, remaining, other', *migu̯tè*, *migitè* 'surplus, balance, remnant, profits', *migi*, *migilu̯*, *migu*, *miggi* 'surpassing, excelling', *migiluni* 'to excel, to surpass'; Telugu *migulu* 'to remain, to be over and above, to be left as a remainder or residue, to be saved or laid by, to be left unspent, to survive, to pass, to

elapse, to be too late', *mikkilu* 'to increase, to exceed', *migul(u)cu*, *migulu* 'remainder, rest, balance, remnants, leavings, residue, surplus, relic', *migilina* 'remaining, rest', *migula(n)* 'greatly, much, exceedingly', *mikkilivãḍu* 'one who is superior or better, a superior', *mikkili* 'great; greatly, very much, vastly, too much, extremely, more than proper', *mikkaṭamu*, *mikkuṭamu* 'much, excessive, extreme, great, strong, severe'; Naikṛi *migil-* 'to be left over' (Telugu loan). Burrow—Emeneau 1984:430—431, no. 4838.

B. Proto-Indo-European **mek'-* 'big, great, much': Greek μέγας, μεγάλη, μέγα '(adj.) big, great; (adv.) very, much, exceedingly'; Armenian *mec* 'big, great'; Gothic *mikils* 'great'; Old Icelandic *mikill* 'great, tall', *mjök* 'much, greatly; very'; Old English *micel*, *mycel* 'big, much' (Modern English dial. *mickle*, *muckle*); Old Saxon *mikil* 'great, large'; Old High German *michil*, *mihhil* 'great, large'; Tocharian A *māk*, B *māka* 'much, many; (adv.) very much'; Hittite (nom. sg.) *me-ek-ki-iš* (< **mek'-Hi-*) '(adj.) much, many, numerous; (adv.) very', (3rd sg. pres.) *ma-ak-ki-e-eš-zi* (< **mak'-Hi-*) 'to become great'. Pokorny 1959:708—709 **meĝ(h)-* 'big'; Walde 1927—1932.II:257—259 **meĝ(h)-*; Mann 1984—1987:744 **meĝ-* (**məĝ-*) 'great, big'; Watkins 1985:39—40 **meg-* and 2000:52 **meg-* 'great'; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.II:782 **meḱ'H-* and 1995.I:684 **meḱ'H-* 'large'; Mallory—Adams 1997:344 **meĝh$_a$-* 'large, great'; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:674—675 **meĝ$_{ə_2}$*; Frisk 1970—1973.II:189—190 **mégə*; Hofmann 1966:193 **meĝ(h)ə*; Boisacq 1950:617—618 Greek μέγα < **meĝə*; Beekes 2010.II:917—918 **meǵ-h$_2$-*; Kroonen 2013:361—362 Proto-Germanic **mekila-* 'large, great; much'; Orël 2003:265 Proto-Germanic **mekilaz*, 265 **mekilīn*, 265 **mekiljanan*, 265 **mekilōjanan*, 265—266 **mekuz*; Feist 1939:358—359 **meg-* (**meĝh-* in Indo-Iranian); Lehmann 1986:254—255 **meĝ-ə-*; De Vries 1977:386—387; Onions 1966:574 and 594 **meg-*; Klein 1971:463 **meĝ(h)-*, **məĝ-* and 479; Van Windekens 1976—1982.I:283 **meĝ(h)-*; Adams 1999:446—447; Puhvel 1984— .6:119—124 **meĝ-A-*; Melchert 1994a:76—77; Kloekhorst 2008b:543—544 and 572—573 **meǵh$_2$-*, **meǵh$_2$-(e)i-*; Bomhard 2000:45 Hittite *me-ek-ki-iš* < **mek'-* (traditional **meĝ-*) + **-$_{ə_2}$i-*; Kimball 1999:282 Hittite *me-ek-ki-iš* < **meĝh$_2$i-* and 407; Sturtevant 1951:33, §60, Indo-Hittite **mьg-*; Wodtko—Irslinger—Schneider 2008:468—478 **meĝ-*. Note: According to Adams (1999:446—447), two separate stems must be reconstructed for Proto-Indo-European: **meĝh$_a$-* and **maĝ-*.

C. [Chukchi-Kamchatkan: Proto-Chukotian **mək-* 'many' > Chukchi *nə-mkə-qin* 'many', *mək-et-* 'to increase (intr.)', *rə-mk-ew-* 'to increase (tr.)'; Kerek *nə-mkə-Xi* 'many', *məkə-ŋ* 'more', *mək-at-* 'to increase'; Koryak *nə-mkə-qin* 'many', *mək-at-* 'to increase (intr.)', *jəmk-av-* 'to increase (tr.)'; Alyutor *nə-mkə-qin* 'many', *mək-at-* 'to increase (intr.)'. Fortescue 2005:181.] Either here or with Proto-Nostratic **mak'-* (~ **mək'-*) 'great, strong, mighty, powerful'.

Buck 1949:12.55 large, big (great). Bomhard—Kerns 1984:667—668, no. 546; Caldwell 1913:602.

897. Proto-Nostratic (n.) *min-a ‘(a kind of) fish’:

A. Proto-Dravidian *minH- > *mīṉ- ‘fish’: Tamil mīṉ ‘fish’; Malayalam mīn ‘fish’; Kota mi·n ‘fish’; Toda mi·n ‘fish’; Kannaḍa mīn ‘fish’; Koḍagu mi·nï ‘fish’; Tuḷu mīnu̯ ‘fish’; Telugu mīnu ‘fish’; Parji mīni ‘fish’; Gadba (Ollari) mīn ‘fish’; Gondi mīn ‘fish’; Konḍa mīn ‘fish’; Pengo min ‘fish’; Manḍa min ‘fish’; Kui mīnu ‘fish’; Kuwi mīnu ‘fish’; Malto mínu ‘fish’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:436, no. 4885; Krishnamurti 2003:13 *mīn ‘fish’.

B. Proto-Indo-European *mn̥H-i- ‘(a kind of) fish’: Greek μαίνη ‘a small sea-fish, which was salted’, μαινίς ‘a sprat’; Old English *myne*, *mynwe ‘minnow’; Old High German *muniwa* ‘minnow’ (New High German *Münne*); Lithuanian *ménkė* (< *menH-) ‘cod’; Russian *men′* [мень] (< *мьпь) ‘burbot, eelpout’. Pokorny 1959:731 *mₑni- ‘name of fish’; Walde 1927—1932.II:267—268 *mₑni-; Mann 1984—1987:779 *mn̥is, *mn̥iu̯ə; Watkins 1985:41 *men-i- (under *men-) and 2000:54 *men-i- ‘a small fish’ (under *men- ‘small, isolated’); Mallory—Adams 1997:205 *mn̥hₓ- ‘minnow; small fish’; Boisacq 1950:600; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:658; Frisk 1970—1973.II:160; Hofmann 1966:187 Greek μαίνη < *mₑn̥i̯ā; Beekes 2010.II:892 (no etymology); Kroonen 2013:376 Proto-Germanic *muniwōn- ‘minnow’; Hoad 1986:294; Onions 1966:578; Klein 1971:467; Skeat 1898:369; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:494 Proto-Germanic *muniwa; Kluge—Seebold 1989:492—493 Pre-German *muniwō; Fraenkel 1962—1965.I:436; Smoczyński 2007.1:388.

C. (?) Eskimo: Proto-Inuit *mənŋəʁiaq ‘a kind of trout’ > Western Canadian Inuit (Copper, Netsilik) miŋŋiʁiaq (for minŋiʁiaq ?) ‘a kind of trout’, (Baker Lake) miŋiʁiaq ‘fish that goes for bait (?)’; Eastern Canadian Inuit (Iglulik) miŋŋiʁiaq ‘jumping one (trout)’, (Labrador) miŋiʁiaq ‘a small fish’; Greenlandic Inuit (East Greenlandic) miŋiʁiaq ‘capelin’ (shaman’s word). Fortescue—Jacobson—Kaplan 1994:200.

Dolgopolsky 1998:62, no. 75, *mEn/ṅi ‘(a kind of) fish’ and 2008, no. 1432, *mVñi ‘fish’; Bomhard 1999a:61 *min-H- ‘(a kind of) fish’; Blažek 2002:184, no. 69.

898. Proto-Nostratic root *mir- (~ *mer-):
(vb.) *mir- ‘to stab, to pierce, to wound, to cause pain’;
(n.) *mir-a ‘wound, pain’

A. Dravidian: Tamil miṟai ‘(vb.) to oppress, to harass; to suffer, to be afflicted; (n.) fear, trouble, torment’; Malayalam miṟa ‘excitement, fear’; Telugu meṟumu ‘to pierce, to stab’, meṟamu ‘to cause pain or

mortification, to rankle; to pierce, to stab', *meramera* 'rankling, fear, misery', *merameram-anu*, *merameral-āḍu* 'to rankle'; (?) Malto *merġtre* 'to act furiously'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:435, no. 4875.

B. Proto-Altaic **mi̯ore-* 'to hurt, to damage, to wound': Proto-Tungus **murdul-* 'to slaughter (a deer); to peel (bark)' > Evenki *murdul-* 'to slaughter (a deer)', *murdune-* 'to peel (bark)'. Proto-Mongolian **mer-* 'a wound; (expression for) a painful sensation' > Middle Mongolian *mer* 'wound'; Written Mongolian *mer* 'wound', *mere-* 'to gnaw, to chew'; Khalkha *mer* '(expression for) a painful sensation', *mere-* 'to gnaw at something'; Buriat *mere-* 'to gnaw at something'; Kalmyk *mer* '(expression for) a painful sensation', *mer-* 'to gnaw at something'. Proto-Turkic **bert-* 'to break, to damage, to wound' > Old Turkic (Old Uighur) *bert-* 'to break, to damage, to wound'; Karakhanide Turkic *bert-* 'to break, to damage, to wound'; Turkish *bert-* 'to break, to damage, to wound'; Gagauz *bert-* 'to break, to damage, to wound'; Azerbaijani *pärt-* 'to break, to damage, to wound'; Turkmenian *berti-* 'to break, to damage, to wound'; Tatar *birt-* 'to break, to damage, to wound'; Bashkir *birt-* 'to break, to damage, to wound'; Kirghiz *bertik* 'contortion'; Khakas *pirtək* 'mutilation'; Kazakh *mertik* 'contortion'; Noghay *mertik* 'contortion'; Tuva *bertik* 'mutilation'. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:929 **mi̯ore* 'to hurt, to damage, to wound'.

Buck 1949:4.85 wound (sb.); 11.28 harm, injure, damage (vb.).

899. Proto-Nostratic root **mol-*:

(vb.) **mol-* 'to rub' (> 'to rub into, to crush, to grind down; to rub smooth, to polish, to wipe; to wear out, to soften; to become worn out, weak, tired, weary');

(n.) **mol-a* 'crumb, piece, morsel; mortar'; (adj.) 'crushed, ground, worn out or down'

Note also:

(vb.) **mel-* 'to rub' (> 'to rub into, to crush, to grind down; to rub smooth, to polish, to wipe; to wear out, to soften; to become worn out, weak, tired, weary');

(n.) **mel-a* 'smoothness, softness; weakness'; (adj.) 'smooth, soft, tender, weak, worn out, tired, weary'

A. Afrasian: East Chadic: Kwang *móōldő*, *mó꞉ṛō* 'grinding stone'; Sokoro (Lower) *mȯdő* 'grinding stone'. Jungraithmayr—Ibriszimow 1994.II:173.

B. [Proto-Indo-European **mol-*/**mḷ-* (secondary *e*-grade form: **mel-*) 'to rub into, to crush, to grind down; to rub smooth, to polish, to wipe; to wear out, to soften; to become worn out, weak, tired, weary': Hittite (3rd sg. pres.) *ma-al-la-i* 'to crush, to grind', (reduplicated) *me-ma-al* 'meal'; Sanskrit *mṛṇā́ti*, *mṛṇáti* 'to crush, to grind', *mṛdnā́ti*, *márdati*, *márdate* 'to rub, to stroke, to wipe, to rub into; to press, to squeeze, to crush, to pound',

mṛdú-ḥ ‘soft, delicate, tender, pliant, mild, gentle, weak, feeble’, *mṛkṣáti* ‘to rub, to curry, to stroke’, *mṛjáti*, *mṛjáte* ‘to wipe, to rub, to cleanse, to polish, to clean, to purify, to embellish, to adorn, to make smooth, to stroke’, *mṛṣṭá-ḥ* ‘washed, cleansed, polished, clean, pure, smeared, besmeared with’, *mlā́yati* ‘to wither, to fade’; Greek ἀμαλδῡ́νω ‘to soften’, ἀμαλός ‘soft, weak, feeble’, μαλακός ‘soft’, μαλάσσω ‘to make soft’, μύλη ‘mill, handmill’, μύλος ‘millstone’; Albanian *mjel* ‘meal, flour’; Armenian *malem* ‘to crush’, (reduplicated) *mlmlem* ‘to rub’; Umbrian *maletu* ‘crushed, ground’; Latin *molō* ‘to grind’, *mollis* ‘soft, tender, pliant, supple, flexible, yielding’, *mola* ‘millstone’, *molīna*, *molīnum* ‘a mill’; Old Irish *melim* ‘to grind’; Breton *meil* ‘mill’; Welsh *melin* ‘mill’ (< Latin *molīna*); Gothic *malan* ‘to grind’, *mildiþa* ‘mildness, kindness’, *ga-malwjan* ‘to grind up, to crush’, *malma* ‘sand’, *mulda* ‘dust’; Old Icelandic *mala* ‘to grind’, *meldr* ‘grinding; flour’, *melr* ‘sand-bank, gravel-bank’, *mildi* ‘kindness, mercy, grace’, *mildr* ‘mild, gentle, gracious; munificent, liberal’, *mola* ‘to crush, to break into small pieces’, *moli* ‘small piece, crumb’, *molna* ‘to crumble into dust’, *mjöl* ‘meal, flour’, *mylna* ‘mill’ (< Latin *molīna*), *mølva* (*mølda*) ‘to crush, to pound’; Swedish *mala* ‘to grind’; Old English *melu* ‘meal, flour’, *milde* ‘gentle, mild; merciful, kind’, *mildian* ‘to become mild’, *milts*, *milds* ‘kindness, mercy’, *molde* ‘earth, soil, dust; ground, country, world’, *molsnian* ‘to molder, to decay’, *mylen* ‘mill’ (< Latin *molīna*); Old Frisian *mele* ‘flour, meal’, *milde* ‘mild, gentle’; Old Saxon *malan* ‘to grind’, *melo* ‘flour, meal’, *mildi* ‘mild, soft, gentle’; Old High German *malan* ‘to grind, to mill, to crush, to pulverize’ (New High German *mahlen*), *melo* ‘flour, meal’ (New High German *Mehl*), *milti*, *milte* ‘mild, soft, mellow, gentle’ (New High German *mild*); Lithuanian *malù*, *málti* ‘to grind’; Old Church Slavic *meljǫ*, *mlěti* ‘to grind’; Tocharian A *malyw-*, B *mely-* ‘to crush, to squeeze, to lay waste’, B *mäl-* ‘to crush, to repress, to oppress’, B *mällarṣke* ‘pressing’ (?) or ‘pliant’ (?), B *mālle* ‘ground-down, dull’, B *māllalñe* ‘crushing’. Rix 1998a:387 **meld-* ‘to become weak, soft, mild, gentle, tender’, 388—389 **melh₂-* ‘to rub, to crush, to grind’, 390 **melh₂u̯-* ‘to rub, to crush, to grind’; Pokorny 1959:716—719 **mel-* ‘to crush, to grind’; Walde 1927—1932.II:284—291 **mel-*; Mann 1984—1987:728 **mălō*, *-i̯ō* (variant of type **mḷō*, *-i̯ō* ‘to grind, to mill’), 749 **meldō*, *-i̯ō* ‘to crush, to destroy’, 749 **meldhos* ‘soft, tender’, 750 **meleu̯os* (**meləu̯os*, **melu̯os* ‘soft, effete, silly’, 750 **meleu̯os*, *-ā* (**meləu̯o-*) ‘millings, flour’, 751—752 **melk-* (**molk-*, **mḷk-*) ‘soft, limp’, 752 **melmos*, *-ā* ‘soft; soft matter, mud, pug, pugging, puddle’, 752 **melō*, *-i̯ō* ‘to grind, to crush’, 753 **melu̯os* ‘soft, sweet’, 753 **meməl-* (**mĭməl-*, **mel-mel-*), 773 **mlētos* ‘crushed, pulped’, 773 **mḷd-* ‘crush, pulp, powder’, 773—774 **mḷdos*, *-is*, *-us* (**mḷdulos*) ‘soft, pappy, pulpy, powdery, weak, tender’, 774 **mḷdsnā* (*-os*, *-om*) ‘powder, dust, fine loam’, 774 **mḷdhos* (**məldh-*) ‘young, immature, silly’, 775—776 **mḷk-* (variants: **mḷks-*, **mḷsk-*) ‘soft, mild, silly’, 776 **mḷm-* ‘powder; powdery,

crumbly; to crumble, to decompose', 776—777 *$m\underline{l}\bar{o}$, *$-\underline{i}\bar{o}$ 'to grind, to crush', 777 *$m\underline{l}s$-, *$m\underline{l}s\hat{k}\bar{o}$ 'to crumble, to decay', 777 *$m\underline{l}tos$ (*$m\underline{l}t$-) 'ground, crushed; powder', 777—778 *$m\underline{l}_{\underline{u}}\bar{o}$ 'to crush, to shatter', 791—792 *$moldis$, *$-os$, *$-us$ 'soft, sweet, slow, gentle, silly', 792—793 *$molks$- (*$molsk$-, *$molk\hat{s}$-) 'limp, soft', 793 *$mol_{\underline{u}}\bar{o}$ 'to beat, to crush' (a Germanic variant), 815 *$mul\underline{i}\bar{o}$ 'to grind, to crush', 816 *$mulos$, *$-\bar{a}$, *$-\underline{i}om$, *$-is$ 'grinding, milling; grindstone, millstone'; Watkins 1985:40 *mel- 'soft', 40—41 *$melə$- (also *mel-) 'to crush, to grind' and 2000:53 *mel- 'soft', 53—54 *$melə$- (also *mel-) 'to crush, to grind', with derivatives referring to various ground or crumbling substances (such as flour) and to instruments for grinding or crushing (such as millstones) (oldest form *$mel_{\underline{2}2}$-); Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.II:692—693 *mel- and 1995.I:190, I:200, I:567—568, I:598—599 *mel- 'to crush, to divide; to thresh; to grind; to grate'; Mallory—Adams 1997:247 *$melh_{\underline{2}}$- 'to grind'; Puhvel 1984— .6:21—25 and 6:140—141; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.II:670—671, II:672—673, II:676, II:676—677, II:698—699; Boisacq 1950:49, 604, and 649—650; Frisk 1970—1973.I:84, I:85, II:165—166, and II:268—270; Hofmann 1966:14, 188, and 207; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:69, I:70, II:661 Greek μαλακός 'soft' < *$m^{o}l_{\underline{2}2}k$-, and II:721 *mel-, *mel-$_{\underline{2}1}$-, *mol-$_{\underline{2}1}$-, *$m^{o}l$-$_{\underline{2}1}$-; Beekes 2010.I:80—81 and II:896 *$mlh_{\underline{2}}$-k-; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.II:104—106 *mel- (*$melā^{x}$-); Ernout—Meillet 1979:410—411 Latin *$mollis$ < *$moldwis$ and 411 *$molə$-/*$melə$-/*$m^{o}lə$-; De Vaan 2008:386 and 286—387; Orël 2003:257 Proto-Germanic *$malanan$, 257 *$malđriz$ ~ *$malđran$, 258 *$malmaz$ ~ *$malmōn$, 258—259 *$malwjanan$, 266 *$melđiþō$, 266 *$melđjaz$, 266 *$melđin$, 267 *$melmaz$, 267 *$meltanan$, 267 *$melwan$, 275 *$muldō(n)$, 275 *$muljanan$; Kroonen 2013:351 Proto-Germanic *$malan$- 'to grind', 351 *$malta$- 'soft; gone bad (?)', 351—352 *$maltjan$- 'to make dissolve', 352 *$malwjan$- 'to crush, to pound', 362—363 *$melda$- 'pleasant, mild', 363 *$meltan$- 'to dissolve, to be digested', 365 *$melwa$- 'meal, flour', 374—375 *$multōjan$- 'to become soft', and 375 *$mulwēn$- 'to soften'; Feist 1939:192, 342, 343, 359, and 366; Lehmann 1986:144—145, 242—243, 243, 255, and 260; De Vries 1977:377, 383, 387, 390, 392, 397—398, and 400; Onions 1966:564—565, 576, and 593; Klein 1971:452, 464—465, and 471; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:454 *mel-, 471, and 478—479; Kluge—Seebold 1989:455, 470, and 479; Fraenkel 1962—1965.I:403—404; Derksen 2008:307 *$melH$- and 2015:302—303 *$melH$-; Kloekhorst 2008b:547—548; Wodtko—Irslinger—Schneider 2008:482—485 *$meld$-.] Note: The Indo-European forms are phonologically ambiguous. They either belong here or with Proto-Nostratic *mel- 'to rub' (> 'to rub into, to crush, to grind down; to rub smooth, to polish, to wipe; to wear out, to soften; to become worn out, weak, tired, weary').

C. Proto-Uralic *$molʒ$- 'to grind, to crush, to break, to smash': Lapp / Saami *$moallo$/*$moalo$- 'crumb, little bit, piece, morsel', *$moallanâ$- 'to crumble away, to turn into nothing but crumbs (intr.)', *$mollânâ$-, *$smollânâ$- 'to

crumble away'; Lapp / Saami (Northern) *moallo*, *smollo* (attr.) 'crumbled to pieces, pulverized'; Yurak Samoyed / Nenets *malæ-* 'to break, to smash', *malu?* 'fracture', *mal'ma* 'broken pieces, fragments'. Collinder 1955:35 and 1960:407 **mõlɜ*; Joki 1973:285; Rédei 1986—1988:278—279 **molɜ-*; Décsy 1990:103 [**mola*] 'piece; to break'; Janhunen 1977b:86 **mâlɜ-*. (?) Yukaghir (Northern / Tundra) *molde-* 'to rot, to be spoiled (intr.)', *molγul* 'pus', *molγite-* 'to let rot, to spoil', *moldend'e* 'rotten skin from which a chamois ornament is made'. Nikolaeva 2006:272.

D. Proto-Altaic **mole-* 'to rub, to crush, to grind, to wear out; to become worn out, weak, tired, weary': Proto-Tungus **mul-* '(vb.) to fall ill; (adj.) weak, tired' > Evenki *mul-* 'to fall ill', *multe* 'weak, tired'. Proto-Turkic **bül-* 'to be destroyed, ruined; to destroy' > Old Kipchak *bül-* 'to remove, to fire'; Karaim *bül-* 'to be destroyed, ruined'; Tatar *böl-* 'to be destroyed, ruined'; Bashkir *böl-* 'to be destroyed, ruined'; Kazakh *bülin-* 'to be destroyed, ruined', *büldir-* 'to destroy'; Kirghiz *bülün-* 'to be alarmed'. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:941—942 **mole* 'sick, weak'.

E. (?) Eskimo: Proto-Yupik **mulŋa-* 'to be careful or gentle (with)' > Alutiiq Alaskan Yupik (Kenai Peninsula) *ulŋa(yuɣ)-*, (Kodiak) *uŋla(yuɣ)-* 'to be careful or gentle'; Central Alaskan Yupik *mulŋakə-* 'to be careful or gentle (with)', *mulŋaitə-* 'to be careless or reckless'. Fortescue—Jacobson—Kaplan 1994:203.

Buck 1949:4.91 tired, weary; 5.56 grind; 9.31 rub; 15.75 soft; 15.77 smooth. Brunner 1969:20, no. 10; Caldwell 1913:603—604; Greenberg 2002:84—85, no. 186; Möller 1911:161—162; Illič-Svityč 1971—1984.II:69—70, no. 302, **moLA* 'to smash'; Bomhard—Kerns 1994:637—639, no. 518; Dolgopolsky 1998:55—56, no. 63, **mol/ļV* 'to pound, to gnaw, to smash to pieces' and 2008, no. 1404, **mo͟lV* (or **mo͟lhV* ??) 'to pound, to gnaw/smash into pieces'.

900. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **mor-a* 'any body of water: sea, lake, flood, stream, pool, cistern, reservoir, basin, canal, channel':

A. Afrasian: Egyptian *mr* 'any body of water: lake, pool, cistern, reservoir, flood, stream, basin, canal, channel'. Gardiner 1957:569; Erman—Grapow 1921:66 and 1926—1963.2:96, 2:97; Hannig 1995:345; Faulkner 1962: 111. [Orël—Stolbova 1995:384, no. 1774, **mir-* 'river'; Ehret 1995:310, no. 595, **mur-* 'to flow'.]

B. Kartvelian: Mingrelian *mere* 'lake'. Assuming development from **mori* 'lake' (cf. Schmidt 1962:37: "Zan *e* [< *o* under the influence of an *i* in the following syllable]"), as in Old English *mere* 'lake, pool, cistern; sea' (< Common Germanic **mari-* < Proto-Indo-European **mar-i-* or **mor-i-* 'any body of water: sea, lake, swamp, marsh').

C. [Proto-Indo-European **mar-i-* or **mor-i-* 'any body of water: sea, lake, swamp, marsh': Latin *mare* 'sea'; Old Irish *muir* 'sea'; Gothic *marei* 'sea',

mari- in *mari-saiws* ‘lake’; Old Icelandic *marr* ‘sea’; Old English *mere* ‘lake, pool, cistern; sea’; Old Saxon *meri* ‘sea’; Dutch *meer* ‘lake, pool’; Old High German *mari*, *meri* ‘sea’ (New High German *Meer*); Lithuanian *mãrė* ‘sea’; Old Prussian *mary* ‘lagoon, bay’; Old Church Slavic *morje* ‘sea’; Russian *móre* [мope] ‘sea’; Hittite *marmar(r)a-*, ^{GIŠ}*mammarra-* ‘waterlogged woodland, overgrown swamp, wetland, slough, moor, marsh’. Derivative in: Proto-Germanic **mar-isk-* ‘marsh’ > Old English *mersc*, *merisc* ‘marsh’; Middle Low German *mersch*, *marsch* ‘marsh’; Middle Dutch *mersch(e)* ‘marsh’ (Dutch *marsk*); New High German *Marsch* ‘fen(land), alluvial land’. Pokorny 1959:748 **mori-*, **mōri-* ‘sea’; Walde 1927—1932.II:234—235 **mari*; Mann 1984—1987:732—733 **mari*, *-i̯ə* ‘sea’; Watkins 1985:43 **mori-* and 2000:56 **mori-* ‘body of water; lake (?), sea (?)’; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.II:943 **mor(i)-* and 1995.I:580 **mor-*/**mar-* ‘sea’; Benveniste 1935:76 **már-*, **máry-*, **móry-*, **mor-éi-*; Mallory—Adams 1997:503—504 **móri* ‘sea’; Ernout—Meillet 1979:387; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.II:38—39 **mari*; De Vaan 2008:365; Orël 2003:261 Proto-Germanic **mariskaz*, 261 **mariz*; Kroonen 2013:354 Proto-Germanic **mari-* ‘lake, sea’; Feist 1939:346 **mari* (or **mori* ?) and 347; Lehmann 1986:245 **már-y-* or **mór-y-n*; De Vries 1977:379—380; Onions 1966:557 West Germanic **marisk-* and 570 **mori-*, **məri-*; Klein 1971:447 Germanic **mari-* ‘sea’ and 458; Vercoullie 1898:185; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:463—464 and 470 Common Germanic **mari-* ‘sea’; Kluge—Seebold 1989:463 and 470 **mari*; Derksen 2008: 325; Fraenkel 1962—1965.I:409—420; Puhvel 1984— .6:79—80.] Note: The Indo-European terms are phonologically ambiguous. They may belong here or with Proto-Nostratic **mar-* (~ **mər-*) ‘marsh, swamp’.

D. Proto-Altaic **mi̯ūri* ‘any body of water: river, lake, sea’: Proto-Mongolian **mören* ‘river, lake’ > Written Mongolian *mören* ‘large river or lake’; Khalkha *mörön* ‘large river which empties into a lake or sea; lake’; Buriat *müre(n)* ‘river’; Kalmyk *mörn̥* ‘river’; Ordos *mörön* ‘river’; Dagur *mure*, *mur* ‘river’; Shira-Yughur *merēn*, *merēm* ‘river’; Dongxiang *moren*, *moran* ‘river’; Monguor *murōn* ‘river’. Poppe 1955:49. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak (2003:935—936 **mi̯ūri* ‘water’) compare the above forms with possible Tungus, Japanese, and Korean cognates. However, Dolgopolsky (2008, no. 1382) is probably correct in rejecting the comparison of the Tungus forms with those cited here.

Buck 1949:1.32 sea; 1.33 lake. Illič-Svityč 1971—1984.II:60—61, no. 294, **mäŕä* ‘damp; moisture’; Bomhard—Kerns 1994:653, no. 530; Dolgopolsky 1998:25—26, no. 14, **moRE* ‘water body’ and 2008, no. 1461, **moRE* (= **moRi* ?) ‘body of water’.

901. Proto-Nostratic **muk’-* (~ **mok’-*):
(vb.) **muk’-* ‘to strain, to make great efforts’;

(n.) **muk'-a* ‘straining (as a woman in labor or as when defecating), effort; fatigue, suffering’

A. Afrasian: Semitic: Akkadian *muḳḳu* ‘to weary, to tire, to wane’, *muḳḳu* ‘weakened, weary’.
B. Dravidian: Tamil *mukku* (*mukki-*) ‘to strain (as a woman in travail), to make great efforts’, *mukkal*, *mukku* ‘straining (as in travail), great effort’; Malayalam *mukkuka* ‘to strain, to grunt, to make an effort (as in travail or when easing nature)’, *mukkal*, *mukkam* ‘straining, etc.’, *mikkuka* ‘ to press, to strain at stool’; Toda *muk-* (*muky-*) ‘to grunt while defecating when constipated, to hesitate’; Kota *muk-* (*muky-*) ‘to strain to deliver child, to make a strenuous effort’, *muk* ‘the act of straining, great effort’; Kannaḍa *mukki<u>r</u>i*, *mukkare* ‘to strain, to make violent efforts in pain, etc.’; Tuḷu *mukkuruni* ‘to snort, to grunt, to growl’, *mukkuru* ‘snorting, grunting, growling’, *bukku* ‘to strain’; Telugu *mukku* ‘to strain, to exert with a strain or strenuously, to grunt, to groan, to grumble’; Pengo *mūk-* ‘to lift with effort’. Burrow—Emeneau 1964:438, no. 4896(a).
C. Indo-European: Greek μόγος (< **mok'-*) ‘toil, trouble; distress, difficulty’, μογέω ‘to toil, to suffer; to suffer pain, to be distressed; to labor at’, μογοστόκος ‘helping women in hard childbirth’, μογερός ‘(of persons) toiling, wretched; (of things) toilsome, grievous’, μόγις ‘with toil and pain’. Mann 1984—1987:785—786 **mogʰ-* (**mogʰəl-*, **mogʰər-*) ‘toil, hardship; hard, difficult’; Boisacq 1950:642; Frisk 1970—1973.II:247—248; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:707—708; Hofmann 1966:204; Beekes 2010.II:960—961 (pe-Greek); Prellwitz 1905:297. Note: Not related to Lithuanian (dialectal) *smagùs* ‘heavy to carry or pull’; Latvian *smags*, *smagrs* ‘heavy, weighty’. Fraenkel 1962—1965.II:837—838.

Buck 1949:9.13 work, labor, toil (vb., intr.); 9.97 difficult. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:672, no. 551.

902. Proto-Nostratic root **mun-* (~ **mon-*):
(vb.) **mun-* ‘to protrude, to stand out; to jut out; to be first, foremost, in front of’;
(n.) **mun-a* ‘topmost or most prominent part, highest or farthest point’

A. Afrasian: Egyptian *mnw* ‘mountain chain, mountain range’, *mnw* ‘monument, obelisk’, *mn-ty* ‘the two mountains (that is, the two mountain ranges on the east and west sides of the Nile)’. Hannig 1995:338; Faulkner 1962:108; Erman—Grapow 1921:64 and 1926—1963.2:69, 2:71; Gardiner 1957:568.
B. Dravidian: Tamil *mu<u>n</u>* ‘in front, previous, prior; antiquity, eminence’, *mu<u>nn</u>am* ‘in front’, *mu<u>n</u>pu* ‘former time, front, antiquity; bodily strength, greatness; before, in front of, formerly’, *mu<u>n</u>pa<u>n</u>* ‘powerful man, leader,

master', *mu<u>nr</u>-il* 'front of a house, space', *mu<u>nn</u>ar* 'before, in advance, in front of, in former times', *mu<u>nn</u>u* (*mu<u>nn</u>i-*) 'to meet, to reach, to join, to precede', *mu<u>n</u>ai* 'front, face, superiority, eminence, point, sharpened end, edge, cape, headland', *mu<u>nn</u>ōr* 'predecessors, ancestors, the ancients, chief ministers', *mu<u>n</u>ātu* 'that which is in front, that which is earlier', *mu<u>n</u>aiñar* 'commander of an army', *munti* 'front, outer edge of cloth, some time before', *muntu* (*munti-*) '(vb.) to come in front, to advance, to meet, to be prior in time or place, to take precedence, to take the lead, to be first, to surpass, to excel, to be old, to be long lasting; (n.) antiquity, priority, beginning', *muntai* 'antiquity, the past, former time; ancestor; in front of'; Malayalam *mun*, *munnam* 'priority in space and time, first, former; before', *munnamē* 'before', *munnar* 'forepart of animals', *munnal* 'presence', *munnil*, *munnē* 'before', *munni* 'cape, headland', *munnēyavan*, *munnēvan* 'the former', *munti* 'the edge, skirt of cloth', *muntuka* 'to overtake', *mumpu* 'the front, presence', *mumpan* 'the foremost, principal', *mumpināl* 'formerly', *mumpil* 'in front', *mumpē* 'before', *muna* 'a sharp point, sharpness, promontory', *munakka* 'to go before', *munampu* 'headland, tip'; Kota *mun-*, *mu-* 'front, fore', *mon* 'point', *mund*, *mind* 'previous time, state of being before in space', *mund-* (*mundy-*), *mind-* (*mindy-*) 'to go in front, to act first', *muŋga·r* 'forward, in front, early'; Toda *mun* 'in front; former', *mïn* 'sharp point, top of hill', *mïnp* 'sharp end of horn'; Kannaḍa *mun* (*muṃ*), *munnu* 'that which is before, in front of, preceding in space; that which is preceding in time; that which is towards a place', *muñcu* '(vb.) to be or go before or first, to precede, to outgo, to go beyond, to exceed, to outdo, to surpass, to excel; (n.) state of preceding or being before in time or position, state of being previous or prior, former time', *muñcita* 'state of being before in time, previous or prior, beforehand', *muñca* 'a man in the front, chief, leader', *muñce* 'in advance, in the first place, previously, formerly, first, beforehand, before, earlier than', *muntu*, *munda*, *mundu* 'the front part or side, front, state of being in front of anything that is behind, state of being advanced in position, that of being first, state of being before or previous, state of being future', *mundu* 'to precede', *mone* 'point, extremity, end; sharpness; state of being before', *munna*, *munnam*, *munnal* 'the front; in front, before, formerly, previously; first, prior to, preceding; following, henceforth', *munne* 'even the front, etc.', *mumbu* 'forepart, front, the direction of the front, state of being previous'; Tuḷu *mundaṇa* 'priority; first, prior; future', *munderiyuni*, *munderuni*, *mundersuni* 'to advance, to march, to continue, to carry on', *mundè* 'before, in front', *munni* 'tip, lappet', *munè*, *munnè*, *moṇè*, *monè* 'point, end, extremity'; Koḍagu *miññа* 'in front, further', *mumba·ra* 'the fore', *mumbï* 'predominance', *mone* 'sharp point', *mund-* (*mundi-*) 'to go ahead'; Telugu *muni* 'first, former, previous, front', *munimuṅgali* 'the very front', *munucu* 'to go or appear before', *muncu* 'to increase, to excel', *muṅgali* 'front, foremost', *munupaṭi* 'former, previous', *munupu* 'the past, a former

period in time; formerly, of old, previously', *munumu* 'the front or vanguard of an army', *munumunu*, *munumunnu* 'first of all, in the very beginning', *munnu* 'former period of time; formerly, first', *mundaṭa(n)* 'in front, before', *mundaṭi* 'first, former, prior; front', *mundara* 'the front, former or past time; in front, before, first; in the last instance, previously, formerly; hereafter, in the future', *mundu* 'the front, state of being first or early; priority, past time, the past; first, front, earlier, prior, previous; (adv.) first, early, to begin with, in former times', *mona* 'point, extremity, tip, in front'; Naikṛi *mund* 'before'; Parji *munni* 'before', *mundi* 'in front', *munnited* 'first, the one in front', *mundel* 'in front, before', *mona* 'tip, point'; Gadba (Salur) *mundēl*, *mundel* 'the front'; Gondi *munnē* 'before, in front, next year', *munne* 'in front of, previously', *munnē*, *mune* 'before, in front of', *mūne* 'ahead', *munnevāl* 'leader'; Konḍa *muŋgal*, *mundala* 'in front'; Kuwi *munu* 'point (of needle, etc.)'; Kuṛux *munddh*, *mund* 'first, ahead of, previous to, before that time, ago', *muńjā* 'the extremity, beginning, head point, end'; Brahui *mōn* 'front', *mōni* 'being in front'; Malto *mundi* 'formerly, in ancient times', *mundoti* 'ancient'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:452—453, no. 5020(a); Krishnamurti 2003:392 **mun* 'prior, before, front'.

C. Proto-Indo-European **mon-*/**mn̥-* (secondary *e*-grade form: **men-*) '(vb.) to protrude, to stand out, to jut out; (n.) highest or farthest point, topmost or most protuberant part': Avestan *mati-* 'mountain top'; Latin *mentum* 'chin', *ēmineō* 'to project, to stand out', *minae* 'the battlements, parapets of a wall', *minor* 'to jut out, to project', *prōmineō* 'to stand out, to jut out, to project', *mōns*, *-tis* 'mountain'; Welsh *mynydd* 'mountain', *mant* 'jaw'; Cornish *meneth* 'mountain'; Breton *menez* 'mountain'; Old Icelandic *mœna* 'to tower'. Pokorny 1959:726 **men-* 'to project'; Walde 1927—1932.II:263 **men-*; Mann 1984—1987:781—782 **mn̥tos* 'mouth, chin, jaw'; Watkins 1985:41 **men-* and 2000:54 **men-* 'to project'; Mallory—Adams 1997:270 (?) *men-* 'mountain', **men-* 'to project, to stick out'; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.II:666 **m(e)n-t[ʰ]-*, also fn. 1 **m(e)n-*, and 1995.I:574 **m(e)n-tʰ-* 'mountain, heights', also fn. 2 **m(e)n-* 'mountain'; Ernout—Meillet 1979:398, 403—404, and 412—413; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.II:72—73 **men-*, II:90, and II:108—109 **men-*; De Vaan 2008:373, 380, and 388; De Vries 1977:400.

Buck 1949:1.22 mountain, hill; 4.209 chin; 12.33 top; 12.35 end; 12.352 point. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:655—656, no. 533; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 1431, **mu|oñV* (or **mu|oñ[V]TV* ?) 'mountain, hill'.

903. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **mun-a* 'egg, testicle':
Extended form (Dravidian and Slavic):
(n.) **mun-d-a* (~ **mon-d-a*) 'egg, testicle'

A. Proto-Dravidian **muṇṭ-ay* ‘egg, testicle’: Tamil *muṭṭai* ‘egg, ovum’, *muṇṭai* ‘egg’; Malayalam *muṭṭa*, *moṭṭa* ‘egg’; Kota *moṭ* ‘egg’; Toda *muṭy* ‘egg’; Kannaḍa *moṭṭe* ‘egg’; Koḍagu *muṭṭe* ‘egg, testis’; Tuḷu *moṭṭe* ‘egg’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:442, no. 4939.
B. Indo-European: Common Slavic **mǫdo* (< **mon-d^{h}-*) ‘testicle’ > Russian *mudo* [мудо] ‘testicle’; Czech *moud* ‘testicle’; Polish *mudo* ‘testicle’ (Russian loan).
C. Proto-Uralic **muna* ‘egg, testicle’: Finnish *muna* ‘egg, testicle’; Estonian *muna* ‘egg’; Lapp / Saami *mânne*/*mâne*- and *monne*/*mone*- ‘egg’; Mordvin *mona* ‘testicle’; Cheremis / Mari (Eastern) *munõ* ‘egg’; Vogul / Mansi *mån* ‘testicle’; Ostyak / Xanty *moñ*, (Southern) *măn* ‘testicle, male sexual organ’; Hungarian *mony* ‘egg, testicle, male sexual organ’; Tavgi Samoyed / Nganasan *manu* ‘egg’; Yenisei Samoyed / Enets *mona* ‘egg’; Selkup Samoyed *maane*, *man* ‘male sexual organ’; Kamassian *munuj* ‘egg’ (derivative). Collinder 1955:36 and 1977:55; Rédei 1986—1988:285—286 **muna*; Décsy 1990:103 **muna* ‘egg’; Janhunen 1977b:86 **mânå*.

Buck 1949:4.48 egg; 4.49 testicle. Illič-Svityč 1965:373 **muñ(d)ʌ* ‘egg’ (‘яйцо’) and 1971—1984.II:72—73, no. 307, (?) **muña* ‘egg, testicle’; Bomhard—Kerns 1994:671, no. 549; Hakola 2000:108—109, no. 465; Pudas-Marlow 1974:65, no. 180; Dolgopolsky 1998:60, no. 71, **muǹa(-t/dV)* ‘egg’ and 2008, no. 1429, **muǹV(-t|dV)* ‘egg’ (→ ‘testicle’); Greenberg 2002:60, no. 127.

904. Proto-Nostratic root **muŋ-* (~ **moŋ-*):
(vb.) **muŋ-* ‘to torment, to torture, to afflict; to cause pain, trouble, distress, suffering, difficulty; to suffer; to be in pain, trouble, distress, suffering, difficulty’;
(n.) **muŋ-a* ‘suffering, pain, malady, difficulty, distress, affliction, calamity, misery’

A. Proto-Afrasian **m[u]ŋ-* ‘(vb.) to torment, to torture, to afflict; to cause pain, trouble, distress, suffering, difficulty; to suffer; to be in pain, trouble, distress, suffering, difficulty; (n.) suffering, pain, malady, difficulty, distress, affliction, calamity, misery’: Proto-Semitic **man-aw-* ‘to be afflicted with, to suffer (from)’ > Arabic *manā* ‘to put to the test, to try, to tempt, to afflict; (passive) to be afflicted (with), to be sorely tried (by), to suffer, to sustain, to undergo, to experience; to be afflicted, hit, smitten, stricken’. Egyptian *mn* ‘to be ill, to suffer; to be ill of, to suffer from; to be troubled about’, *mn* ‘sick man’, *mnt* ‘malady, suffering, distress, calamity’, *mnw* ‘pain’. Hannig 1995:335; Faulkner 1962:107; Gardiner 1957:568; Erman—Grapow 1921:64 and 1926—1963.2:66—67.
B. (?) Proto-Indo-European **monk^{h}-*/**mn̥k^{h}-* ‘torment, torture’: Old Church Slavic *mǫka* ‘torment’, *mǫčǫ*, *mǫčiti* ‘to torment’; Czech *muka* ‘torture’;

Serbo-Croatian *mȕka* ‘torment’; Russian *múka* [мука] ‘torment, torture’. Pokorny 1959:730—731 **men(ə)k-* ‘to knead’; Walde 1927—1932.II:268 **menq-* ‘to knead’; Rix 1998a:394—395 **menk-* ‘to press, to squeeze, to knead’; Mann 1984—1987:730—731 **mankos*, *-us* ‘maimed, defective; defect, flaw’, 755 **menk-* ‘to squeeze; soft, compliant’, 795 **monk-* (?) ‘pressure, constraint’, and 779—780 **mn̥k-* ‘soft, pliant; to squeeze’; Derksen 2008:328—329 and 329; Mallory—Adams 1997:450 **menk-* ‘to press’.

C. Proto-Altaic **mi̯uŋo* ‘suffering’: Tungus: Evenki *miŋnī-* ‘to have nagging pain (of joints, heart)’. Proto-Mongolian **muŋ* ‘difficulty’ > Written Mongolian *muŋ* ‘difficulty, distress’, *muŋda-* ‘to become insufficient; to come to an end, to be exhausted; to be in trouble or difficult circumstances’, *muŋdani-* ‘to be in a difficult position, to be in need or distress’, *muŋla-* ‘to be in need, wanting’; Khalkha *munla-* ‘to be in need, to be exhausted’. Proto-Turkic **buŋ* ‘suffering’ > Old Turkic (Orkhon) *buŋ* ‘suffering’, (Old Uighur) *muŋ* ‘suffering’; Karakhanide Turkic *muŋ* ‘suffering’; Turkish *bun* ‘suffering’; Gagauz *bun* ‘suffering’; Turkmenian (dialectal) *muŋ-lï* ‘sorrowful’; Uzbek *muŋ* ‘suffering’; Uighur *muŋ* ‘suffering’; Tatar *moŋ* ‘suffering’; Bashkir *moŋ* ‘suffering’; Kirghiz *muŋ* ‘suffering’; Noghay *muŋ* ‘suffering’; Oyrot (Mountain Altai) *muŋ* ‘suffering’; Tuva *muŋ* ‘suffering’; Yakut *muŋ* ‘suffering’; Dolgan *muŋ* ‘suffering’. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:935 **mi̯uŋo* ‘suffering’.

D. (?) Eskimo: Proto-Inuit **məŋik-* ‘to get jammed, squeezed, pinched’ > Seward Peninsula Inuit *miŋiaq-* ‘to get squeezed, jammed, caught’; Eastern Canadian Inuit *miŋik-* ‘to pinch one’s hand in a door’; Greenlandic Inuit *miŋiɣ-* ‘to get jammed (finger or toe, by a blow or pressure)’. Fortescue—Jacobson—Kaplan 1994:198.

Buck 1949:16.31 pain, suffering; 16.32 grief, sorrow. Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 1453, **muŋK̲a|û* (= **muŋk̲a|û* ?) ‘to make great efforts, (?) to be heavy’.

905. Proto-Nostratic root **mur-* (~ **mor-*):
(vb.) **mur-* ‘to crush, to break, to destroy’;
(n.) **mur-a* ‘break, breach, rupture, fracture’; (adj.) ‘crushed, broken, destroyed, ruptured, mutilated; weakened’

A. Dravidian: Tamil *mur̲i* (*-v-*, *-nt-*) ‘to break, to give way (as a branch), to be defeated, to be discomfited, to perish, to cease to exist’, *mur̲i* (*-pp-*, *-tt-*) ‘to break (as a stick), to cut, to discontinue’, *mur̲i* ‘piece, half, broken half of coconut, piece of cloth, deed, written bond, receipt, part of village or town, room’, *mur̲iccal* ‘breaking, indigence, want’, *mur̲ukku* (*mur̲ukki-*) ‘to break’, *mur̲iyal* ‘breaking’, *mur̲ivu* ‘breaking, breach, rupture, fracture, enmity, antidote’, *mur̲ippu* ‘antidote, estrangement, breach of friendship’; Malayalam *mur̲i* ‘fragment, piece of cloth, room, chamber, apartment,

parish, hamlet, a note, bond', *mu̲rikka* 'to break, to cut, to wound, to decide, to settle', *mu̲riccal* 'breach', *mu̲rippikka* 'to cause to cut down', *mu̲riyan* 'cutting', *mu̲riyuka* 'to break through or in pieces, to be wounded, to be decided, to curdle (as milk)', *mu̲rivu* 'breach, wound', *mu̲ruka* 'to cut up vegetables'; Kannaḍa *mu̲ri* '(vb.) to bring about a flaw in a thing by bending it, to sever by fracture, to break, to break off (as leaves, fruit, etc.), to crush, to break down, to defeat, to rout, to destroy, to break up, to put an end to, to do away with; to break (intr.), to become weakened in constitution, to lose strength, to be impaired; (n.) fragment, piece, broken or torn off particle, state of being broken, broken off', *mu̲rige*, *mu̲ruyuvike* 'breaking', *mu̲rivu* 'crushing, destruction', *mu̲risu* 'to cause to break, to cause to crush, to get changed (as large money into smaller)', *mu̲ruka*, *mu̲raka* 'a man who breaks or ruins, a maimed man, an imbecile', *mu̲rukatana* 'breaking, ruining', *mu̲ruku* 'fragment, piece (as of bread)', *mu̲ruva*, *mu̲rava* 'a maimed, imbecile wretch'; Telugu *mu̲riyu* '(vb.) to be broken, severed; (n.) piece, crumb', *mu̲rugu* 'to be crushed'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:451, no. 5008. Tamil *muravu* 'break, broken condition (as of the mouth of a pot)', *muri* (*-v-*, *-nt-*) 'to break off, to snap off, to perish, to be ruined, to be scattered, to go wrong, to be defeated, to separate, to leave, to lose one's position', *muri* (*-pp-*, *-tt-*) 'to break off (tr.), to snap off, to ruin, to defeat', *muri* 'piece, bit broken off, scratch, blemish', *murippu* 'breaking, bruising, cracking', *muriyal* 'bit, fragment, that which is brittle', *murivu* 'breaking, snapping, leaving, separation', *murukku* (*murukki-*) '(vb.) to destroy, to crush, to ruin, to kill, to break in pieces, to dissolve; (n.) killing', *muruṅku* (*muruṅki-*) 'to perish, to be destroyed, to break', *mūri* 'bit, part'; Malayalam *mūruka* 'to cut, to cut up (a hog, etc.), to reap'; Kota *mury-* (*murc-*) 'to break (stick-like thing) (tr., intr.), to indent (neck in throwing pot)', *mury* 'small piece, crack in iron of tool'; Toda *müry-* (*mürs-*) 'to break in two (stick) (intr.)', *müry-* (*mürc-*) 'to break in two (stick) (tr.)'; Koḍagu *muri-* (*murip-*, *murit-*) 'to make a cut'; Tuḷu *muri* 'an incision or a notch', *murku* 'fragment, piece, bit', *mūruni* 'to mince, to cut up (as vegetables)'; Telugu *muri*, *muriya* 'a bit, piece', *muri-konu* 'to cut', *muriyu* 'to break', *mukku* 'piece, bit, fragment, part'; Kolami *murk-* 'to break'; Naikṛi *mur-* 'to break (intr.)', *murk-* 'to break (tr.)', *murnḍe* 'a quarter (of bread)'; Pengo *mur-* 'to cut (horizontally)'; Kui *mroku inba* 'to snap off, to be broken off', *mrunga* (*mrungi-*) 'to be torn', *mrunga vīpka* 'to break away from a torn part', *mrupka* (< **mruk-p-*, *mrukt-*) '(vb.) to tear, to murder, to kill; (n.) tearing, murder', *mrūva* (*mrūt-*) 'to die'; Kuṛux *murcnā* 'to twist and break', *murcrnā* 'to get broken, not to come off or out entire', *mur^{n}knā* 'to abscind, to amputate, to cut in two by hacking, to cut in small pieces, to damage by cutting off a part, to mangle, to mutilate'; Malto *murke* 'to cut into bits, to cut across, to cross (a river)', *murkre* 'to be cut to pieces'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:446—447, no. 4975.

B. Proto-Indo-European **mor-*/**mr̥-* (secondary *e*-grade form: **mer-*) ‘to crush, to destroy; to be or become crushed, to disintegrate’: Latin *mortārium* ‘mortar’; Old Irish *meirb* ‘flabby, weak’; Welsh *merw* ‘weak, slack’; Old Icelandic *merja* ‘to bruise, to crush’, *morna* ‘to waste or pine away’; Old English *mearu* ‘tender, delicate’, *mierran* ‘to hinder, to obstuct; to squander, to waste; to err’; Old High German *maro*, *marawēr* ‘mellow’; Late Middle High German *mürsen* ‘to crush’; Greek μαραίνω ‘to waste away, to decay, to wither, to die away, to go out (fire)’; Hittite (3rd sg. pres.) *mar-ri-ya-az-zi* ‘to be broken, to collapse, to melt’. Rix 1998a:396 **merh$_2$-* ‘to seize forcefully, to squeeze’; Pokorny 1959:735—737 **mer-*, **merə-* ‘to rub, to wear out’; Walde 1927—1932.II:276—279 **mer-*; Mann 1984—1987:760 **merṷos*, *-is* ‘limp, soft, weak’, 797 **morḭō*, **moreḭō* ‘to crush, to kill, to be crushed, to disintegrate’, 807 **mr̥sḭō*, 807—808 **mr̥sos*, *-ṷos*, *-ā* (**mr̥ksos*, *-ā*) ‘broken-down, decayed; decay, mold’, 820 **murtḭō* ‘to break down, to crush’; Watkins 1985:42 **mer-* and 2000:55 **mer-* ‘to rub away, to harm’; Mallory—Adams 1997:142 **mer-* ‘to crush, to pulverize’; Kloekhorst 2008b:558; Puhvel 1984— .6:62—64; Frisk 1970—1973.II:174; Boisacq 1950:610 **mer(ā^{x})-*; Hofmann 1966:190; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:666; Beekes 2010.II:904; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.II:112; Ernout—Meillet 1979:415; De Vaan 2008:390; Orël 2003:262 Proto-Germanic **marwaz* ~ **merwaz*, 262 **marzjanan*; De Vries 1977:385 and 393 **mer-*; Onions 1966:554; Klein 1971:444.

C. Proto-Uralic **mura-* ‘to break, to shatter’: Finnish *muru* ‘crumb, fragment’, *murta-* ‘to break, to shatter’; Lapp / Saami *moarrâ-*/*moarâ-* ‘to break to pieces’; Ostyak / Xanty *mory-*, (Northern) *mŏri-* ‘to burst, to shatter (intr.)’, *murəgt-* ‘to break (tr.)’; Yurak Samoyed / Nenets *marda-* ‘to shatter (tr.)’, *mardo-* ‘to shatter (intr.)’, *marna-* ‘to crumble (intr.), to dissolve (intr.)’; Tavgi Samoyed / Nganasan *maru-* ‘to shatter’; Yenisei Samoyed / Enets (Baiha) *more-* ‘to shatter’; Selkup Samoyed *morru* ‘piece, morsel’, *morna-* ‘to shatter, to beat to pieces’, *moorgənna-* ‘to break, to split apart’. Joki 1973:287; Collinder 1955:36 and 1977:55; Rédei 1986—1988:288 **mura* (**murɜ*); Décsy 1990:103 **mura* ‘piece; to break’; Janhunen 1977b:87—88 **mârə-* (? ~ **mâr-*). Yukaghir (Northern / Tundra) *mur-* ‘to cut off’, *muregej-* ‘to burst, to split, to break’, *murigii-* ‘to cut off in one movement’. Nikolaeva 2006:281.

D. Eskimo: Proto-Inuit **muʀiiq-* ‘to sharpen’ > Western Canadian Inuit (Caribou) *muʀiilʀuʀyuaq* ‘big smooth one’; Eastern Canadian Inuit (Labrador) *muʀiiq-* ‘to grind, to whet’, (Tarramiut) *muʀiq-* ‘to be sharp, to sharpen’; Greenlandic Inuit *muʀiiʀ-* ‘to grind’, *muʀiit-* ‘to be blunt, to be rounded at end or edge’, *muʀiiʀsivik* ‘whetstone’. Fortescue—Jacobson—Kaplan 1994:203.

Sumerian *mur* ‘to crush, to grind’.

Buck 1949:5.56 grind; 9.26 break (vb. tr.). Illič-Svityč 1971—1984.II:75—76, no. 310, **murA* ‘to break, to smash’; Bomhard—Kerns 1994:648—650, no. 526; Hakola 2000:109—110, no. 469; Assadian—Hakola 2003:89, no. 286; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 1463, **murV* ‘to break, to crush, to cut’.

906. Proto-Nostratic root **mur-* (~ **mor-*):
(vb.) **mur-* ‘to turn, to twist, to bend’;
(n.) **mur-a* ‘bend, curve’
Note also:
(vb.) **mar-* ‘to turn: to overturn, to turn round, to turn over, etc.; to twist, to whirl, to roll; to bend’;
(n.) **mar-a* ‘the act of turning, turning over, turning round, etc.; rope, coil, string, cord’

A. Afrasian: Egyptian *mr* ‘to bind up, to tie together’, *mrw* ‘strip (of cloth), bundle (of clothes)’, *mrw*, *mrt* ‘weavers’; Coptic *mur* [ⲙⲟⲩⲣ] ‘to bind, to gird, to tie’. Hannig 1995:347; Erman—Grapow 1921:67 and 1926—1963.2:105; Faulkner 1962:111; Gardiner 1957:569; Vycichl 1983:119; Černý 1976:88.

B. Dravidian: Tamil *muraṟci* ‘a cord’; Tuḷu *murajè* ‘rope made of straw’; Gondi *moros*, *maṛos* ‘rope prepared from fiber of the paur tree’; Kui *mrāsu* ‘rope made from hide’; Kuwi *marcu* ‘rope attaching bullock to plow’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:447, no. 4976. Tamil *muri* ‘(vb.) to bend, to lack in strength, to be gentle; (n.) bend, curve’, *murivu* ‘contracting, fold, laziness’, (reduplicated) *murimuri* ‘to curve, to bend’; Malayalam *muruṭuka* ‘to pluck by twisting’; Toda *müry fuṛy-* (*fuṛs-*) ‘to stretch the body in yawning’; Kannaḍa *muri* ‘(vb.) to bend, to be bent, to grow crooked, to wind, to meander, to stretch oneself with windings of the limbs, to turn around or twist (as the whiskers); (n.) state of being bent, curved, etc.; bend; winding course of a river; ring’, *murike* ‘bending, crooking by straining’, *murige* ‘bending, twisting, a twist’, *muripu* ‘to turn round or whirl the fist’, *murivu* ‘bending or twisting, a bend, winding course of a river; surrounding’, *murucu* ‘to turn round, to twist’, *muruḍisu* ‘to pluck by twisting’, *muruhu* ‘a bend, curve, winding course of a river, a surrounding place, crookedness of mind, a crooked object; a pervert; turn, repetition’, *muruḷ* ‘crooked’, *murṇṭu* ‘to become crooked’, *mor(a)ku* ‘to be turning round or be giddy from pride’; Tuḷu *muri* ‘curve, circle, ring, twist, the creases of the hand, windings of a conch, etc.’, *murigè* ‘twist, entanglement’, *murlu* ‘stretching of a limb’; Telugu *murincu* ‘to turn (tr.)’; Gadba *murg-* (*murug-*) ‘to bend down’, *murgēn* ‘bent’; Parji *murg-* ‘to be bent’, *murgal* ‘hunchback’; Gondi *muṛītānā* ‘to be dislocated’, *mur-jupnī aiānā* ‘to be crooked’, *moorga* ‘humpbacked’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:447, no. 4977. Tamil *muṟukku* (*muṟukki-*) ‘to twist (as a rope), to twirl, to spin (as a potter his wheel)’, *muṟuku* (*muṟuki-*) ‘to wriggle, to

twist’; Malayalam *mu̲rukuka* ‘to be twisted, to be tight’, *mu̲rukal* ‘a twist’, *mu̲rukkuka* ‘to twist, to twine, to tighten’, *mu̲rukkal* ‘writhing, spasms’, *mu̲riccu-kutti* ‘anything twisted’, *mu̲riccu-kuttuka* ‘to wreath, to plait’, *mu̲rukku* ‘twining, twisting, writhing, a twisted cake’; Kannaḍa *mu̲ruku* ‘to give a different shape (to the face), to twist (it) out of its natural shape, to distort (it), to change the expression’, *mu̲rukisu* ‘to cause to appear distorted, to distort or change (as the face or its features)’, *mu̲rigu* ‘curve’; Koḍagu *mur-* (*muri-*) ‘to tighten’, *murïk-* (*murïki-*) ‘to tighten’, *murïkï* ‘string which binds or tightens, rope around center of drum by which its heads are tightened’; Telugu *mu̲rakaṭamu* ‘turning’, *mu̲rakaṭincu* ‘to turn’; Kuṛux *murkārnā* ‘to sprain oneself’, *murkaʔānā* ‘to sprain’; Kolami *murgaḍileng* ‘to twist (a limb)’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:451, no. 5012.

C. [Proto-Indo-European **mer-*/**mor-*/**mr̥-* ‘to twist, to turn, to plait’: Greek μέρμῑς ‘cord, string, rope’; Old Icelandic *merðr* ‘fish-trap’; Middle Low German *mōren* ‘to tie’; Middle Dutch *marren* ‘to tie’. Pokorny 1959:733 **mer-* ‘to plait, to weave’; Walde 1927—1932.II:272—273 **mer-*; Watkins 1985:42 **mer-* ‘to tie’; Mallory—Adams 1997:64 **mer-* ‘to braid, to bind’; Boisacq 1950:628; Hofmann 1966:198; Frisk 1970—1973.II:211 **mer-* ‘to braid, to plait’; Beekes 2010.II:932 (pre-Greek); Chantraine 1968—1980.II:687 (obscure); De Vries 1977:384 **mer-* ‘to braid, to plait, to weave’.] The Indo-European forms may belong with Proto-Nostratic **mar-* (~ **mər-*) ‘to turn: to overturn, to turn round, to turn over, etc.’ instead.

D. Proto-Altaic **mura-* ‘(vb.) to turn, to return; (adj.) round’: Proto-Tungus **murV-* ‘(vb.) to walk around, to return; (adj.) round’ > Evenki *muru-* ‘to walk around, to return’, *murume* ‘round’; Lamut / Even *merъk-* ‘to walk around, to return’, *merēti* ‘round’; Negidal *meyel* ‘round’; Manchu *murǵen* ‘round’; Ulch *muru-muru* ‘round’; Orok *morolime* ‘round’; Nanay / Gold *murǵi* ‘round’; Udihe *mogol‘uö* ‘round’. Manchu *muri-* ‘to twist, to wring, to wring out, to pinch; to be stubborn, obstinate; to wrong (someone); to throw sideways (in wrestling)’, *muriχan* ‘a bend or a turn on a road or a path’; Evenki *morokō* ‘river bend’. Proto-Mongolian **murui-* ‘slanting, bending, awry; bend, curve’ > Written Mongolian *murui-* ‘to bend, to be crooked, to turn, to meander’, *muruid-* ‘to bend, to twist; to become crooked’, *murui* ‘slanting, bending, awry, gnarled; uneven; bend, curve, curvature, crookedness’, *muruilγ-a* ‘curvature, detour; crookedness’, (causative) *muruilγa-* ‘to bend, to curve, to distort; to turn aside, to deflect’, *muruitai* ‘bent, curved’; Khalkha *muruy-* ‘awry, slanting; crooked, curved; divergent, round-about; bend, curve, crookedness, detour’; Buriat *muŕū* ‘slanting, bending, awry; bend, curve’; Kalmyk *muŕū* ‘slanting, bending, awry; bend, curve’; Ordos *mur^{w}ī* ‘slanting, bending, awry; bend, curve’; Dagur *morčigui* ‘slanting, bending, awry; bend, curve’; Monguor *murī* ‘slanting, bending, awry; bend, curve’. Poppe 1960:36 and 130; Street 1974:20 **muru-* ‘to twist, to curve’, **muru-y* ‘bent; bend’; Starostin—

Dybo—Mudrak 2003:955—956 **mura* '(vb.) to turn, to return; (adj.) round'.

Buck 1949:9.14 bend (vb. tr.); 9.19 rope, cord; 10.12 turn (vb.); 10.13 turn around (vb.); 10.14 wind, wrap (vb.); 10.15 roll (vb.). Bomhard—Kerns 1994: 653—655, no. 531; Illič-Svityč 1971—1984.II:74—75, no. 309, **muri-* 'to twist'; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 1462, **murV* 'to twist, to roll, to turn round'.

907. Proto-Nostratic (Eurasiatic only) (n.) **mur-a* 'mulberry, blackberry':

A. Proto-Indo-European **mor-* 'blackberry, mulberry': Greek μόρον, (Hesychius) μῶρα· συκάμινα 'mulberry, blackberry', μορέα 'mulberry-tree'; Armenian *mor* 'blackberry'; Latin *mōrum* 'mulberry, blackberry', *mōrus* 'mulberry-tree'; Middle Irish *merenn* 'mulberry'; Welsh *merwydden* (with *e* < *o*) 'mulberry'; Old High German *mūrberi*, *mōrberi* 'mulberry' (Middle High German *mūlber*, New High German *Maulbeere*); Old English *mōrbēam*, *mūrbēam* 'mulberry-tree', *mōrberie*, *mūrberie* 'mulberry'; Lithuanian *mõras* 'mulberry'. Pokorny 1959:749 **moro-* 'blackberry'; Walde 1927—1932.II:306 **moro-*; Watkins 1985:43 **moro-* and 2000:56 **moro-* 'blackberry, mulberry'; Mallory—Adams 1997:388 **mórom* 'blackberry'; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.II:645 **mŏ̆ro-* and 1995.I:766 **moro-* 'mulberry'; Hofmann 1966:205 **mōrom*; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:713; Boisacq 1950:645; Frisk 1970—1973.II:256; Beekes 2010.II:968; Ernout—Meillet 1979:415 (Latin *mōrum* may be a Greek loan or, rather, a loan from a Mediterranean language); Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.II:114 **moro-*; Onions 1966:595 **mōr-*; Klein 1971:480; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:468; Kluge—Seebold 1989:468.

B. Proto-Uralic **mura* 'Rubus chamaemorus, berry (Rubus)': Finnish *muura*, *murrain*/*muuraime-* 'cloudberry, Rubus chamaemorus'; Ostyak / Xanty (Tremyugan) *mŏ̆rəŋk*, (Southern) *murəh* 'Rubus chamaemorus'; Vogul / Mansi *morah* 'Rubus chamaemorus'; Tavgi Samoyed / Nganasan *muraʔka* 'Rubus chamaemorus'; Yenisei Samoyed / Enets (Hatanga) *moðagga*, (Baiha) *moragga* "Rubus chamaemorus'; Yurak Samoyed / Nenets *maraŋga* 'Rubus chamaemorus'. Rédei 1986—1988:287 **mura*; Collinder 1955:37 and 1977:56; Décsy 1990:103 **mura* 'Rubus chamaemorus'; Sammallahti 1988:538 **murå* 'berry (Rubus)'.

Bomhard—Kerns 1994:655, no. 532; Hakola 2000:111, no. 475.

908. Proto-Nostratic root **mur-* (~ **mor-*):
(vb.) **mur-* 'to make noise, to make sound, to murmur';
(n.) **mur-a* 'noise, sound, murmur'
Reduplicated:
(vb.) **mur-mur-* 'to make noise, to make sound, to murmur';

(n.) **mur-mur-a* ‘noise, sound, murmur’

A. Proto-Afrasian **mur-* ‘to make a noise, to murmur’: Semitic: Arabic *marmara* ‘to be or become embittered, to become angry’, *tamarmara* ‘to murmur, to mumble, to grumble’; New Hebrew *mirmēr* [מִרְמֵר] ‘to complain, to grouse, to grumble, to become embittered (aggrieved), to be enraged (infuriated) with, to be embittered against’. Klein 1987:385. East Cushitic: Burji *murmúr-i* ‘wizard, sorcerer (who tells fortunes by inspecting coffee beans)’, *morom-* ‘to argue’; Gedeo / Darasa *morom-* ‘to argue’; Sidamo *moroom-*, *morom-* ‘to argue’; Galla / Oromo *morom-* ‘to murmur, to disagree, to curse’; Somali *murm-* ‘to contradict, to disagree’; Gollango *maram-* ‘to deny’. Sasse 1982:149; Hudson 1989:21.

B. Dravidian: Tamil *mural* (*muralv-*, *mura<u>nr</u>-*) ‘to make sound, to cry, to sing’, *mura<u>rr</u>u* (*mura<u>rr</u>i-*) ‘to make sound, to cry’, *muralal* ‘sounding, confused noise, high pitch’, *muralvu* ‘soft sound (as of a lute)’, *muravam* ‘noise, reverberation, drum’, *mura<u>r</u>kai*, *mura<u>r</u>ci* ‘sound, song’, *muraḷi* ‘flute, nose-flute’, *muracam*, *muracu* ‘drum, tambour, war drum’, *muravu*, *muruṭu* ‘drum’; Malayalam *muraluka*, *muruluka* ‘to hum, to grunt, to growl’, *muraḷi* ‘flute’, *muracu*, *murajam* ‘a small drum’, *morampuka* ‘to bark (dogs), to hawk (men)’; Kannaḍa *moraḷ* ‘to hum, to grunt, to growl, to buzz, to howl’, *more* ‘(vb.) to hum, to buzz, to sound, to murmur, to creak, to gurgle, to whiz, to be noisy; to cause to sound; (n.) humming, buzzing, sounding, etc.’, *moraha*, *morahu*, *morehu* ‘humming, etc.’, *mure* ‘to hum, to buzz, to sound or play a lute, to sound as a lute does’; Telugu *morayu* ‘to sound, to resound’, *morayika*, *morapamu* ‘sound, noise’; Koḍagu *moraḍ-* (*moraḍuv-*, *moraṭ-*) ‘to weep’, *more* ‘lamentation’; Tuḷu *muresuni*, *moresuni* ‘to rumble, to rattle (as thunder)’, *murepini*, *murevuni*, *mureluni* ‘to creak (shoes)’, *muriya* ‘cry, weeping, loud noise’, *muriyeḍpini* ‘to grumble, to murmur’, *muriyeḍuni*, *mureḍuni*, *muriyoḍuni*, *moreḍuni* ‘to weep, to lament, to wail’, *muriyāṭu* ‘lamentation, wailing’, *morè* ‘cry’, *muriyō* ‘alas!, weeping loudly; cry of lamentation, distress, etc.’; Telugu *morayu* ‘to sound’, *mrȭgu*, *mrōyu*, *mrōvu* ‘to sound’, *mrȭguḍu*, *mrȭta* ‘sound’, *morayika*, *morapamu* ‘sound, noise’; Kolami *moray-* (*morayt-*) ‘to produce musical sound (bell, etc.), to make to produce musical sound’, *morp-* (*moropt-*) ‘to play (flute), to ring (bell), to make to produce musical sound’; Naikṛi *moray-* ‘to sound (intr.)’, *morap-* ‘to sound (tr.)’; Parji *mur-* ‘to growl (tiger), to hoot (owl)’, *murip-* (*murit-*) ‘to snore’; Gondi *mōrītānā* ‘to gurgle in the throat while sleeping’, *muri-*, *murītānā*, *muḍiyānā*, *mōr-* ‘to snore’; Kui *muru inba* ‘to mutter, to grumble, to growl’; Kuwi *mūrūkīali* ‘to growl’, *muru muru ā-* ‘to grumble, to complain’; Kuṛux *murrnā* ‘to thunder, especially with repeated peals; to utter threats, to threaten’; Malto *mure* ‘to speak, to say yes or no’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:446, no. 4973. Tamil *mu<u>r</u>aiyiṭu* ‘to complain, to express grievance’, *mu<u>r</u>aiyīṭu* ‘complaint’, *mu<u>r</u>umu<u>r</u>u*, *mo<u>r</u>umo<u>r</u>u*, *morumoru* ‘to murmur, to

grumble'; Malayalam *muṟumuṟukka* 'to murmur', *muṟa* 'lamentation, wailing', *muṟa iṭuka* 'to complain, to find fault'; Kota *murg-* (*murgy-*) 'to growl', *morv-* (*mord-*) 'to mumble'; Toda *muṟx-* (*muṟxy-*) 'to growl', *muṟy* 'complaint', *muṟk-* (*muṟky-*) 'to complain'; Kannaḍa *moṟe* 'to roar, to cry aloud, to clamor, to howl, to yell', *moṟe*, *moṟata* 'roaring, wailing', *moṟeyuvike* 'crying aloud, etc.', *moṟey-iḍu* 'to wail, to lament, to complain'; Koṇḍa *muṟli-* 'to bark'; Telugu *moṟagu*, *moṟavu* 'to bark as a dog, to bawl', *muṟamuṟamanu*, *muṟamuṟalāḍu* 'to be angry, to fret, to frown', *moṟa*, *moṟṟa* 'cry, scream, shriek, howl, wailing, clamor', *moṟaliḍu* 'to cry out'; Manḍa *murg-* 'to bark'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:451—452, no. 5013. Proto-Dravidian (**mury-* >) **muṟ-* 'to sound, to make a sound, to make (a loud) noise': Tamil *muṟaṅku* (*muṟaṅki-*) 'to roar, to thunder, to make a loud noise, to be noised abroad, to make public', *muṟakku* (*muṟakki-*) '(vb.) to sound, to beat a sounding instrument; (n.) sound, noise', *muṟakkam* 'loud noise (as of thunder or drums), clamor, roar', *moṟi* '(vb.) to say, to speak; (n.) word, saying, language', *muṟavu*, *muṟā* 'drum, large loud-sounding drum'; Malayalam *muṟaṅṅuka* 'to roar, to reverberate', *muṟakkuka* 'to beat or play an instrument, to make to resound', *muṟakkam* 'a reverberating, rumbling, roaring sound', *moṟi* 'word', *moṟiyuka* 'to speak'; Kota *moṟv* 'a child's continuous crying'; Kannaḍa *moṟagu* '(vb.) to sound (as certain musical instruments), to roar, to thunder, to play certain instruments; (n.) sound of certain musical instruments, roaring, thunder'; Telugu *mrȭgu*, *mrōyu*, *mrōvu* 'to sound'; Naikṛi *muṛ-* (*muṭṭ-*) 'to speak'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:448, no. 4989.

C. Proto-Indo-European **mur-*, **mor-*; (reduplicated) **mur-mur-*, **mor-mor-* 'to murmur, to rustle, to grumble': Sanskrit *múrmura-ḥ* 'crackling fire', *Murmurā* the name of a river, *marmara-ḥ* '(adj.) rustling, murmuring; (n.) murmur'; Armenian *mṙmṙam*, *mṙmṙim* (< **muṙmuṙ-*) 'to murmur'; Greek μορμύρω, μυρμύρω 'to roar, to boil (of water)', μύρομαι 'to shed tears, to weep'; Albanian *murmuroj* 'to murmur, to mumble'; Latin *murmurō* 'to murmur, to make a noise, to roar', *murmur* 'a murmuring, humming, roaring, rumbling, crashing'; Old Icelandic *murra* 'to murmur'; Old High German *murmurōn* 'to murmur'; Lithuanian *murmĕ́ti*, *marmĕ́ti* 'to mutter, to rumble; to murmur, to grumble'; Czech *mrmlat* 'to mutter, to mumble'. Pokorny 1959:748—749 **mormor-*, **murmur-* 'to murmur'; Walde 1927—1932.II:307—308 **mormor-*, **murmur-*; Mann 1984—1987:798 **mormolos* (**mormoros*) 'murmur; humming creature, murmur', 818 **mur-* 'to murmur, to grunt', 819 **murm-*, 819—820 **murmulō*, **murmurō*, *-i̯ō* 'to murmur, to mutter, to grumble, to growl', 820 **murmuti̯ō*, 820 **murn-*; Mallory—Adams 1997:388 (?) **murmur-* 'to murmur'; Watkins 1985:43 **mormor-* (also **murmur-*) 'to murmur'; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.II:596 and II:657; Beekes 2010.II:967 and II:982; Boisacq 1950:644; Hofmann 1966:205 **murmur-*, **mormor-*; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:712; Frisk 1970—1973.II:254—255; Orël 2003:277 Proto-

Germanic **murrōjanan*; De Vries 1977:396; Ernout—Meillet 1979:423; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.II:130—131 **murmur-* (**mormor-*); De Vaan 2008:395—396; Derksen 2008:335 and 2015:325—326 **mur-mur-*; Fraenkel 1962—1965.I:473; Smoczyński 2007.1:412. Note: According to Orël (1998:278), Albanian *murmuroj* 'to murmur, to mumble' is borrowed from Latin.

D. Uralic: Proto-Finno-Ugrian **mura-* '(vb.) to cry, to shout, to sing; (n.) crying, shouting, singing' > Mordvin *mora-* 'to sing, to play an instrument', *moro* 'a song'; Cheremis / Mari *muro* 'a song', *mure-* 'to sing'; Ostyak / Xanty *mora-* 'to shout (at the arrival in the village of rowers, bringing an official)', *morəgt-* 'to make a big noise (of people)'. Collinder 1955:99 and 1977:115; Rédei 1986—1988:287—288 **mura*.

Sumerian *mur* 'scream, cry; shouting, yelling; voice'.

Bomhard—Kerns 1994:668—670, no. 547; Caldwell 1913:603 and 622; Hakola 2000:109, no. 467; Assadian—Hakola 2003:88, no. 285; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 1467, **muГra* 'to emit vocal sounds (to shout, to sing)'.

909. Proto-Nostratic root **mus^{y}-* (~ **mos^{y}-*):
(vb.) **mus^{y}-* 'to immerse, dip, or plunge in water, to bathe';
(n.) **mus^{y}-a* 'immersion, dip, plunge, bath'
Extended form (Indo-European and Uralic):
(vb.) **mus^{y}-V-k'-* 'to immerse, dip, or plunge in water, to bathe';
(n.) **mus^{y}-k'-a* 'immersion, dip, plunge, bath'

A. Proto-Dravidian **muy-*/**muc-* > **mi(y)-*/**muc-* 'to wash, to bathe': Toda *mi·y-* (*mi·d-*) 'to bathe'; Kannaḍa *mī*, *mīyu* (*mind-*, *mīd-*) 'to take a bath, to bathe; to cause to bathe, to wash, to pour over (the body)'; Tuḷu *mīpini* 'to take a bath, to wash oneself'; Parji *mī-* (*mīñ-*) 'to bathe'; Gadba (Ollari) *(nīr) muy-*, (Salur) *mī-*, *miy-* 'to bathe'; Manḍa *mī-* 'to bathe'; Kui *mīva* (*mīt-*) 'to lave, to bathe or anoint oneself, to be anointed or spattered', *musa* (*musi-*) 'to wash the head'; Kuṛux *mūjnā* 'to wash the face of'; Malto *múnje* 'to wash one's face', *múnjre* 'to wash one's face'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:435, no. 4878.

B. Proto-Indo-European **mosk'-* (secondary *e*-grade form: **mesk'-*) 'to immerse in water, to dip or plunge in water': Sanskrit *májjati* 'to sink, to dive, to plunge, to perish'; Latin *mergō* 'to dip, to plunge into liquid, to immerse'; Lithuanian (denominative) *mazgóju*, *mazgóti* 'to wash, to wash up, to scrub'; Latvian *mazgãju*, *mazgât* 'to wash'. Rix 1998a:398 **mesg-* 'to dip, to plunge into liquid, to immerse, to sink'; Pokorny 1959:745—746 **mezg-* 'to dip, to plunge'; Walde 1927—1932.II:300—301 **mezg-*; Mann 1984—1987:761 **mesgō* (**mezg-*) 'to immerse, to soak, to steep; to plunge', 800 **mosgos* (**mosg-*) 'steeping, infusion, mash'; Mallory—

Adams 1997:160 **mesg-* ‘to dip under water, to dive’; Watkins 1985:42 **mezg-* and 2000:56 **mezg-* ‘to dip, to plunge’; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.II:549; De Vaan 2008:375; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.II:76—77 Latin *mergō* < **mezgō*; Ernout—Meillet 1979:399 **mezg-*; Smoczyński 2007.1:384; Fraenkel 1962—1965.I:421.

C. Proto-Uralic **musʸke-* (**mosʸke-*) ‘to wash’: Estonian *mõske-* ‘to wash’; Mordvin *muśke-* ‘to wash’; Cheremis / Mari *muška-* ‘to wash’; Votyak / Udmurt *myśky-* ‘to wash’; Hungarian *mos-* ‘to wash’; Yurak Samoyed / Nenets *maasa-* ‘to wash’; Yenisei Samoyed / Enets *masua-* ‘to wash’; Selkup Samoyed *musa-* ‘to wash’. Collinder 1955:35, 1965:31, and 1977:54; Joki 1973:286—287; Rédei 1986—1988:289 **muśke-* (**mośke-*); Décsy 1990:103 **mosjka* ‘to wash’; Sammallahti 1988:538 **mośki-* ‘to wash’; Janhunen 1977b:89 **måsî-*.

Buck 1949:9.36 wash. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:666—667, no. 544; Illič-Svityč 1965:349 **m/o/ç(k)ʌ* [‘мыть’] and 1971—1984.II:71—72, no. 304, **muçʌ-* ‘to wash’; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 1361, **muċV(-kV)* ‘to immerse, to wash’; Pudas-Marlow 1974:65, no. 177; Hakola 2000:107, no. 455.

910. Proto-Nostratic root **muy-* (~ **moy-*):
(vb.) **muy-* ‘to return, to give back’;
(n.) **muy-a* ‘that which is returned or given back: return, recompense, requital, repayment, etc.’

A. Dravidian: Tamil *moy* ‘presents given on special occasions as at a wedding’; Kota *moy* ‘contribution paid at a feast (for example, at the opening of a new house, at the joint piercing of ears of all children in a village); the total of such contributions’; Kannaḍa *muy(i)*, *muyu* ‘requital, act of returning like for like, return of good for good, an equivalent returned for anything given, done, or suffered, recompense, return of evil for evil, retaliation, punishment; present given to bride and bridegroom at their marriage by their relations, etc., with the prospect of recompense being made on such an occasion in their own house’; Tuḷu *muyi* ‘gift of money at a wedding’, *muyya* ‘returning’, *muyya-pāḍuni* ‘to return, to give back’, *mujare* ‘allowance, subtraction, payment to be reduced due to adjustment of accounts’; Malto *múje* ‘to liquidate a debt’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:463, no. 5121.

B. Proto-Indo-European **moy-*/**mi-* (secondary *e*-grade form: **mey-*) ‘to exchange, to change’: Sanskrit *mayate* (Vedic *minắti*) ‘to exchange, to barter; to deceive’; Latin *mūnus* (< **moy-no-*) ‘office, function, employment, duty’; Old Irish *moín*, *maín*, *máen* ‘treasure, gift’; Welsh *mwyn* ‘worth, value’; Old Icelandic *mein* ‘hurt, harm, injury; disease, sore’, *meina* ‘to harm, to do harm; to hinder, to prevent; to forbid, to prohibit’, *meinn* ‘painful, causing pain’; Old English *mān* ‘wickedness, crime’, *mǣne*

‘false (oath), wicked’; Old Frisian *men-* ‘false’, *meneth* ‘perjury’; Middle Dutch *mein(e)*, *meen* ‘false’; Old High German *mein* ‘false, deceitful’ (New High German *Mein-* in *Meineid* ‘perjury’); Old Church Slavic *měna* ‘exchange’; Russian *ména* [мена] ‘exchange, barter’, (dial.) *menít'* [менить] ‘to change, to exchange’; Lithuanian *maĩnas* ‘exchange’, *mainaũ*, *mainýti* ‘to exchange’; Latvian *miju*, *mît* ‘to exchange’, *maĩna* ‘exchange’; Tocharian A *māsk-*, B *mäsk-* (< **mi-sk^{h}e/o-*) ‘to exchange’, B *misko* ‘trading, exchanging’. Rix 1998a:383 **meḭ-* ‘to exchange, to barter; to deceive’; Pokorny 1959:710 **mei-* ‘to change, to exchange’; Walde 1927—1932.II:240—241 **mei-*; Mann 1984—1987:747 **meḭō̆* (**meiḭō̆*, **mīḭō̆*) ‘to pass, to change’, 767 **mīḭō̆*, **miḭ-* ‘to move, to pass’, and 788 **moin-* (**moinos*; **moineḭō̆*) ‘mutual, reciprocal, common, general; exchange, reward, return, change’; Watkins 1985:40 **mei-* and 2000:52 **mei-* ‘to change, to go, to move’; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.II:754 **meḭ-*, **meḭ(-n)-*, II:885 **meḭ-* and 1995.I:657 **mei-* ‘to exchange, to trade’, **mei(-n)-* ‘change, exchange’, I:781 **mei-* ‘to exchange, to trade’; Mallory—Adams 1997:184 **mei-* ‘to exchange’ and 2006:81 **mei-* ‘to exchange’, 272, 273, 285; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.II:635—636 **mei-*; De Vaan 2008:395; Ernout—Meillet 1979:422 **mei-* ‘to change, to exchange’; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.II:128; Orël 2003:255 Proto-Germanic **mainaz*; De Vries 1977:382; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:472 **mei-*; Kluge—Seebold 1989:471 **mei-*; Boutkan—Siebinga 2005:255—256 **(h$_2$)moi-*; Derksen 2008:311 **moi-n-*; Van Windekens 1976—1982.I:284; Adams 1999:459 **mei-* ‘to (ex)change’; Smoczyński 2007.1:367—368; Fraenkel 1962—1965.I:395—397. Proto-Indo-European **mey-t^{h}-*/**moy-t^{h}-*/**mi-t^{h}-* ‘to exchange, to change’: Latin *mūtō* ‘to move, to shift (tr.); to change, to alter (intr.)’; Gothic *maidjan* ‘to change, to falsify’, *maiþms* ‘gift’; Old Icelandic *meiðmar* (pl.) ‘valuables, treasures’; Old English *mīþan* ‘to hide, to conceal; to avoid, to shun, to refrain from’, *māþm* ‘anything precious; treasure, gift’; Old Saxon *mīthan* ‘to shun, to avoid’, *mēthom* ‘anything precious; treasure, gift’; Dutch *mijden* ‘to avoid’; Old High German *mīdan* ‘to shun, to avoid, to refrain from’ (New High German *meiden*); Old Church Slavic *mitě* ‘alternately’; Latvian *miêtus* ‘exchange’; Sanskrit *méthati* ‘to unite, to pair, to couple, to meet (as friend or antagonist), to alternate, to engage in altercation’. Rix 1998a:386—387 **meḭth$_2$-* ‘to change, to exchange, to remove’; Pokorny 1959:710 **mei-* ‘to change, to exchange’; Walde 1927—1932.II:240—241 **mei-*; Mann 1984—1987:746 **meit-* ‘to turn, to change’, 788 **moit-* ‘to turn, to change’, 788—789 **moitm-* ‘change, turn, return, requital’, 789 **moitō̆*, *-ḭō̆* (**moith-*) ‘to turn, to shift, to change, to alternate’; Watkins 1985:40 **mei-* and 2000:52 **mei-* ‘to change, to go, to move’; Mallory—Adams 1997:184—185 **meit-* ‘to exchange’ and 2006:272 **meit-*, 273 **meit-* ‘to exchange’, 285 **meit-*; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.II:682—683; Ernout—Meillet 1979:426 **mei-*; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.II:137—138 **mei-t-*; De Vaan 2008:398—

399; Orël 2003:254 Proto-Germanic **maiđjanan*, 256 **maiþmaz*; Feist 1939:340 and 342; Lehmann 1986:241 **mey-* and 242 **mey-t(h)-* ‘to exchange’; De Vries 1977:381 **moit-*; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:471 **meit(h)-*; Kluge—Seebold 1989:471; Derksen 2008:318 **meith$_2$-*.

Buck 1949:12,93 change (vb.). Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 1511, **moyV-* ‘to give, to give back, to restore’. Note: The Chadic material cited by Dolgopolsky does not belong here. Rather, it should be included under no. 1513, *mVyV-* ‘to come’ or ‘to go, to pass’ (cf. Orël—Stolbova 1995:380, no. 1752, **may-* ‘to go, to come’).

22.44. PROTO-NOSTRATIC *n

				Eurasiatic			
Proto-Nostratic	Proto-Afrasian	Proto-Dravid.	Proto-Kartvel.	Proto-IE	Proto-Uralic	Proto-Altaic	Proto-Eskimo
n-	n-	n-	n-	n-	n-	n-	n-
-n-	-n-	-n-/-n̲-	-n-	-n-	-n-	-n-	-n-

911. Proto-Nostratic first person singular personal pronoun **na* (~ **nə*) ‘I, me’:

Note: On the basis of Dravidian (and possibly Altaic), the original form of this stem may have been **ŋa* (~ **ŋə*), but this is not certain. Sumerian [Emegir] *g̃á.e* [= /ŋa-/] ‘I’ supports such a reconstruction as well.

A. Proto-Afrasian **nV* first person singular personal pronoun: ‘I, me’: Semitic: first person verb suffix: Akkadian *-ni*; Ugaritic *-n*; Hebrew *-nī* [ִנִי]; Syriac *-n*; Arabic *-nī*; Geez *-ni* [**-ኒ**]; etc. (cf. Moscati 1964:106, §13.14). Chadic independent pronoun: Hausa *ni* ‘I, me’; Ngizim *na(a)* ‘I’; Mubi *ni* ‘I’. Ongota *naa-ku*/*na* ‘for me, to me’, *s-ine* ‘my’ (cf. Fleming 2002b:50). Ehret (1995:362 and 363) reconstructs the following first person pronouns for Proto-Afrasian: **ʔan-*/**ʔin-* or **an-*/**in-* ‘I’, **ʔann-*/**ʔinn-* or **ann-*/**inn-* ‘we’ (= **ʔan-*/**ʔin-* or **an-*/**in-* + old Afrasian pl. in **-n*). The following first person singular independent personal pronouns are found in the Afrasian daughter languages: Semitic: Arabic *ʔanā* ‘I’; Sabaean *ʔn* ‘I’; Hebrew *ʔănī* [אֲנִי], *ʔānōχī* [אָנֹכִי] ‘I’; Syriac *ʔenā* ‘I’; Eblaite *ʔanna* ‘I’; Old Babylonian *anāku* ‘I’; Ugaritic *ản*, *ảnk* ‘I’; Geez / Ethiopic *ʔana* [**አነ**] ‘I’; Tigrinya *ʔanä* ‘I’; Tigre *ʔana* ‘I’; Amharic *əne* ‘I’. Moscati 1964:102, §13.1; Lipiński 1997:298—299; Stempel 1999:82; Zammit 2002:80. Egyptian *ỉnk* ‘I’; Coptic *anok* [**ⲁⲛⲟⲕ**] ‘I’. Erman—Grapow 1921:15 and 1926—1963.1:101; Hannig 1995:79—80; Faulkner 1962:24; Gardiner 1957:53, §64, and 554; Černý 1976:9; Vycichl 1983:12. Berber: Tuareg *nək* ‘I, me’; Ghadames *nəc*, *nəccan* ‘me’; Mzab *nəc*, *nəcci*, *nəccin* ‘me’; Kabyle *nəkk*, *nəkki*, *nəkkini* ‘me’; Tamazight *nəkk*, *nəç* ‘me’. East Cushitic: Burji *áni* ‘I’; Gedeo / Darasa *ani* ‘I’; Saho-Afar *an-u* ‘I’; Hadiyya *ani* ‘I’; Kambata *ani* ‘I’; Sidamo *ane*, *ani* ‘I’; Bayso *an-i*, *an-a*, *an-ni* ‘I’; Rendille *an(i)* ‘I’; Galla / Oromo *an(i)* ‘I’; Dullay *an-o* ‘I’. Sasse 1982:26; Hudson 1989:83. Central Cushitic: Bilin *ʔan* ‘I’; Xamir *an* ‘I’; Kemant *an* ‘I’; Awngi / Awiya *án*/*áni* ‘I’. Appleyard 2006:87. Beja / Beḍawye *ʔane* ‘I’. Reinisch 1895:20. Southern Cushitic: Alagwa *an*, *ana* ‘I’; Ma’a *áni* ‘I’; Iraqw *an*, *ani* ‘I’; Burunge *an*, *ana* ‘I’; Dahalo *ʔányi* ‘I’. Ehret 1980:283. Ongota *naa-ku*/*na* ‘for me, to me’, *s-ine* ‘my’ (cf. Fleming 2002b:50). Chadic independent pronoun: Hausa *ni* ‘I, me’; Ngizim *na(a)* ‘I’; Mubi *ni* ‘I’.

B. Proto-Dravidian first person singular stem **ñā-n-* and the first singular suffix **-n* in: first person singular **yā-n-* (obl. **yă-n-*), alternative first person singular **ñā-n-* (obl. **ñă-n-*, also **ñā-*): Tamil *yān̲*, *ñān̲* ‘I’;

Malayalam *ñān* ‘I’; Kota *a·n* ‘I’; Toda *o·n* ‘I’; Kannaḍa *ān*, *nān* ‘I’; Koḍagu *na·nï*, *na·* ‘I’; Tuḷu *yānu*, *yēnu* ‘I’; Telugu *ēnu*, *nēnu* ‘I’; Kolami *a·n* ‘I’; Naikṛi *ān* ‘I’; Parji *ān* ‘I’; Gadba *ān* ‘I’; Gondi *anā*, (emphatic) *annā*, *nannā*, *nanā*, *nana* ‘I’; Konḍa *nān(u)* ‘I’; Pengo *ān*/*āneŋ* ‘I’; Manḍa *ān* ‘I’; Kui *ānu*, *nānu* ‘I’; Kuwi *nānū* ‘I’; Kuṛux *ēn* ‘I’; Malto *én* ‘I’; Brahui *ī* ‘I’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:468, no. 5160. It also occurs as the first singular suffix in finite verbs *-*V̌n* > Old Malayalam *-ēn*, *-an*; Iruḷa *-e*/*-en*; Kota *-ē(n)*; Toda *-en*, *-in*, *-n*; Old Tamil *-ĕ̲n*, *-a̲n*; Kannaḍa *-eM*; Telugu *-nu*, *-ni*; Konḍa *-a*; Kui *-enu*; Kuwi *-ni*; Pengo *-aŋ*; Kolami *-un*, *-n*, *-an*; Naikṛi *-un*, *-n*, *-an*; Parji *-on*, *-en*, *-an*, *-in*, *-n*; Gadba *-an*, *-on*, *-en*, *-n*; Kuṛux *-n*; Malto *-in*, *-en*, *-on*. Krishnamurti 2003:244—245 and 308—312.

C. Indo-European: Tocharian B first singular (nom.) *ñäś*/*ñiś* ‘I’, Tocharian A *näṣ* (nom. m.)/*ñuk* (nom. f.). Initial *ñ-* may be derived from earlier **n̡i(ä-)* (ultimately < **n-i-* ?). Indo-Europeanists have been at a loss about how to account for the Tocharian forms (cf. Adams 1999:265—266), and most of the explanations offered to date have been makeshift at best. Assuming that Tocharian has preserved an original **n(-i)-*, which has been lost elsewhere within Indo-European, may be a simpler explanation. This is quite speculative, however.

D. Altaic: In Mongolian, besides **min-*, there is an alternative stem **na-ma-*, which serves as a base for the oblique cases of the first person personal pronoun: Middle Mongolian *namay*, *nadur* ~ *nada*; Dagur *namda*, *nada*; Monguor *ndā*; Moghol *nanda*; Ordos *namādu*, *nada*; Khalkha *nad-*, *namay(g)*; Buriat *namda*, *namā(yi)*; Kalmyk *nan-*, *namā̃(g)*. Poppe 1955:209—212. Poppe notes that the origin of this stem is not clear, but he mentions the fact that **na-* is identical with Korean *na* ‘I’. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:1024 reconstruct Proto-Altaic **ŋa* first person pronoun. They note: “The root serves as oblique stem in Mong[olian], which may have been its original function…”

E Gilyak / Nivkh: Independent first person singular personal pronoun (Amur) *ńi* ‘I’. Note also first person plural (Amur) *ńyŋ* ‘we’ (exclusive). Gruzdeva 1998:25.

Sumerian: In Emegir, the first singular (subject) is *g̃á.e* (= /ŋa-/) ‘I’. This may belong here if we assume that the original form contained an initial velar nasal, which was retained in Sumerian, having been replaced by a dental nasal in Nostratic (except perhaps in Dravidian and Altaic).

Greenberg 2000:70.

912. Proto-Nostratic first person plural exclusive personal pronoun **na* (~ **nə*) ‘we, us’:

A. Proto-Afrasian **na-* ~ **ni-* ~ **nu-* first person plural personal pronoun stem: ‘we’: Proto-Semitic independent 1st pl. personal pronoun **naḥnŭ*

'we' > Hebrew *(ʾă)naḥnū* [נַחְנוּ(אֲ)] 'we'; Aramaic *ʾănaḥnā(n)* 'we'; Old Babylonian *nīnu* 'we'; Arabic *naḥnu* 'we'; Mehri *neḥā n-* 'we'; Śḥeri / Jibbāli *nḥán* 'we'; Ḥarsūsi *neḥā* 'we'; Geez / Ethiopic *nəḥna* [ንሕነ] 'we'; Tigrinya *nəḥna* 'we'. Moscati 1964:105, §13.10; Lipiński 1997:298—306. Old Egyptian *n* 'we' (also *ỉnn*); Coptic *anon* [ⲁⲛⲟⲛ], *an-* [ⲁⲛ-], *ann-* [ⲁⲛⲛ-] 'we'. Hannig 1995:77 and 387; Erman—Grapow 1921:14, 76 and 1926—1963.1:97, 2:194—195; Gardiner 1957:53, 554, and 572; Faulkner 1962:23 and 124; Vycichl 1983:13; Černý 1976:9. Berber: Tamazight (independent) *nukni* 'we', (indirect, after prepositions) *nəx*; Tuareg (independent) *n-əkkă-ni*. Common East Cushitic **na*/**ni*/**nu* 'we' > Burji *náanu* 'we', *nín-ka* 'our', *nín-si* 'us'; Gedeo / Darasa (nom. pl.) *noʾo* 'we', (acc. pl.) *noʾo(o)* 'us', (dat. pl.) *noʾoʾá*, *noʾá* 'to us', (poss.) (m.) *noʾo-ka*, (f.) *noʾo-ttʾa* 'our'; Sidamo (nom.-acc. pl.) *ninke* 'we', (dat. pl.) *ninke-ra* 'to us', (poss.) *-nke* 'our'; Kambata (nom. pl.) *naʾooti* 'we', (acc. pl.) *ne(e)s*, *-nne* 'us', (dat. pl.) *nesá* 'to us', (poss.) *-nne* 'our'; Hadiyya (nom. pl.) *neese* 'we', (acc. pl.) *ne(e)s* 'us', (dat. pl.) *niin* 'to us', (poss.) *ni-* 'our'; Saho *nanu* 'we'; Galla / Oromo (Wellegga) first plural present suffixes (affirmative) *-na*, (negative) *-nu*, independent (subject) *nuy*, (base) *nu*. Sasse (1982:151) reconstructs Common East Cushitic **na*/**ni*/**nu* 'we', which "is sometimes provided with a suffix *-ni*/*-nu* in the subject case"; Hudson 1989:161 and 165. Proto-Southern Cushitic **nana*, **nani* 'we' > Ma'a *níne* 'we'; Dahalo *nányi*/*nyányi* 'we'. Ehret 1980:184. Central Cushitic: Bilin *yin* 'we' (oblique *yinǎ*). Reinisch 1887:365—366. Omotic: Dizi first plural suffixes (with auxiliary) *-n*, (without auxiliary) *-ńno*, (subject) *inu*, (object) *in*, (possessive affix) *ń-*. Bender (2000:196) reconstructs a Proto-Omotic first person plural independent personal pronoun **nu* 'we' > Zayse (inclusive/exclusive) *nu*/*ni* 'we'; Harro *na* 'we'; Chara *noone* 'we'; Bench / Gimira (inclusive/exclusive) *nu*/*ni* 'we'; Bworo *nu*, *ni* 'we'. Proto-Semitic **-nă̆* 1st pl. personal pronoun suffix, **na-*/**ni-* 1st pl. personal pronoun prefix > Hebrew *-nū* [־נוּ], *ni-* [נִ־]; Aramaic *-n(ā)*, *ne-*; Ugaritic *-n*, *n-*; Akkadian *-āni*, *-ānu*; *ni-*; Arabic *-nā*, *na-*; Geez / Ethiopic *-na* [-ነ], *nə-* [ን-]; Tigre *-na*. Moscati 1964:106, §13.14; Stempel 1999:80. The following first person plural suffixed personal pronouns are found in other Afrasian daughter languages: Egyptian *-n* suffix-pronoun (and dependent pronoun): 'we, us, our'; Coptic *-n* [-ⲛ] suffix of 1st person plural. Hannig 1995:387; Faulkner 1962:124; Erman—Grapow 1921:76 and 1926—1963.2:194; Gardiner 1957:39, §34; 45, §43; and 572; Černý 1976:103. Berber: Tuareg *-na*, *-nə*. Cushitic: Beja / Beḍawye *-n*. For Southern Cushitic, Ehret (1980:65) lists the following first person plural conjugational affixes: Burunge *-an*; Iraqw *-an*; Dahalo *-Vnu*.

B. Proto-Dravidian first person plural (inclusive) **ñā-m-* (obl. **ñă-m(m)-*) 'we': Tamil *nām* (obl. *nam(m)-*) 'we'; Malayalam *nām* (obl. *nam(m)-*) 'we'; Kannaḍa *nāvu* (obl. *nam-*) 'we'; Tuḷu *nama* 'we'; Kolami *ne·ṇḍ* 'we'; Naikṛi *nēnḍ*, *nēm* 'we'; Kuṛux *nām* 'we'; Malto *nám* 'we'; Brahui

nan ‘we’. Krishnamurti 2003:247—248 **ñām-/*ñam-* ‘we (inclusive)’; Burrow—Emeneau 1984:322, no. 3647.

C. Kartvelian: Svan *näj* ‘we’ (Tuite 1997:18 writes *næj*).

D. Proto-Indo-European (personal pronoun of the first person dual and plural) **ne-/*no-/*n̥-s-* ‘we, us’: Sanskrit (acc.-dat.-gen. dual) *nau* ‘us’, (acc.-dat.-gen. pl.) *nas*; Latin *nōs* ‘we’; Greek (nom. dual) νώ ‘we two’; Gothic (acc.-dat. pl.) *uns*, *unsis* ‘us’, (gen. pl.) *unsara*; Old Icelandic (dat.-acc.) *oss* ‘us’; Swedish *oss* ‘us’; Old English (dat.) *ūs* ‘us’; Old Frisian (dat.) *ūs* ‘us’; Old Saxon (dat.) *ūs* ‘us’; Dutch *ons* ‘us’; Old High German (dat.) *uns* ‘us’ (New High German *uns*); Old Church Slavic (acc. pl.) *nasъ*, *ny*, (acc. dual) *na*, (dat. pl.) *namъ*, *ny*, (gen.-loc. pl.) *nasъ*, (instr. pl.) *nami*; Hittite (nom. and acc.-dat. pl.) *an-za-a-aš* ‘we, us’. Pokorny 1959:758 **ne-*, **nō-*; **nĕs-*, **nŏs-* ‘we, us’; Walde 1927—1932.II:320—321 **ne-*, **nō-*; **nĕs-*, **nŏs-*; Mann 1984—1987:853 **nŏs-* ‘we, us’, 858—859 **n̥s*; Watkins 1985:44 **nes-* (zero-grade form **n̥s-*) and 2000:58 **nes-* oblique cases of the personal pronoun of the first person plural; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.I:218 **ne-/*n̥-* and 1995.I:222 **ne* ‘we’ (exclusive); Mallory—Adams 1997:454 (dual) **nóh₁*, **n̥h₁u̯é* and 454—455 (pl.) **n̥smé* ‘us’, (enclitic) **nos*; Brugmann 1904:407—413 (dual) **ne-*, **n̥-*; (pl.) **nes-*, **n̥s-*, **n̥sme-*; Szemerényi 1996:211—220 (nom. pl.) **n̥smés*; (acc. pl.) **nes/*nos*, **nēs/*nēs*, **n̥sme*; (gen. pl.) **nosom/*nōsom*; (abl. pl.) **n̥sed*, **n̥smed*; (dat. pl.) **n̥smei*; Cowgill 1965:169—170 (dual) **noH*, **n̥H-wé*; (pl.) **nos*, **n̥s-mé*; Burrow 1973:263—269; Fortson 2004:127 **n̥s-me-*, **n̥s-*, **nes-*; Beekes 1995:207—209 ***n̥smé*, **n̥s*, **nōs* and 2010.II:1029 **neh₃*; Sihler 1995:372—373 (acc. pl.) (tonic) **n̥smé*, (enclitic) **nŏs*; (gen. pl.) (tonic) **n̥sóm*, (enclitic) **nŏs*; (dat. pl.) (tonic) **n̥sm-éy*, (enclitic) **nŏs*; (abl. pl.) **n̥sm-ét*; Meillet 1964:335—336 **nŏ(s)-*, **n̥(s)-*; **n̥sme*; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.II:148 **nŏs*, **n̥s-* and II:181; Boisacq 1950:675 **nō*; Frisk 1970—1973.II:330 **nō*; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:761; Hofmann 1966:220 **nō*; Ernout—Meillet 1979:444—445; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.II:175—176 **nŏs*; De Vaan 2008:413 **nōs*; Orël 2003:435 Proto-Germanic **unseraz*; Kroonen 2013:xx Proto-Germanic **uns* ‘us’; Lehmann 1986:378 **ne-*, **n̥-*; **n̥s-me-*; Feist 1939:523 **ne-*, **n̥-*; **n̥s-me-*; **ne-/*no-*; De Vries 1977:421; Falk—Torp 1903—1906.II:39—40 Germanic **uns* (< **n̥s*); Klein 1971:798 **n̥s-*, for **nēs*, **nōs* ‘we’; Onions 1966:965 **n̥s*, reduced-grade of **nes*; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:805 **n̥s*; Kluge—Seebold 1989:751; Sturtevant 1951:104, §170g; Kloekhorst 2008b:115—116 and 1004; Derksen 2008:346 **nōs*.

Bomhard—Kerns 1994:683—684, no. 564; Möller 1911:169; Brunner 1969:106, no. 585; Dolgopolsky 1984:90—91 **nV* ‘we’ (exclusive) and 2008, no. 1526, **n̄V* ‘we’ (exclusive).

913. Proto-Nostratic deictic particle **na* (~ **nə*), **ni* (~ **ne*) ‘this, that’:

A Proto-Afrasian **na*/**-n* demonstrative stem/deictic particle: ‘this, that’: Proto-Semitic **na*/**-n* demonstrative stem/deictic particle: ‘this, that’ > Hebrew *-n* [ֵ־] deictic element; Arabic (conjunction) *ʔan*, *ʔanna* ‘that’, *-n*, *-n-* deictic element; Akkadian *annū* ‘this’; Sabaean *-n* definite article: ‘the’; Śḥeri / Jibbāli *-n*, *-n-* deictic element. Barth 1913:96—103. Egyptian (demonstrative neuter and pl.) *nꜣ* ‘this, these’, (demonstrative pronoun) *nw* ‘this, these’; Coptic *n-* [ⲛ-], *nen-* [ⲛⲉⲛ-] plural of definite article, (plural demonstrative pronouns) *nai* [ⲛⲁⲓ] ‘these’, *nē* [ⲛⲏ] ‘those’, (plural possessive prefix) *na-* [ⲛⲁ-] ‘of those’. Hannig 1995:390 and 396—397; Faulkner 1962:125 and 127; Erman—Grapow 1921:133, 133—134, 135, 137—138 and 1926—1963.2:199, 2:216; Gardiner 1957:572 and 573; Černý 1976:103, 104, and 105. Berber: Kabyle *-nni* ‘this, that; these, those’, *-inna*/*-yinna* ‘that, those’ (a person or thing at a distance but usually within sight). Independent 3rd person personal pronoun: Tuareg *ənta* (m./f. sg.) ‘him, her’; Ghadames (m. sg.) *niṭṭu* ‘him’, (f. sg.) *nittat* ‘her’; Tamazight (m. sg.) *nətta*, *nəttan* ‘him’, (f. sg.) *nəttat* ‘her’, (m. pl.) *nitni* ‘them’, (f. pl.) *nitənti* ‘them’. Note also: Proto-Agaw 3rd singular pronoun base **ŋV-* ‘he’ > Bilin *nī* ‘he’; Xamir *ŋäŋ* ‘he’; Quara *nī* ‘he’; Kemant *ni* ‘he’; Awngi / Awiya *ŋi* ‘he’. Appleyard 2006:80—81; Reinisch 1887:279.

B. Proto-Kartvelian 3rd person suffix (subjective conjugation) **-n*: Old Georgian *-n*; Mingrelian *-n*; Laz *-n*. Klimov 1964:144—145 **-n*; Fähnrich 2007:310—311 **-n*; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:258 **-n*.

C. Proto-Indo-European **ne-*, **no-*; **ʔe-no-*, **ʔo-no-* demonstrative stem: ‘this, that’: Sanskrit *ana-* (instr. *anéna*, *anáyā*) ‘this, these’, *ná* ‘like, as’; Avestan *ana-* ‘this, that, he’; Greek νή, ναί used in strong affirmation: ‘yea, verily, aye, yes’, ἔνη ‘the last day of the month’; Latin (conj.) *enim* ‘indeed, truly, certainly’, *nē*, *nae* ‘yes, verily, truly’; Lithuanian *nè*, *nègi*, *nègu* ‘than’, *néi* ‘as, than’, *añs*, *anàs* (f. *anà*) ‘that, that one’; Old Church Slavic *onъ* (*ona*, *ono*) ‘that, he’; Hittite *an-ni-iš* ‘that, yonder’; Armenian *na* ‘that; he, she, it; him, her’, *-n* definite article. Pokorny 1959:319—321 **eno-* (no doubt **e-no-*) : **ono-* : **no-* : *ne-* ‘that’; Walde 1927—1932.II: 336—339 **eno-*; Mann 1984—1987:27 **anos*, *-ā*, *-om* ‘this, that, yon’, 829 **-nĕ* reinforcing particle on some pronouns and adverbs, 843—844 **-nə* enclitic reinforcement; Brugmann 1904:401 **eno-*, **ono-*; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.I:32; Burrow 1973:277 Indo-Iranian **ana-*; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:348 and II:733; Boisacq 1950:253 and 655—656 **no-*; Hofmann 1966:82 **eno-*, **ono-* and 210 **no-*; Beekes 2010.II:993 **(h$_1$e)no-*; Frisk 1970—1973.I:515 and II:286 **(e-)no-*; Ernout—Meillet 1979:196; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:404—405 **(e-)no-*; De Vaan 2008:190; Puhvel 1984— .1/2:51—55 **ono-* ‘that, yonder’; Kloekhorst 2008b:173—174; Smoczyński 2007.1:14, 1:418, and 1:419; Derksen 2008:372 **h$_2$en-o-* and 2015:54 **h$_2$en-o-*, 331—332 **nei*. Note: This stem may also occur in the third plural verb ending **-n*. This was later extended by **-t^h* to form a new third plural ending **-nt^h*. Later still, this was further

extended by a deictic particle *-*i* to form the so-called "primary" third plural ending *-*nt^{h}i*.

D. Proto-Uralic **nä* (~ **ne* ~ ? **ni*) 'this; this one', **no* 'those': Finnish *nämä*/*nä*- (pl. of *tämä*/*tä*- 'this') 'these', *ne*/*ni*- (pl. of *se* 'this, that') 'these, those', *nuo* (pl. of *tuo* 'that, yonder') 'those', *näim* 'so, like this', *niin* 'so, thus', *noin* 'like that'; Lapp / Saami *navt*, *na* 'like this, in the same way as this', *nâbbŏ* 'so, then', *nú*, *nó* 'like that, in the same way as that, in that way', (Lule) *nuou* 'like that (yonder)'; Mordvin *ne* (pl. of *te* 'this' and *se* 'that') 'these, those'; Cheremis / Mari *nənə* 'those'; Zyrian / Komi *na*, *najõ* 'she', *naja*, *nyje* 'those'; Selkup Samoyed *na* 'that', *nassaj* 'that much', *nyy* 'hither, thither', *nil'čil'* 'such', *naččeety* 'hither'. Collinder 1955:38 and 1977:57; Rédei 1986—1988:297 **na* 'this here, that there', 300—301 **nä* (~ **ne* ~ ? **ni*) 'this', and 396—307 **no* 'those'; Décsy 1990:103 **na*/**nä* 'this', **no* 'those'; Janhunen 1977b:105 **nɜ(-)*.

E. Altaic: Proto-Tungus third person possessive suffix *-*n* (cf. Sinor 1988:725) > Evenki *-n* (*-in* after consonants); Lamut / Even *-n* (*-an* after consonants); Udihe *-ni*; etc. Cf. Fuchs—Lopatin—Menges—Sinor 1968.

F. (?) Chukchi-Kamchatkan: Proto-Chukotian **ŋan* (or **ŋæn*) 'that (over there)' > Chukchi *ŋaan-qen* 'that (visible but distant)', *ŋan* (deictic particle) 'over there', (loc.) *ŋenku*/*ɣenku* 'there', *ŋanqo(re)* 'to here, this way' (= *ŋaanqo(re)* 'from there?'), *ŋenri(lə)* 'to there (far from the speaker)'; Kerek *ŋaan-in(a)* 'that', *ŋannəku* 'there', *ŋanci* 'to there'; Koryak *ŋajen* 'that', *ŋanko* 'there, then', *ŋakəje* 'to there', *ŋanqo* 'from there, since then', *ŋano* (deictic) 'there'; Alyutor *ŋan-in* (Palana *ŋan-en*) 'that'. Fortescue 2005:193. Note: initial *ŋ*- in these and the following forms instead of the expected *n*- is problematic. Proto-Chukotian **ŋun* 'over there' > Chukchi *ŋun-qin* 'that off to the side from the speaker', *ŋoonko* 'there (far off)', *ŋoon-en-qac* 'on the far side', *ŋuunri*, *ŋoonri* 'to over there'; Koryak *ŋonək* 'over there', *ŋunin*- 'that one (away from the speaker)'; Alyutor *ŋoon* 'over there', (Palana) *ŋonk* 'there, then', *ŋoonək* 'there (far away)', *ŋoontiŋ* 'to over there', *ŋonin* 'that (far) over there'. Fortescue 2005:199; Mudrak 1989b:97 **ŋu*- 'that'. Proto-Chukchi-Kamchatkan **ŋut* 'this (here)': Chukchi *ŋot-qen* 'this', *ŋoot* '(just) there', *ŋotə* 'over there (behind or to the side of the speaker)', *ŋotən-qən*, *ŋoten-qan* 'that (behind the speaker but ahead of the addressee)'; Kerek *uccin*, *uccaj*, *utt*ə*X*^{ʔ}*annu* 'this'; Koryak *wuccin* 'this', *woto(qun)* 'here you are', *woto*, *wotənno* 'this' (pl. *wotəccu*); Alyutor *wuttin(a)* 'this'; Kamchadal / Itelmen *nux* 'here/there you are', *nuxqene* 'here'. Fortescue 2005:199—200; according to Fortescue, the forms with initial *u*- in Kerek and *wu*- in Koryak and Alyutor are derived from **ɣu*-. Proto-Chukchi-Kamchatkan **ŋutku* 'here' (locative case of **ŋut*): Chukchi *ŋutku* 'here', *ŋotqo(rə)* 'from here'; Kerek *uttəku* 'here'; Koryak *wutku* 'here', *wotkaŋ* 'to here', *wotqo* 'from here'; Alyutor *ɣutku* (Palana *wutəkku*) 'here'; Kamchadal / Itelmen *ŋu*^{ʔ}*n* 'here'. Fortescue 2005:200.

Sumerian *na*, *ne* ‘this’; *ane*, *ene* ‘he, she’, *-ani* (*-ni* after vowels) ‘his, her’.

Illič-Svityč 1971—1984.II:93—94, no. 332, **NA* demonstrative pronoun; Bomhard—Kerns 1994:688—689, no. 570; Hakola 2000:119—120, no. 516; Nafiqoff 2003:50—51 **NA*; Fortescue 1998:155.

914. Proto-Nostratic interrogative-relative particle **na-* (~ **nə-*):

A. Proto-Afrasian **na-* interrogative-relative particle: Semitic: Geez / Ethiopic *-nu* [-ኑ] interrogative particle; Amharic *-nə* interrogative particle; Ancient Harari *-n* in *mist-n* ‘how much?’. East Cushitic: Burji *-na* positive affirmative copula; Sidamo *-ni* interrogative copula; Gedeo / Darasa *-n* positive affirmative copula. Sasse 1982:150. Central Cushitic: Bilin *-n* interrogative particle. Reinisch 1887:279. Proto-Omotic **oon* ‘who?’ > Gemu (nom.-acc.) *oon+i/a* ‘who?’, (pl.) *oon+anta*; Kullo (acc.) *oni+n* ‘whom?’; Welaitta (subject/object) *oon+i/oon+a* ‘who?’. Note also the Mao (Hozo) interrogative stem *na* ‘when?’. Bender 2000:197 and 230. Ongota *na* ‘what?’, *neeni* ‘what?, why?’, *niike* ‘what?’. Fleming 2002b:61.

B. Proto-Indo-European interrogative particles **ʔan-*, **-ne*: Latin *an* particle indicating alternative answers, *-nĕ* interrogative enclitic particle; Gothic *an* interrogative particle indicating uncertainty of speaker. Pokorny 1959:37 **an* demonstrative particle; Walde 1927—1932.I:56 **an*; Watkins 1985:2 **an* demonstrative particle; Mann 1984—1987:21 **an* sentence particle: ‘if, whether’, 829 **-nĕ̄* reinforcing particle in some pronouns and adverbs; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:44 and II:150 **nĕ* (ablaut variant **nē*); Ernout—Meillet 1979:30—31 **an* and 433—434; Lehmann 1986:30; Feist 1939:41; Krause 1968:207; De Vaan 2008:40—41 and 403. Lindsay (1894:605) elaborates: “In class. Latin *-nĕ* is the general interrogative particle, while *nonnĕ* is limited to questions which expect an affirmative, *num* to those which expect a negative, answer.” Further on (1894: 605—606), Lindsay notes: “*-Ne* is probably I[ndo-]Eur[opean] **nĕ* (Zend *-na* appended to Interrogatives, e.g. *kas-nā* ‘who then?’; cf. O[ld] H[igh] G[erman] *na weist tu na*, ‘nescisne?’)…” Finally (1894:606), Lindsay derives Latin *an* from the pronominal stem found in Lithuanian *añs* ‘that’, Old Church Slavic *onъ* ‘that’. As noted by Lehmann (1986:30): Gothic *an* is “[n]ot related to Gk ἄν, a modal ptc; this rather from εἰ κάν ← κεν, wrongly divided as εἰκ ἄν; similarly Hom οὐκ ἄν ← *ου καν…” (cf. also Chantraine 1968—1980. I:82).

C. Proto-Altaic **ŋ[i̯V]* interrogative pronoun: ‘what?, who?’: Proto-Tungus **ŋū̄* ‘who?’ > Evenki *ŋī*, *nī* ‘who?’; Lamut / Even *ńī*, *ŋī* ‘who?’; Negidal *nī*, *ŋī* ‘who?’; Manchu *we* ‘who?’ (*webe* ‘whom?’); Ulch *ŋui*, *ui* ‘who?’; Orok *ŋui* ‘who?’; Nanay / Gold *ui* ‘who?’; Oroch *ńī* ‘who?’; Udihe *nī* ‘who?’; Solon *nīχē* ‘who?’. Proto-Turkic **nē-* ‘what; what?’ > Old Turkic (Orkhon, Old Uighur) *ne* ‘what; what?’; Karakhanide Turkic *ne* ‘what; what?’; Turkish *ne*, *neme* ‘what?; what, whatever, how’, *nere* ‘what

place?, what part?', *nekadar* 'how much?'; Gagauz *ne* 'what; what?'; Azerbaijani *nä* 'what; what?'; Turkmenian *nā*, *nāmä* 'what; what?'; Uzbek *ne* 'what; what?'; Uighur *nä* 'what; what?'; Karaim *ne* 'what; what?'; Tatar *ni*, *nɛrsɛ* 'what; what?'; Bashkir *ni*, *nämä* 'what; what?'; Kirghiz *ne*, *neme* 'what; what?'; Kazakh *ne* 'what; what?'; Noghay *ne* 'what; what?'; Oyrot (Mountain Altai) *ne*, *neme* 'what; what?'; Chuvash *məʷn* (metathesis from **ne-me*) 'what; what?'. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:1034 **ŋ[i̯V]* 'what?, who?' (interrogative pronoun). Proto-Turkic **nē-* 'what; what?' and its derivatives are likely to be archaisms since no other native forms in Turkic begin with *n-* (cf. Johanson 1998a:31). Róna-Tas (1998:74), on the other hand, remarks that "[i]t is unlikely that Old Turkic *ne* 'what' reflects a Proto-Turkic form, since it would be the only native Turkic word with initial *n*". Décsy (1998:117) lists the following Old Turkic forms beginning with *n*: *nä* 'what; what?', *näčä* 'how many?', *näčük* 'how?', *näčükläti* 'why?', *nägü* 'what sort?', *nägüdä* 'due to', *nägül* 'how?', *nägülüg* 'how?', *nälük* 'really?, or what?', *nämä* 'whatever', *nämän* 'wie?, wie!', *nän* 'not the least', *nänčä* 'according to', *näŋäyü* 'special', *nätäg* 'just as'.

D. Gilyak / Nivkh (East and North Sakhalin) *nar* 'who', (East Sakhalin) *nunt*, *nud* 'what', (Amur) *aŋ*, *aγ* 'who'. Gruzdeva 1998:28.

E. Chukchi-Kamchatkan: Proto-Chukotian **naqam* 'however' > Chukchi *naqam* 'but, however'; Kerek *jaqam* 'but, however'; Koryak *naqam* 'but, however'; Alyutor *naqam* 'right away, only'; Kamchadal / Itelmen (Sedanka) *jaq* 'however'. Fortescue 2005:186.

F. Proto-Eskimo **na-* 'where': Alutiiq Alaskan Yupik *na-* 'where'; Central Alaskan Yupik *na-* 'where'; Naukan Siberian Yupik *na-* 'where'; Central Siberian Yupik *na-* 'which'; Sirenik *na-* 'where'; Seward Peninsula Inuit *na-* 'where'; North Alaskan Inuit *na-* 'where'; Western Canadian Inuit *na-* 'where'; Eastern Canadian Inuit *na-* 'where'; Greenlandic Inuit (North / Polar Greenlandic) *na-* 'where'. Fortescue—Jacobson—Kaplan 1994:204. Proto-Eskimo **nalliʁ* 'which': Alutiiq Alaskan Yupik *naliq* 'which (of them)'; Central Alaskan Yupik *naliq* 'which (of them)'; Naukan Siberian Yupik *naliq* 'which (of them)'; Central Siberian Yupik *naliq* 'which (of them)'; Sirenik *nacaX* 'which'; Seward Peninsula Inuit *nalliq* 'which'; North Alaskan Inuit *nalli(q)* 'which'; Western Canadian Inuit *nalliat* 'which of many'; Eastern Canadian Inuit *nalli(q)* 'which'; Greenlandic Inuit (North / Polar Greenlandic) *nalliq* 'which'. Fortescue—Jacobson—Kaplan 1994:204. Proto-Eskimo **naɣu* and **na(C)uŋ* 'where (is it)': Central Alaskan Yupik *nauwa*, *nauxa* 'where'; Naukan Siberian Yupik *naa* 'where'; Central Siberian Yupik *naaɣu* 'where is it?'; Seward Peninsula Inuit *nauŋ* 'where have you come form?'; North Alaskan Inuit *nauŋ* 'where'; Western Canadian Inuit *nauk* 'where'; Eastern Canadian Inuit *nauk* 'where'; Greenlandic Inuit *naak* 'where'. Fortescue—Jacobson—Kaplan 1994:204. Proto-Yupik-Sirenik **natə* 'which (part)' > Alutiiq Alaskan Yupik *natə* 'what part'; Central Alaskan Yupik *natə* 'what

part'; Central Siberian Yupik *natə* 'where'; Sirenik *natəlŋuX* 'which', *natu* 'where'. Fortescue—Jacobson—Kaplan 1994:204.

G. Etruscan relative pronoun *an* (*ana*, *ane*, *anc*, *ancn*, *ananc*) 'who, which' (also 'he, she, this, that'). Bonfante—Bonfante 2002:214. Perhaps also found in *nac* 'how, as, because, since'.

Sumerian *a-na* 'what?'. *a-na* can also be used as an indefinite or relative pronoun (cf. Thomsen 1987:75). Note also the indefinite pronoun (animate and inanimate) *na-me* 'anyone, anything; (with negative verb) no one, nothing' (cf. Thomsen 1987:78).

Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 1633, **ŋ[U]* (1) 'thing', (2) 'what?'; Greenberg 2000:232—234, §64. Interrogative N.

915. Proto-Nostratic negative/prohibitive particle **na* (~ **nə*), **ni* (~ **ne*), **nu* (~ **no*) 'no, not':

A. Afrasian: Egyptian *n*, *nn*, *ny*, *nw* negative particle: 'not'; Coptic *n-* [ⲛ-] negative particle. Hannig 1995:387—389; Faulkner 1962:125 and 134; Gardiner 1957:572 and 574; Erman—Grapow 1921:76 and 1926—1963.2:195; Vycichl 1983:135; Černý 1976:103. A negative *n* is also found in Omotic (cf. C'ara negative *(n)ne*) (cf. Bender 2000:218—219).

B. Elamo-Dravidian: Royal Achaemenid Elamite *in-* element of negation, Middle Elamite *in-ni* negative particle, *a-ni*, *a-ni-i* prohibitive particle.

C. Proto-Kartvelian **nu* prohibitive particle: 'no, not': Georgian *nu* 'no, not'; Mingrelian *nu* 'no, not'; Svan *no* 'not' (with indicative). Schmidt 1962:128; Klimov 1964:148—149 **nu* and 1998:144 **nu* prohibitive particle: 'no, not'; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:267 **nu-*; Fähnrich 2007:323 **nu-*. Proto-Kartvelian **numa* prohibitive particle: 'no, not': Mingrelian *numu*, *nəmə* 'no, not'; Svan *nōma*, *nōm-* 'no, not'. Klimov 1998:144 **numa* prohibitive particle: 'no, not'.

D. Proto-Indo-European negative particles **nĕ*, **ney-*, negative prefix **n̥-*: Sanskrit *ná*, *nā* 'not', negative prefix *a-*/*an-*; Old Persian *na-* 'not'; Avestan negative prefixes *na-*, *naē-*, *a-*/*an-* 'not'; Greek negative prefixes ἀ-/ἀν-, νη-, νε-; Latin negative prefixes *nĕ-*, *in-*, *nē* 'not', *nec*, *neque* (adv.) 'not', (conj.) 'and not'; Oscan *nei*, *ni* 'not'; Umbrian *nei* prohibitive: 'not', *neip* negative and prohibitive: 'not'; Old Irish *ní*, *nĭ* 'not', *ne-ch* 'someone, anyone, something, anything; nobody, nothing', negative prefixes *ne-*, *nĭ-*, *in-*/*é-*/*an-*; Gothic *ni* 'not', *nei* 'nor', negative prefix *un-*; Old Icelandic *ne* 'not', (adv.) *né* 'neither, nor', (adv.) *nei* 'no'; Norwegian *ni* 'not'; Old English *ne*, *ni* 'not', negative prefix *un-*; Old Frisian *ne*, *ni* 'not'; Old Saxon *ne*, *ni* 'not'; Old High German *ne*, *ni* 'not'; New High German *nicht* 'not', *nie* 'never, at no time'; Lithuanian *nè*, *neĩ* 'not'; Old Church Slavic *ne* 'not'; Hittite *na-at-ta* 'not'; Palaic *ni-i* 'not'. Pokorny 1959:756—758 **ne*, **nē*, **nei*, **n̥-* negative particle; Walde 1927—1932.II:319—320 **nĕ*,

nē*, **nei*, **n̥-*; Mann 1984—1987:829 **ne*, **ne-* (nē*, **nə*) ‘not, un-’, 831 **nei* ‘neither, not’, 855 **n̥-* a negative prefix; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.I:225 **ne-*/**n̥-* and 1995.I:194 **ne-*/**n̥-* negation; Watkins 1985:43—44 **ne* and 2000:57 **ne* ‘not’; Mallory—Adams 1997:395 **ne* ‘not’; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.I:13 **nĕ̄* and II:120; Burrow 1973:283; Boisacq 1950:1 **n̥-*, **n̥ⁿ-* and 667—668 **nĕ*; Frisk 1970—1973.I:1 **n̥-*, **nĕ* and II:313; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:1—2 and II:732; Hofmann 1966:1 **n̥-*, **ne* and 217; Beekes 2010.I:1 **n-*; De Vaan 2008:403; Ernout—Meillet 1979:432—433 **ne-*, **n̥-*; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:686—687 **n̥-*, II:150—151 **nĕ*, **nei*, and II:152 **ne-qᵘe*; Kroonen 2013:385 Proto-Germanic **ne* ‘not’; Orël 2003:283 Proto-Germanic **ne*; Feist 1939:373, 374, 374—375, 375, and 516 **n̥-*; Lehmann 1986:265—266 **ne*, **nē*; **ne*, **n̥-*; De Vries 1977:406; Onions 1966:604, 612, 615, 616, and 956—957 **n̥-*; Klein 1971:489, 498 **nĕ*, and 795 **n̥-*; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:510 and 803 **n̥-*; Kluge—Seebold 1989:503, 504 **ne*, and 749 **n̥-*; Smoczyński 2007.1:418 and 1:419; Fraenkel 1962—1965.I:489 and I:491; Derksen 2008:347 **ne* and 2015:331 **ne*.

E. Proto-Uralic negative particle **ne* ‘not’: Hungarian *në*, *nëm* ‘not’; Cheremis / Mari *nõ*, *ni*: *nõ-mat*, *ni-ma-at*, *ni-mat* ‘nothing’, *ni-gü* ‘nobody’; Votyak / Udmurt *ni*: *ni-no-kin* ‘nobody’, *ni-no-ku* ‘never’, *ni-no-mer* ‘nothing’; Zyrian / Komi *nõm*, *nem*, *ńem* ‘nothing’; Vogul / Mansi (Northern) *nee-mäter* ‘nothing’, *neem-hot* ‘nowhere’, *neem-huuńt* ‘never’; Ostyak / Xanty (Northern) *nem-hŏjat* ‘nobody’, *nem-huntta* ‘never’, *nemətti*, *nəməttə* ‘nothing’. Samoyed negative verb: Tavgi Samoyed / Nganasan *ńi-* (*ńo-*); Yenisei Samoyed / Enets *ńe-*. Collinder 1955:38; Rédei 1986—1988:301. (?) Yukaghir (Southern / Kolyma) *ńə-* negative pronominal marker, *ń-irkin*/*ń-irkid* ‘no one’, *ńə-qon* ‘nowhere’, *ńə-leme* ‘nothing’, *ń-ol-γodomeː-* ‘uneven, unequal’. Nikolaeva 2006:294.

F. Altaic: Turkic: In Chuvash, there is a preposed prohibitive particle *an* ‘no, not’ which is used to negate second and third person imperatives. Greenberg (2000:212—213) notes that, “[i]n Tungus there is a widespread form *ana* found in Oroch, Orok, and Ulch that typically negates adjectives…”

G. Proto-Eskimo **na-* and **na(a)ɣɣa* ‘no’: Alutiiq Alaskan Yupik (Koniag) *naa* ‘no! don’t!’; Naukan Siberian Yupik *naami* ‘no’; Central Siberian Yupik *na(a)*, *nalaa* ‘no’; Sirenik *naaɣɣa* ‘no’; North Alaskan Inuit *naaɣɣa*, *naakka* ‘no’; Western Canadian Inuit (Siglit) *naaka* ‘no’; Eastern Canadian Inuit (Iglulik) *naaɣɣa* ‘no’; Greenlandic Inuit *naaxxa* ‘no’. Aleut *naŋaa* ‘no’. Fortescue—Jacobson—Kaplan 1994:204.

Sumerian *na* ‘not’, *na-* modal prohibitive prefix (imperfect root), *nu* ‘not’, *nu-* negative prefix. Thomsen 1987:190—199.

Bomhard—Kerns 1994:681—682, no. 562; Greenberg 2000:212—213; Möller 1911:169; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 1524, **ǹi* ‘not’.

916. Proto-Nostratic root *naʕ- (~ *nəʕ-):
(vb.) *naʕ- ‘to come, to go, to journey, to travel’;
(n.) *naʕ-*a* ‘journey’

A. Proto-Afrasian *naʕ- ‘to come, to go, to arrive, to journey, to travel’: Proto-Semitic *naʕ- ‘to come’ > Geez / Ethiopic (suppletive imperative of the verb ‘to come’) *naʿa* [ነዐ], *naʿā* [ነዓ], *nəʿā* [ንዓ] ‘come!, come now!, come up!’; Tigre (imptv.) *näʿa* ‘come!’; Tigrinya (imptv.) *nəʿa* ‘come!’; Amharic (imptv.) *na* ‘come!’; Gurage (imptv.) *na* ‘come!’. Leslau 1979:445 and 1987:382. Egyptian *nʿi* ‘to come, to go, to arrive, to journey, to travel (by boat), to sail’, *nʿ-t* ‘expedition’, *nʿy-t* ‘mooring-post’; Coptic *na* [ⲛⲁ] ‘to go’. Hannig 1995:394; Faulkner 1962:126; Erman—Grapow 1921:77 and 1926—1963.2:206; Gardiner 1957:573; Vycichl 1983:136; Černý 1976:103. West Chadic: Ngizim *nài* (intr.) ‘to come’ (form of ‘come’ used in the subjunctive), (tr.) ‘to bring’ (form of ‘bring’ used in the subjunctive), *ni* (intr.) ‘to come, to go’, (tr.) (with transitivizing suffixes *-náa*, *-dù*) ‘to bring, to take’ (subjunctive form; *ni* is neutral with respect to motion), *nná* (intr.) ‘to come’, (tr.) (with transitivizing suffixes *-náa*, *-dù*) ‘to bring’ (used in the second subjunctive), *nyà* corresponding to ‘come/bring, go/take’ (imperfective; *nyà* is neutral with respect to motion); Kirfi *no* (perf. ventive *nó-n-kò*) ‘to come’. Central Chadic: Musgu *na* ‘to go’; Masa *nànná* ‘to go’. Stolbova 2005— .I:96, no. 325, **nV* > **nVnV* ‘to come, to go’; Schuh 1981:xxiii (paradigms of the verbs ‘to go’ and ‘to come’), 121—122, 128, 129, and 129—130; Jungraithmayr—Ibriszimow 1994.II:82—83 and II:162—163. Ehret 1995:323, no. 627, **naaʕ-/*niiʕ-* ‘to come, to go’.

B. Proto-Indo-European (**neʕ̲ḫ-* [**naʕ̲ḫ-*]/**noʕ̲ḫ-* ‘to travel by boat, to sail’): (nom. sg.) **neʕ̲ḫ-u-s* [**naʕ̲ḫ-u-s*] ‘ship, boat’, (gen. sg. **neʕ̲ḫ-w-os* [**naʕ̲ḫ-w-os*]): Old Persian *nāv-* ‘ship’; Sanskrit *náuḥ* ‘ship, boat’; Greek (Attic) ναῦς ‘ship’, (Homeric, Ionic) νηῦς; Armenian *nav* ‘ship’ (< Iranian ?); Latin *nāvis* ‘ship’, *nāvigō* ‘to sail, to set sail’; Old Irish *náu* ‘ship’; Old Icelandic *nór* ‘a kind of ship’; Old English *nōwend* ‘shipmaster, sailor’. Pokorny 1959:755—756 **nāus-* ‘ship’; Walde 1927—1932.II:315 **nāu-*; Mann 1984—1987:828 **nă̯u̯-* (**nă̯u̯s*) ‘boat; boat shape, nave, trough’ (variant **nāu̯iə*); Watkins 1985:43 **nāu-* ‘boat’ (contracted from **naə̯u-*) and 2000:57 **nāu-* ‘boat’ (oldest form **neə̯₂u-*, colored to **naə̯₂u-*, contracted to **nau-* [before consonants] and **nāw-* [before vowels]); Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.II:674 **naHu̯-* and 1995.I:582 **naHw-* ‘to float, to sail (of boats, ships)’, **naHw-* ‘boat, ship, vessel’, I:724 **nāu-s-* ‘ship, boat’; Mallory—Adams 1997:74 **néh$_a$us* (gen. **nh̥$_a$u̯ós*) ‘boat’; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.II:181 **naHú-*, (gen. sg.) **naH-u̯-ós*; Burrow 1973:246—247 Sanskrit *naús* ‘ship’ < **naHu-s* (gen. sg. *nāvás* < **naHvás*); Boisacq 1950:658—659; Hofmann 1966:212 **nāus*; Frisk 1970—1973.II:292—293 (nom. sg.) **nāu-s*, (acc. sg.) **nāu̯-m̥*, (gen. sg.) **nāu̯-es*, (acc. pl.) **nāu̯-n̥s*; Beekes 2010.II:998 **neh₂u-*; Chantraine

1968—1980.II:737—738 **nāu-s*; De Vaan 2008:402—403; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.II:146—149 (nom. sg.) **nāus*, (acc. sg.) **nāu̯-m̥*; **nāu̯-is*; Ernout—Meillet 1979:431—432 Latin (acc. sg.) *nāvem* < **nāwm̥*; Sihler 1995:328 **neH₂u-* 'boat'; Lindsay 1894:252 **nāu-* 'ship'; Orël 2003:289 Proto-Germanic **nōwaz*; Kroonen 2013:391 Proto-Germanic **nō-* 'ship'; De Vries 1977:411 Old Icelandic *nór* < Proto-Norse **nōwa*; Wodtko—Irslinger—Schneider 2008:515—519 **néh₂-u-*, **neh₂-u̯-*. Note: Terms such as Latin *nāvia* 'trough', Welsh *noe* 'large bowl', etc. are secondary derivatives. The original meaning was 'boat', later applied in several daughter languages to things 'shaped like a boat' (as in Bihari *nāw* 'feeding trough' [< *nāvā́* 'boat'; cf. *nāw*, *naiyā* 'boat']). A relationship between terms for 'boat' and 'trough, vessel, pot, bowl, etc.' is not uncommon and is found, for example, in Dravidian: cf. Parji *ōḍa* 'boat, trough' (cf. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:99, no. 1039); Malayalam *kalam* 'pot, vessel, ship' (cf. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:122, no. 1305); Tamil *vaḷḷam* 'a dish for use in eating or drinking, hour-glass, a measure of capacity, a measure of grain, a boat made of the trunk of a tree, canoe' (cf. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:480, no. 5315). See also Buck (1949:10.83 boat) for Indo-European terms. For the derivation of terms for 'boat' from 'to come, to go, to journey, to travel, etc.', cf. Tamil *kaṭattu* (*kaṭatti-*) '(vb.) to cause to go, to drive, to transport, to pass (as time); (n.) boat', extended form of *kaṭa* 'to pass through, to traverse, to cross, to exceed, to excel, to win, to overcome, to transgress; to go, to proceed, to pass (as time, water, clouds, etc.)' (cf. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:104, no. 1109). Note also Buck's (1949:10.36 sail [vb.]) comments: "The verbs for 'sail' are partly from the same root that is widespread also in those for 'float' and 'swim' (cf. 10.34). Others are deriv[atives] of nouns for 'sail', 'ship', or 'sea'. Some are words for 'row' extended to 'travel by water, sail', and some are general words for 'travel, go', used for 'sail'." Derivation from 'to travel, to go' parallels what is found in Egyptian *nᶜi̯* 'to come, to go, to arrive, to journey, to travel (by boat), to sail' cited above.

Buck 1949:10.36 sail (vb.); 10.81 ship; 10.83 boat. Bomhard—Kerns 1994: 687, no. 568. Different (unlikely) etymology in Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 1572, **nā[h]w[E]* 'vessel'.

917. Proto-Nostratic root **nab-* (~ **nəb-*):
(vb.) **nab-* 'to burst forth, to gush forth';
(n.) **nab-a* 'a bursting or gushing forth'
Derivative:
(n.) **nab-a* 'heavy rain, storm cloud, cloudy sky'

A. Proto-Afrasian **nab-* 'to burst forth, to gush forth': Proto-Semitic **nab-aʕ-* 'to gush forth, to flow' > Hebrew *nāβaᶜ* [נָבַע] 'to flow, to spring, to bubble up'; Biblical Aramaic *nəβaᶜ* 'to burst forth, to flow, to gush';

Akkadian *nabāʾu* ‘to rise (said of a flood)’; Arabic *nabaʿa* ‘to well, to well up, to gush forth, to flow, to issue’; Sabaean *nbʿ* ‘to cause (water) to flow or gush out’; Geez / Ethiopic *ʾanbəʿa* [**ኦንበዐ**] ‘to weep, to shed tears, to cause to weep’, *ʾanbəʿ* [**ኦንበዕ**] ‘tear’; Tigre *näbʿa* ‘to shed tears, to weep’, *ʾəmbəʿ*, *ʾənbəʿ* ‘tear’; Tigrinya *näbʿe* ‘to shed tears, to weep’, *nəbʿat* ‘tear’; Harari *əbiʾ* ‘tear’; Amharic *ənba* ‘tear’; Gurage *əmba* ‘tear’; Argobba *əmba* ‘tear’; Gafat *əmbʷä* ‘tear’. Leslau 1963:17, 1979:43, and 1987:382; Murtonen 1989:271; Klein 1987:402; Zammit 2002:393—394. Proto-Semitic **nab-at’-* ‘to gush forth, to burst forth’ > Arabic *nabaṭa* ‘to well out, to gush out, to spout, to issue, to stream forth (water)’; Geez / Ethiopic *nabaṭa* [**ነበጠ**] ‘to boil, to boil over’. Leslau 1987:384; Zammit 2002:393—394.

B. Proto-Indo-European **neb*^{h}-/**nob*^{h}- ‘to burst out, to burst forth’: Sanskrit *nábhate* ‘to burst, to be torn or rent asunder’; Old Icelandic *næfr* (< **nāβizō*) ‘bark of the birch’. Rix 1998a:404 (?) **neb*^{h}- ‘to burst, to spring forth’; Pokorny 1959:758 **nebh-* ‘to burst’; Walde 1927—1932.II:330 **nebh-*; De Vries 1977:413; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.II:133—134.

Buck 1949:10.32 flow (vb.). Bomhard—Kerns 1994:684, no. 565.

918. Proto-Nostratic (n.) (Eurasiatic only) **nab-a* ‘heavy rain, storm cloud, cloudy sky’:
Derivative of:
(vb.) **nab-* ‘to burst forth, to gush forth’;
(n.) **nab-a* ‘a bursting or gushing forth’

A. Proto-Indo-European **neb*^{h}*-es/os-* ‘heavy rain, storm cloud, cloudy sky’: Sanskrit *nábhas-* ‘mist, clouds, vapor; rainy season’, *nabhasá-ḥ* ‘(adj.) vapory, misty; (n.) sky, atmosphere; rainy season’; Pāḷi *nabhas-* ‘cloud, sky’; Avestan *nabah-* ‘cloud’; Hittite (nom.-acc. sg.) *ne-pí-iš* ‘sky, heaven’; Greek νέφος ‘cloud’, νεφέλη ‘cloud’; Latin *nebula* ‘vapor, fog, mist, cloud’, *nebulōsus* ‘misty, foggy’; Old Irish *nem* ‘sky, heaven’; Old Icelandic (poetic) *njól* (< **neβula-*) ‘darkness, night’, *nifl-* (< **niβila-*) ‘mist, fog’ (only in compounds); Old English *nifol* (< **niβila-*) ‘dark, gloomy’; Old Frisian *nevil* ‘mist, fog, haze’; Old Saxon *neƀal* ‘mist, fog, haze, darkness’; Dutch *nevel* ‘mist, fog, haze’; Old High German *nebul* ‘mist, fog, haze’ (New High German *Nebel*); Old Church Slavic *nebo* ‘sky, heaven’; Czech *nebe* ‘sky’; Slovak *nebo* ‘sky’; Polish *niebo* ‘sky’; Polabian *nebű* ‘sky’; Russian *nébo* [небо] ‘sky, heaven’. Pokorny 1959:315—316 (**enebh-*) **nebh-*, **embh-*, **m̥bh-* ‘wet, water; mist, fog, haze, cloud’; Walde 1927—1932.I:131—132 (**enebh-*) **nebh-*, **embh-*, **m̥bh-*; Mann 1984—1987:830 **nebhəlos*, *-ā* ‘mist, cloud’, 830 **nebhos*, *-es-* ‘sky, cloud, mist’; Watkins 1985:44 **nebh-* and 2000:57 **nebh-* ‘cloud’ (suffixed form **nebh-(e)lo-*); Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.I:167, I:186, I:218 **neb[*^{h}*]es-*, II:667—668 **neb[*^{h}*]-* and 1995.I:144, I:159, I:188

neb^{h}es- ‘sky’, I:575—576, I:584 *neb^{h}- ‘sky, fog, cloud’; Mallory—Adams 1997:110 *nébhes-, *nebh-el- ‘mist, cloud; sky’; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.II:134; Boisacq 1950:666 *nébh-; Frisk 1970—1973.II:309—310 *nébhos; Hofmann 1966:216 *nebhos; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:748 *nebhelā; Beekes 2010.II:1012 *neb^{h}-s-; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.II:151—152 *enebh-, *onebh-; Ernout—Meillet 1979:434; De Vaan 2008:404; Kloekhorst 2008b:603—604; Kroonen 2013:386 Proto-Germanic *nebala- ‘fog’; Orël 2003:283 Proto-Germanic *neƀulō ~ *neƀulaz; De Vries 1977:409 and 410; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:505 *nebh-; Kluge—Seebold 1989:500; Vercoullie 1898:201; Derksen 2008:347—348 *neb^{h}-es-; Wodtko—Irslinger—Schneider 2008:499—504 *neb^{h}-.

B. Proto-Altaic *nı̯ābo (~ -o-) ‘heavy rain, gust of wind’: Proto-Tungus *n^{y}ō[be]-kte ‘storm cloud, heavy rain, hail’ > Evenki ńōkta ‘storm cloud, heavy rain’, (dial.) ńēkte, ńokta ‘spindrift cloud’; Lamut / Even ńonto ‘heavy rain’; Negidal ńekte ‘spindrift cloud’. Proto-Mongolian *nöɣe-le- ‘to come in gusts’ > Written Mongolian nöɣele- ‘to come in gusts’; Khalkha nōlö- ‘to blow in upward gusts (wind)’. Proto-Turkic *yubug (~ *yabug) ‘boulders which a torrent carries down, boulders displaced and falling to the bottom of the valley’ > Karakhanide Turkic yuvuɣ (~ yavuɣ) ‘boulders which a torrent carries down, boulders displaced and falling to the bottom of the valley’. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:982 *nı̯ābo (~ -o-) ‘storm, natural disaster’.

C. Eskimo: Central Siberian Yupik *naaftə*- ‘to become stormy’.

Buck 1949:1.51 sky, heavens; 1.73 cloud; 1.74 mist (fog, haze); 10.32 flow (vb.).

919. Proto-Nostratic root *nad^{y}- (~ *nəd^{y}-):
(vb.) *nad^{y}- ‘to press, to crush, to mash’;
(n.) *nad^{y}-a ‘anything crushed or mashed’

A. Proto-Afrasian *nad^{y}- ‘to press, to crush’: (?) Semitic: Geez / Ethiopic *nazara*, *nazzara* [ንዘረ] ‘to bite, to tear to pieces, to pierce, to crunch, to hit’; Tigrinya *näzärä*, *näzälä* ‘to tear to pieces, to bite’; Tigre *näğra* ‘to bite off’; Amharic *näzzärä* ‘to strike, to hit’, *a-näzzärä* ‘to harass, to pester’; Gafat *tä-näzzärä* ‘to feel pain’. Leslau 1987:411. Egyptian *nḏ* ‘to grind’, *nḏ*, *nḏt* ‘flour’, *nḏw* ‘miller’; Coptic (Sahidic, Bohairic) *nut* [ⲛⲟⲩϯ], (Sahidic) *nat*- [ⲛⲁⲧ-], (Bohairic) *not*- [ⲛⲟⲧ-] ‘to grind, to pound’, (Bohairic) *noyt* [ⲛⲟⲉⲓⲧ] ‘meal, flour’. Hannig 1995:447; Faulkner 1962:143; Gardiner 1957:576; Erman—Grapow 1921:90 and 1926—1963.2:369—370; Vycichl 1983:145; Černý 1976:111.

B. Dravidian: Tamil *naci* (*-v-*, *-nt-*) ‘to be crushed, bruised, mashed, crumpled’, *naci* (*-pp-*, *-tt-*) ‘to crush, to bruise, to mash, to press, to squeeze, to demolish, to destroy’, *naciyal* ‘anything crushed or mashed’, *nacivu* ‘bruise, contusion, loss, destruction, injury’, *nacukku* (*nacukki-*)

‘(vb.) to press, to squeeze, to crush, to subdue; (n.) bruise’, *nacuṅku* (*nacuṅki-*) ‘to be mashed, crushed’, *nai* (*-v-*, *-nt-*) ‘to be crushed, to be destroyed, to perish’, *nai* (*-pp-*, *-tt-*) ‘to crush, to destroy’; (?) Kota *nacak in-* (*id̲-*) ‘to make noise in cutting through flesh’; Kannaḍa *najugu* ‘to squash, to crush, to bruise (as dry ginger); to be squashed or bruised’, *najju* ‘a squashed state’; Tuḷu *nasiyuni* ‘to submit, to subdue’, *nesipuni* ‘(vb.) to cut up into small bits, to mince; (n.) a bit, a fragment’; Kui *nasa* (*nasi-*) ‘(vb.) to press, to crush; (n.) the act of crushing’, *nahi*, *nahiki* ‘destroyed, ruined, demolished’, *nacc-* ‘to press’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:314, no. 3574.

C. Uralic: Proto-Finno-Permian *nätʸз-* ‘to knead’ > Cheremis / Mari (Birsk) *nöštə̑la-* ‘to knead by pressing with the arms’, (Kozmodemyansk-Berg) *nüštəlä-* ‘to knead (dough) with the hands’; Votyak / Udmurt (Sarapul) *naǯ́-*, (Kazan) *naź-* ‘to knead’. Rédei 1986—1988:706 **näćз-*.

Buck 1949:4.58 bite (vb.); 5.54 knead; 5.55 meal, flour; 5.56 grind; 9.342 press (vb.).

920. Proto-Nostratic root **nadʸ-* (~ **nədʸ-*):
(vb.) **nadʸ-* ‘to vex, to disturb, to annoy, to irritate, to agitate; to be annoying, irritating, malicious, rude, bad, mean, base’;
(n.) **nadʸ-a* ‘vexation, disturbance, annoyance, irritation, trouble’; (adj.) ‘annoying, irritating, malicious, rude, bad, mean, base’

A. Proto-Afrasian *nadʸ-* ‘to vex, to disturb, to annoy, to irritate, to agitate; to be annoying, irritating, malicious, rude, bad, mean, base’: Proto-Semitic **nadʸ-ul-* ‘to be rude, bad, mean, base, low, vile’ > Arabic *na̲dula* ‘to be low, base, mean, despicable, debased, depraved’, *na̲ḏl*, *na̲ḏīl* ‘low, base, mean, vile, despicable, debased, depraved; coward’, *na̲ḏāla* ‘depravity’; Śḥeri / Jibbāli *nḏ̲ɔl* ‘to remain bad, base, worthless’, *enḏ̲él* ‘to humiliate, to disgrace’, *šənḏ̲él* ‘to blame’, *núḏ̲əl* ‘low, useless, worthless fellow’; Mehri *nəḏ̲ūl* ‘to be thoroughly bad, base; to remain bad’, *hənḏ̲ūl* ‘to make bad, to disgrace’, *əntəḏ̲ūl* ‘to be bad, to be rude and unkind, to be antisocial in one’s behavior’, *nōḏ̲əl* ‘low, useless, worthless person’. Proto-Semitic (reduplicated) **nadʸ-nadʸ-* ‘to vex, to disturb, to annoy, to irritate’ > Geez / Ethiopic *naznaza* [ነዘነዘ] ‘to vex, to torment, to cause pain, to shake, to agitate’, *tanaznaza* ‘to be vexed’; Tigrinya *näznäzä* ‘to shake’; Tigre *näznäza* ‘to jog’; Amharic *näzännäzä* ‘to importune, to pester’. Leslau 1987:411. Egyptian *nḏ̲yt* ‘baseness’, *nḏ̲wyt* ‘wickedness, evil, depravity’. Faulkner 1962:144; Gardiner 1957:577; Erman—Grapow 1926—1963.2: 369 and 2:377. Berber: Ghadames *ənzəz* ‘to give someone the evil eye, to single out someone with the intention of doing something bad to him or her’; Tuareg *ənẓəẓ* ‘to challenge someone (to cut them down to size, to find a fault with them, etc.); to ebb considerably (water)’. [Ehret 1995:319, no. 617, **naj-* ‘to become low’.]

B. Dravidian: Tamil *naccu* (*nacci-*) ‘(vb.) to tease, to vex, to trouble, to harass; (n.) trouble, worry’, *nacuval* ‘one who is always teasing’; Telugu *naccu* ‘(vb.) to tease, to trouble; (n.) troubling’, *naccu-peṭṭu* ‘to annoy, to tease, to fret’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:318, no. 3577.

Buck 1949:16.72 bad.

921. Proto-Nostratic root **nag-* (~ **nəg-*):
(vb.) **nag-* ‘to strike, to split, to pierce, to stab’;
(n.) **nag-a* ‘stroke, blow, wound’

A. Proto-Afrasian **nag-* ‘to strike, to split, to pierce’: Proto-Semitic **nag-al-* ‘to strike, to split, to pierce’ > Arabic *nağala* ‘to beat, to push; to split, to pierce’, *minğal* ‘scythe, sickle’; Hebrew *maggāl* [מַגָּל] (base *ngl* [נגל]) ‘sickle’; Syriac *maggəlā* ‘sickle’; Geez / Ethiopic *nagala* [**ነገለ**] ‘to be uprooted’; Amharic *näggälä* ‘to be uprooted’. Murtonen 1989:272; Klein 1987:315; Leslau 1987:392. Proto-Semitic **nag-aḥ-* ‘to strike, to gore’ > Hebrew *nāγaḥ* [נָגַח] ‘to push, to thrust, to gore’; Aramaic *nəγaḥ* ‘to push, to thrust, to gore’; Ugaritic *ngḥ* ‘to gore’; Gurage (Wolane) *nagä*, (Selṭi, Zway) *nägä* ‘to mow grass (with a sickle), to reap cereals’, (?) (Muher, Masqan, Gogot, Soddo) *(tä)nagga*, (Wolane) *tänagä* ‘to clash (cattle, objects), to collide’ (either here or with **nag-aʕ-* ‘to strike, to split, to break’, below). Murtonen 1989:271; Klein 1987:403; Leslau 1979:453. Proto-Semitic **nag-aʕ-* ‘to strike, to split, to break’ > Mandaic *nga* ‘to strike, to injure’; Hebrew *nāγaʿ* [נָגַע] ‘to touch; to strike, to injure’, *neγaʿ* [נֶגַע] ‘stroke, blow, wound’; Aramaic *nəγaʿ* ‘to touch’; Geez / Ethiopic *nag^{w}ʿa* [**ነጐዐ**] ‘to make a cracking sound, to crack, to shout, to be broken, to break (intr.)’, *ʔastanāg^{w}əʿa* [**አስተናጐዐ**] ‘to break to bits, to incite, to provoke, to remove (fat)’, (causative) *ʔanag^{w}əʿa* [**አነጐዐ**] ‘to break, to dislocate’; Tigrinya *näg^{w}ʿe* ‘to break (intr.)’; Amharic *nägg^{w}a* ‘to snap, to crack, to make a snapping or cracking sound’, *an-nagga* ‘to disjoin, to dismember, to shatter’, *a-nägg^{w}a* ‘to break’; (?) Gurage *(tä)nagga* ‘to clash (cattle, objects), to collide’ (either here or with **nag-aḥ-* ‘to strike, to gore’, above). Murtonen 1989:272; Klein 1987:404; Leslau 1979:453 and 1987:390. Proto-Semitic **nag-ap-* ‘to strike, to split; to cut off, to split off’ > Hebrew *nāγaφ* [נָגַף] ‘to strike, to smite’, *neγeφ* [נֶגֶף] ‘strike, (fatal) blow, plague’; Aramaic *nəγaφ* ‘to strike, to push, to injure’; Arabic *nağafa* ‘to shave or polish an arrow; to cut down (a tree), to pull out; to milk a sheep well’; Sabaean *ngf* ‘to tear out, to uproot’; Mehri *nəgūf* ‘to throw away, to reject’; Śḥeri / Jibbāli *ngɔf* ‘to throw away, to reject’; Soqoṭri *negof* ‘to disperse’; Geez / Ethiopic *nagafa* [**ነገፈ**] ‘to shake, to shake off, to shake out, to knock off, to jolt, to dispel, to brush away, to cut off, to lay away, to throw down, to cast, to trip, to carry away’; Tigre *nägfa* ‘to shake, to shed’; Tigrinya *nägäfä* ‘to shake, to shed’. Murtonen 1989:272; Klein 1987:404; Leslau 1987:391. Proto-Semitic **nag-aʒ-* ‘to strike, to smite, to

kill, to destroy' > Sabaean *ngz* 'to damage, to destroy; to put an end to (someone's life), to execute'; Śḥeri / Jibbāli *ngɔz* 'to die, to finish'. Proto-Semitic **nag-ar-* 'to cut down, to cut into' > Arabic *naǧara* 'to hew, to carve, to plane'. Egyptian *ng*, *ngꜣ* 'to strike, to smite, to cut off, to cut open, to hew, to slay, to crush', *ngỉ* 'to break open, to break up', *ngt* 'breach'. Hannig 1995:438; Faulkner 1962:141; Gardiner 1957:576; Erman—Grapow 1921:88 and 1926—1963.2:348, 2:349. Berber: Tuareg *əngəs* 'to butt with a horn or the head', *anaǧas* 'a butt with a horn or the head', *amānǧas* 'an animal that butts with its horns'; Ghadames *əngəj* 'to give butts with a horn or the head'; Tashelhiyt / Shilha *ngəs* 'to butt with the head or horn (a ram)'. Central Chadic: Gude *ngila* 'knife'; Nzangi *ngəla* 'knife'; Mafa *ngəl-* 'to cut'; Daba *nga-* 'to break'; Logone *ggē-* 'to break'; Buduma *gai-* 'to break'. East Chadic: Bidiya *ʔangul* 'sickle'. Orël—Stolbova 1995:402, no. 1866, **nig-* 'to break', 402—403, no. 1867, **nigal-* 'sickle, sword', 408, no. 1896, **nVgil-* 'to cut', 408, no. 1898, **nVguf-* 'to cut, to break', 408—409, no. 1899, **nVgVʕ-* 'to break, to smite'.

B. Proto-Indo-European **neg^{h}-*/**nog^{h}-* 'to strike, to split, to pierce': Old Irish *ness* 'wound'; Old Church Slavic *nožь* 'knife', *pro-noziti* 'to pierce through'. Pokorny 1959:760 **neĝh-* 'to bore, to stab'; Mallory—Adams 1997:537 **h$_1$neĝh-es-* '±spear'; Walde 1927—1932.II:326—327 **neĝh-*; Derksen 2008:358.

Buck 1949:3.85 wound (sb.); 9.21 strike (hit, beat); 9.23 knife. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:684—685, no. 566.

922. Proto-Nostratic root **naħ-* (~ **nəħ-*):
(vb.) **naħ-* 'to tremble, to shake; to fear, to be afraid';
(n.) **naħ-a* 'fear'

A. Proto-Afrasian **naħ-* 'to tremble, to shake; to fear, to be afraid': Semitic: Geez / Ethiopic (reduplicated) *nāḥnəḥa* [**ናሐንሐ**] 'to shake, to agitate, to break; (probably also) Tigrinya *(tä)näḥanḥe* 'to argue, to quarrel', *nəḥnəḥ* 'violent argument, violent quarrel'. Leslau 1987:395. Egyptian *nḥꜣ* 'to shake' (?), *nḥꜣt* 'palpitations (of the heart)' (?). Hannig 1995:421; Faulkner 1962:136; Erman—Grapow 1926—1963.2:291. Proto-East Cushitic **naħ-* 'to fear' > Somali *naħ-* 'to pity, to be startled'; Galla / Oromo *nah-* 'to fear, to take pity on'; Konso *nah-* 'to be tender-hearted'; Gidole *nah-* 'to be afraid, to tremble'; Burji *naʔ-* 'to fear'. Sasse 1979:23 and 1982:150—151; Hudson 1989:19.

B. Proto-Indo-European **neh̯h̯-* [**nah̯h̯-*] > **nā-* 'to fear': Old Irish *nár* (< **nāsros*) 'modest, bashful'; Hittite (1st sg. pres.) *na-aḫ-mi*, (3rd sg. pres.) *na-aḫ-ša-ri-ya-az-zi* 'to fear', (nom. sg.) *na-aḫ-ša-ra-az* 'fear, reverence'. Rix 1998a:405 **neh$_2$-* 'to be afraid'; Pokorny 1959:754 **nā-* 'to be afraid'; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.II:804 **naH-* and 1995.I:705 **naH-* 'to fear,

to revere (gods), to be ashamed'; Mallory—Adams 1997:198 *neh_2- 'to be timid'; Vendryès 1959— :N-3; Sturtevant 1951:47, §74, Indo-Hittite **néxty*; Kloekhorst 2008b:591—592.

Buck 1949:16.53 fear, fright. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:682, no. 563.

923. Proto-Nostratic (n.) *nak^h-*a* '(animal) skin, pelt, hide':

A. Afrasian: Egyptian *nkn* 'a shield with an animal skin stretched over it'. Hannig 1995:438; Erman—Grapow 1926—1963.2:346.
B. Indo-European: Greek νάκη 'a wooly or hairy skin, a goatskin', νάκος 'goatskin, fleece'. Perhaps also Old Prussian *nognan* (if for **noknan*) 'leather'; Old English *næsc* (if from **nak-s-ko-*) 'skin'. Pokorny 1959:754 **nak-* 'skin, hide'; Walde 1927—1932.II:316—317 **nă̆q-*; Mann 1984—1987:825 **nă̆k-* 'to cover, to hide'; Mallory—Adams 1997:269 (?) **nák(es)-* 'pelt, hide'; Boisacq 1950:656; Frisk 1970—1973.II:287; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:733; Beekes 2010.II:994 (pre-Greek); Hofmann 1966:211.
C. Proto-Altaic *nak^hi (~ *-o*) '(animal) skin, hide': Proto-Tungus **naKita* 'bear skin' > Evenki *nakita* 'bear skin'; Lamut / Even *naqᵲt* 'bear skin'; Negidal *naχata* 'bear skin'; Orok *natta* 'bear skin'; Udihe *na'ta* 'bear skin'. Proto-Mongolian **nekey* 'sheepskin' > Written Mongolian *nekei* '(n.) sheepskin with its wool; (adj.) furlined'; Khalkha *neχiy* [нэхий] 'sheepskin'; Buriat *neχï* 'fur'; Kalmyk *nekē* 'sheepskin'; Ordos *neχī* 'sheepskin'; Monguor *nikī*, *nekī* 'sheepskin'. Poppe 1955:146. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:961—962 *$nak'i$ (~ *-o*) 'a kind of skin'.
D. Chukchi-Kamchatkan: Proto-Chukotian **nəklot-* 'to tan skin' > Chukchi *nəɣlon* 'warm coat made from winter skin of reindeer'; Koryak *nikl^{j}ot-* 'to tan skin'. Fortescue 2005:190.

Buck 1949:4.12 skin; hide. Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 1542, **nāaḴa* 'fell, skin'.

924. Proto-Nostratic root *nak^{wh}- (~ *$nək^{wh}$-):
(vb.) *nak^{wh}- 'to lie down, to go to sleep, to go to bed';
(n.) *nak^{wh}-*a* 'bedtime, evening, nighttime'

A. Proto-Afrasian *$n[a]k^w$- 'to sleep with, to lie with, to copulate': Proto-Semitic **na/ya/k-* 'to have sexual intercourse, to copulate' > Akkadian *nāku* (*niāku*) 'to have illicit sexual intercourse, to fornicate'; Arabic *nāka* 'to have sexual intercourse (with a woman)'; Śḥeri / Jibbāli *nēk* 'to sleep with (a woman)'; Mehri *nəyūk* 'to have sexual intercourse with, to sleep with (a woman)'; Ḥarsūsi *neyōk* 'to sleep with (a woman)'. Egyptian *nk* 'to lie with, to sleep with, to copulate', *nkw* 'fornicator, adulterer'; Coptic *noyk* [ⲛⲟϭⲓⲕ] 'adulterer', (reduplicated) *noknek* [ⲛⲟⲕⲛⲉϭ] 'to have affection for'. Hannig 1995:437; Erman—Grapow 1921:88 and 1926—

1963.2:345; Faulkner 1962:141; Gardiner 1957:576; Vycichl 1983:141; Černý 1976:107. Berber: Tuareg *ənki* ‘to perform the movements of the sexual act on (a woman or a female animal)’; Kabyle *ənki* ‘to place oneself in position and make strenuous effort (as a woman in labor)’. North Cushitic: Beja / Beḍawye *nek^{w}i-* ‘to be or become pregnant’, *nə́k^{w}a* ‘pregnant’, *nə́k^{w}e* ‘pregnancy’. Reinisch 1895:183. Diakonoff 1965:46.

B. Proto-Indo-European **nek^{wh}-t^{h}-/*nok^{wh}-t^{h}-* ‘night’: Sanskrit (nom. sg. f.) *nák* ‘night’ (acc. sg. *nákt-am*); Greek νύξ ‘night’; Latin *nox* ‘night’; Old Irish *-nocht* in *innocht* ‘tonight’; Welsh *nos* ‘night’; Cornish *nos* ‘night’; Breton *noz* ‘night’; Gothic *nahts* ‘night’; Old Icelandic *nátt*, *nótt* ‘night’; Faroese *nátt* ‘night’; Norwegian *natt*, *nott* ‘night’; Swedish *natt* ‘night’; Danish *nat* ‘night’; Old English *neaht*, *niht* ‘night’; Old Frisian *nacht* ‘night’; Old Saxon *naht* ‘night’; Dutch *nacht* ‘night’; Old High German *naht* ‘night’ (New High German *Nacht*); Lithuanian *naktìs* ‘night’; Old Church Slavic *nošt*ь ‘night’; Russian *noč′* [ночь] ‘night’; Albanian *natë* ‘night’; Hittite (3rd sg. pres.) *ne-ku-zi* ‘to undress, to go to bed’, (nom. sg.) *ne-ku-uz* ‘bedtime, evening’; Tocharian A *noktiṃ*, B *nekcīye* (adv.) ‘last night, at night’. Pokorny 1959:762—763 **nek$^{u̯}$-(t-)*, **nok$^{u̯}$-t-s* ‘night’; Walde 1927—1932.II:337—339 **noqt-*; Mann 1984—1987:833 **nekt-* (?) ‘evening’, 850 **nokterinos* ‘nightly’, 850 **noktĭm* ‘by night, at night, yesterday night’, 850 **noktis*, **nokts* ‘night’ (ultimately **noq$_{u̯}$tis*, **noq$_{u̯}$ts* ?), **nokt̥iom*, **-nokt̥iom* adverb and collective of type **nokt-*, 850—851 **nokt̥ŏ̯r* (**noktŏ̯r*) ‘by night, the evening before; next night’; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.I:168 **nek[^{h}]^{o}-t[^{h}]-*, I:183 **nok[^{h}]^{o}t[^{h}]-s*, I:215—216 **ne/ok[^{h}]^{o}t[^{h}]-*, **nek[^{h}]^{o}-* and 1995.I:145 **nek$^{h o}$-t^{h}-* ‘night’, I:157 **nok$^{h o}$t^{h}-s*, I:185, **ne/ok$^{h o}$t^{h}-*, **nek$^{h o}$-*, I:186 **nek$^{h o}$-*; Watkins 1985:44 **nek^{w}-t-* (*o*-grade form: **nok^{w}-t-*) and 2000:57—58 **nek^{w}-t-* ‘night’ (*o*-grade form: **nok^{w}-t-*); Brugmann 1904:115; Mallory—Adams 1997:394 **nek^{w}t-* ~ **nok^{w}t-* ‘night’; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.II:121—122; Burrow 1973:75 **nok^{w}t-*; Huld 1983:96—97; Boisacq 1950:674 **noqt-*, **noqti-*, **noqten-*; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:759—760 **nok^{w}t-*; Hofmann 1966:219—220 **noqt-* (**noqti-*, **noqtu-*, **noqt(e)r-*); **neq$^{u̯}$t-s* (?); Frisk 1970—1973.II:327—328 **noqt-*; **noq$^{u̯}$t-*, **neq$^{u̯}$t-s*; Beekes 2010.II:1027 **nek^{w}t-*, **nok^{w}t-* : **neg^{wh}-*; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.II:181—183 **noq$^{u̯}$t-*; Ernout—Meillet 1979:448; De Vaan 2008:416—417; Morris Jones 1913:138 **noq$^{u̯}$ts*; Kroonen 2013:381 Proto-Germanic **naht-* ‘night’; Orël 1998:282 and 2003:279—280 Proto-Germanic **naxtz*; Feist 1939:368—369 **nokt-*; Lehmann 1986:262 **nok^{w}-t-* (gen. **nek^{w}-t-s*) ‘night’ < **nek^{w}-t-* ‘to grow dark, to become night’; Falk—Torp 1903—1906.II:5; De Vries 1977:405; Onions 1966:610 **nokt-*; Klein 1971:496 **noqt-*; Boutkan—Siebinga 2005:273—274; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:500 **nokt-*; Kluge—Seebold 1989:497 **nokt-*; Melchert 1994a:61 **nék^{w}ts*; Sturtevant 1951:58—59, §81; Kloekhorst 2008b:602; Adams 1999:342 **nek^{w}t-*; Van Windekens 1976—1982.I:319—320 **noqt-* (or **noq$^{u̯}$t-*); Fraenkel 1962—1965.I:481—482; Smoczyński 2007.1:415; Derksen

2008:355 **nok^{w}-t-* and 2015:327—328 **nok^{w}-t-*; Benveniste 1935:10 **n^{e}/$_{o}$k^{w}-t-*; Wodtko—Irslinger—Schneider 2008:513—515 **neg^{u}-*.

C. Proto-Chukchi-Kamchatkan **nəki(nək)* 'night': Chukchi *nəki-rit* (pl. *nəkiritti*) 'night', *ɣənnun-nəkite* 'at midnight'; Koryak *nəkinək* 'night', *nəkita* 'at night', *ɣənun-nəkinək* 'midnight'; Alyutor *nəkinək* 'night', *nəkita* 'at night', *ɣənun-nəkinək* 'midnight'; Kamchadal / Itelmen *nkənk* 'night'. Fortescue 2005:189—190; Mudrak 1989b:104 **nki-nki* 'night'.

Buck 1949:4.67 have sexual intercourse; 14.42 night. Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 1540, **nūkV* (= **nūk[u]* ?) (or **nĀk[Vʔ]V* ??) 'darkness, night'. Note: The Uralic forms cited by Dolgopolsky (Finnish *nukku-* 'to sleep, to be asleep', etc.) do not belong here. A better comparison might be with the sparsely attested Proto-Afrasian root **nuk'-* 'to sleep with, to lie with, to copulate', found, for example, in Burji *nuk'-*, *nuuk'-* 'to have sexual intercourse' and Dullay *nuug-* 'to have sexual intercourse'. Sasse 1982:153; Hudson 1989:131 and 215.

925. Proto-Nostratic root **nap^{h}-* (~ **nəp^{h}-*), **nip^{h}-* (~ **nep^{h}-*), **nup^{h}-* (~ **nop^{h}-*):
(vb.) **nap^{h}-*, **nip^{h}-*, **nup^{h}-* 'to breathe, to blow';
(n.) **nap^{h}-a*, **nip^{h}-a*, **nup^{h}-a* 'breath, life'

A. Proto-Afrasian **naf-*, **nif-*, **nuf-* '(vb.) to breathe, to blow; (n.) breath, life': Proto-Semitic **nap-as^{y}-* '(vb.) to breathe, to blow; (n.) soul, life, person' > Hebrew *neφeš* [נֶפֶשׁ] 'soul, living being, life, self, person'; Phoenician *npš* 'soul, self'; Imperial Aramaic *npš* 'soul, person'; Syriac *nəφaš* 'breath of life; soul, spirit, living creature'; Ugaritic *npš* 'soul'; Akkadian *napāšu* 'to breathe', *napištu* 'life'; Arabic *nafusa* 'to breathe, to inhale, to exhale', *nafs* 'soul, life, person'; Sabaean *nfs* 'self, soul, life'; Ḥarsūsi *nefesét* 'soul'; Śḥeri / Jibbāli *nafs* 'person, individual', *nəfsét* 'soul, individual'; Mehri *nafs* 'individual, person'; Geez / Ethiopic *nafsa* [ነፍሰ] 'to blow (wind, spirit)', *ʔanfasa* [አንፈሰ] 'to breathe, to exhale, to make breathe, to rest', *nafs* [ነፍስ] 'soul, breath, a person, life, self', *nafās* [ነፋስ] 'wind, air, spirit'; Tigre *näfsa* 'to blow (wind)', *tənäffäsa* 'to breathe', *näfs* 'soul'; Tigrinya *näfäsä* 'to blow (wind)', *tänäfäsä* 'to breathe', *näfsi* 'soul', *näfas* 'wind'; Amharic *näffäsä* 'to blow (wind)', *tänäffäsä* 'to breathe', *näfs* 'soul, life', *näfas* 'wind'; Argobba *näfs* 'soul'; Harari *näfsi* 'soul', *(at)näfäsa* 'to take a rest'; Gurage *näfäsä* 'to blow (wind)', *näfs* 'soul', *nəfas* 'wind'. Murtonen 1989:286—287; Klein 1987:422; Tomback 1978:218—219; Leslau 1963:118, 1979:452, and 1987:389; Zammit 2002:407. Proto-Semitic **nap-ax-* 'to breathe, to blow' > Hebrew *nāφaḥ* [נָפַח] 'to breathe, to blow'; Aramaic *nəφaḥ* 'to blow'; Ugaritic *mpḫn* (base *npḫ*) 'bellows'; Akkadian *napāḫu* 'to inflame, to blow'; Arabic *nafaḥa* 'to blow, to puff, to breathe, to blow up, to inflate'; Ḥarsūsi *nefōx* 'to blow', *anfōx* 'to inflate'; Śḥeri / Jibbāli *nifx* 'to blow, to inflate'; Mehri *nefx* 'to blow, to inflate'; Geez / Ethiopic *nafḫa* [ነፍኀ], *nafḥa* [ነፍሐ] 'to blow, to

blow upon, to breathe on, to inflate, to sound (an instrument), to blow (a horn, trumpet)'; Tigre *näfḫa* 'to blow'; Tigrinya *näfḫe* 'to blow'; Harari *näfaḥa* 'to inflate, to blow an instrument, to blow air into something'; Argobba *näffaha* 'to blow'; Amharic *näffa* 'to blow, to play (the flute), to blow up, to inflate'; Gurage (Chaha) *näfa* 'to blow up, to inflate'. Murtonen 1989:285—286; Klein 1987:421; Zammit 2002:406; Leslau 1963:117—118, 1979:450—451, and 1987:388. Proto-Semitic **nap-at'-* 'to blow one's nose, to sneeze' > Arabic *nafaṭa* 'to sneeze'; Ḥarsūsi *enteʃōṭ* 'to blow one's nose'; Śḥeri / Jibbāli *əntʃéṭ* 'to blow one's nose'; Soqoṭri *nə́ʃɔṭ* 'to sneeze'; Mehri *nəʃūṭ* 'to snort', *əntəʃūṭ* 'to blow one's nose'; Geez / Ethiopic *nafaṭa* [ነፈጠ] 'to blow the nose'; Tigre *näffäṭä* 'to blow the nose'; Tigrinya *näfäṭä* 'to blow the nose'; Amharic *tänäffäṭä* 'to blow the nose', *nəfṭ* 'mucus'; Harari *ənfīṭ* 'nasal mucus'; Gurage *(tä)näffäṭä* 'to blow the nose', (Zway) *nəfiṭ* 'nose'. Leslau 1963:28, 1979:452, and 1987:390. Proto-Semitic **ʔanp-* 'nose, nostril' > Akkadian *appu* 'nose'; Hebrew *ʔaφ* [אַף] 'nose, nostril, face'; Ugaritic *ȧp* 'nose'; Arabic *ʔanf* 'nose'; Sabaean *ʔnf* 'front'; Śḥeri / Jibbāli *ʔénfī* 'first, ancient'; Geez / Ethiopic *ʔanf* [አንፍ] 'nose, nostril'; Tigre *ʔanəf* 'nose'; Tigrinya *ʔanfi* 'nose'; Harari *ūf* 'to blow the nose'; Gafat *ãfʷä* 'nose'; Gurage (Chaha) *ãfuna* 'nose'. Murtonen 1989:95—96; Klein 1987:45; Zammit 2002:81; Leslau 1963:19—20, 1979:21, and 1987:28. Egyptian *nf* 'air, wind, breath', *nfy* 'to breathe, to blow at', *nfwt*, *nfwyt* 'breezes', *fnḏ* (< **nfḏ*) 'nose'; Coptic *nife* [ⲛⲓⲫⲉ] 'to blow, to breathe'. Hannig 1995:306 and 407; Faulkner 1962:98 and 131; Erman—Grapow 1921:58, 80 and 1926—1963.1:577, 2:250; Gardiner 1957:566; Vycichl 1983:149; Černý 1976:116. Berber: Kabyle *ənfəs* 'to breathe', *nnəfs* 'breathing, breath; soul'; Tamazight *unfus* 'respiration, breath, blowing'; Ahaggar *unfas* 'breath', *sunfəs* 'to breathe', *asunfəs* 'to make breathe'; Tashelhiyt / Shilha *unfus* 'blowing', *sunəfs* 'to breathe'. Proto-East Cushitic **nass-/*ness-* (< **nafs-/*nefs-*) 'to breathe, to rest' > Elmolo *nas-i* 'to breathe, to rest'; Somali *nas-ad-* 'to breathe, to rest'; Rendille *nas-* 'to breathe, to rest'; Konso *ness-a* 'soul, breath, noise'; Yaaku *nes-i* 'breath'; Dullay *nass-ad-* 'to breathe', *nass-o* 'soul, life, spirit, breath'; Gidole *nass-* 'voice, character'. Sasse 1979:23. Diakonoff 1992:33 **n̰f* 'nose'; Ehret 1995:316, no. 611, **naf-/*nif-* 'to exhale'; Orël—Stolbova 1995:395, no. 1828, **naf-* 'breath', 395—396, no. 1830, **nafus-* 'breath', 402, no. 1865, **nif-* 'to smell, to breathe', and 405—406, no. 1882, **nufas-* 'to blow, to breathe'; Militarëv 2012:79 Proto-Afrasian **(ʔa-)na/if-*.

B. Proto-Indo-European **np^{h}-* > (with metathesis) **p^{h}n-* in: (A) **p^{h}n-ew-/*p^{h}n-ow-/*p^{h}n-u-*, (B) **p^{h}n-es-/*p^{h}n-os-*, (C) **p^{h}n-ek^{h}-* 'to breathe, to blow': Greek πνέω 'to breathe', πνεῦμα 'breath'; Old Icelandic *fnasa* 'to sneeze, to snort', *fnýsa* 'to sneeze'; Swedish *fnysa* 'to sneeze'; Danish *fnyse* 'to sneeze'; Old English *fnēosan* 'to sneeze', *fnæs* 'breath'; Middle Dutch *fniesen* 'to sneeze'; Old High German *pfnūsen* 'to sneeze'; Swiss German *Pfnüsel* (< **fnŭs-*) 'cold (in the head), catarrh'. Rix 1998a:440 (?)

*pneu̯- ‘to breathe, to pant, to puff, to wheeze’; Pokorny 1959:838—839 *pneu- ‘to pant, to breathe’; Walde 1927—1932.II:85 *pneu-; Mann 1984—1987:967 *pneu̯ō (*pneusō), -i̯ō ‘to snort, to sniff, to sneeze, to pant, to blow’, 967 *pnosā ‘blowing, blast, snort, sneeze’, 967 *pnūs- (*pnūsō, -i̯ō; *pnūsmi) ‘(vb.) to breathe out, to snort; (n.) snort, breath, nose’; Watkins 1985:52 *pneu- and 2000:68 *pneu- ‘to breathe’ (imitative root); Mallory—Adams 1997:82 *pneu- ‘to snort, to sneeze’; Boisacq 1950:798; Frisk 1970—1973.II:566—567; Hofmann 1966:277; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:920; Beekes 2010.II:1213—1214 *pneu-; Kroonen 2013:149 Proto-Germanic *fneusan- ~ *fnūsan- ‘to sneeze’ (< *pnéus-e-); Orël 2003:109 Proto-Germanic *fneusanan ~ *fnūsanan; Falk—Torp 1903—1906.I:177—178; De Vries 1977:136; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:546; Kluge—Seebold 1989:541.

C. Uralic: Finno-Ugrian: Proto-Ob-Ugric *nopət ‘lifetime’ > Vogul / Mansi (Tavda, Pelymka) *nat*, (Lower Konda) *nåt*, (Upper Lozva, Sosva) *not* ‘lifetime’; Ostyak / Xanty (Vah, Vasyugan) *nowət*, (Tremyugan, Yugan) *nŏpət*, (Demyanka, Konda, Nizyam) *nupət*, (Obdorsk) *nopət* ‘lifetime’. Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 1556, Proto-Finno-Ugrian *n[o]ptV > Proto-Ob-Ugric *nopət ‘lifetime’.

Buck 1949:4.51 breathe; breath. Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 1556, *nop[E] ‘to breathe, to blow’; Bomhard—Kerns 1994:679—681, no. 560.

926. Proto-Nostratic (n.) *nat’-a ‘woman, female relative’:

A. Afrasian: Proto-Southern Cushitic *nat’a ‘woman’ > Ma’a *naseta* ‘woman’; Iraqw *natsatsa* ‘smooth’; Dahalo *nát’a* ‘woman’. Ehret 1980: 184.

B. Dravidian: Tamil *nāttaṉār*, *nātti*, *nāttūṉ* ‘husband’s sister’; Malayalam *nāttūn* ‘husband’s sister, brother’s wife’; Kota *na·tu·ṉy* ‘sister-in-law, female cross-cousin’; Kannaḍa *nādani*, *nādini*, *nāduni* ‘husband’s sister, brother’s wife’; Koṇḍa *nāṉṟa* (< *nattaṉar-) ‘wife’s younger sister’; Manḍa *nānjaṛ* ‘wife’s younger sister’; Kui *nānja* ‘younger sister-in-law’; Kuwi *nanjo* ‘sister-in-law’, *nānjo* ‘wife’s younger sister’; Kuṛux *nāsgo* ‘elder brother’s wife’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:322, no. 3644.

C. Proto-Uralic *natɜ ‘sister-in-law, younger brother of the husband or the wife’: Finnish *nato* ‘the sister of the husband or wife, the wife of the brother, sister-in-law’; Estonian *nato* ‘sister-in-law’; Lapp / Saami (Southern) *nótĕ* ‘the younger sister of the wife’; Cheremis / Mari *nudõ* ‘the younger sister of the husband’s wife’; Yurak Samoyed / Nenets *naado* ‘the younger brother of the wife’, *nee-naado* ‘sister-in-law’ (*nee* = ‘wife’); Kamassian *nado* ‘brother-in-law, the brother of the husband’. Collinder 1955:38 and 1977:56; Rédei 1986—1988:299—300 *natɜ; Décsy 1990:103 *nata* ‘sister-in-law, younger brother of the husband or the

wife’; Sammallahti 1988:539 **nåtiw* ‘in-law’; Janhunen 1977b:98 **nåt^{l}ə-* (? **nåt^{l}ə̂j-*).

Bomhard—Kerns 1994:690, no. 572; Illič-Svityč 1971—1984.II:81—82, no. 315, **nat/o/* ‘female relative’; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 1570, **nāaH$_2$t[o]* ‘woman (of ego’s generation) belonging to the opposite exogamous moiety’ (→ ‘sister-in-law’); Hakola 2000:114, no. 491; Pudas-Marlow 1974:67, no. 190.

927. Proto-Nostratic root **nat’-* (~ **nət’-*):
(vb.) **nat’-* ‘to moisten, to wet’;
(n.) **nat’-a* ‘wetness, dampness, moistness’; (adj.) ‘wet, damp, moist’

A. Proto-Afrasian **nat’-* ‘to drop, to drip, to trickle’: Proto-Semitic **nat’-ap-* ‘to drop, to drip, to trickle’ > Amorite *nṭp* ‘to drip’; Hebrew *nāṭaφ* [נָטַף] ‘to drop, to drip’; Syriac *nəṭaφ* ‘to drip’; Arabic *naṭafa* ‘to dribble, to trickle, to drip’; Sabaean *nṭf* ‘to cause (blood) to flow’; Ḥarsūsi *neṭefét* ‘drop’; Śḥeri / Jibbāli *nṭɔf* ‘to drip’; Mehri *nəṭáwf* ‘to drip’; Geez / Ethiopic *naṭafa* [**ነጠፈ**] ‘to strain, to filter, to clarify, to refine, to purify, to clean’; Tigre *nätfa* ‘to filter beer’; Amharic *näṭṭäfä* ‘to filter, to strain’; Gurage *näṭäfä* ‘to sift beer, to brew beer’. Murtonen 1989:280—281; Klein 1987:413; Leslau 1979:463—464 and 1987:408; Zammit 2002:404. Proto-Semitic **nat’-ab-* ‘to drip, to fall in drops’ > Geez / Ethiopic *naṭba* [**ነጥበ**], *naṭaba* [**ነጠበ**] ‘to drop, to trickle’; Tigrinya *näṭäbä* ‘to fall in drops’; Tigre *näṭba* ‘to fall in drops’; Amharic *näṭṭäbä* ‘to drop, to fall drop by drop’. Leslau 1987:408. Egyptian *ndfdf* ‘to be filled with tears, to water (eyes)’ (Semitic loan). Hannig 1995:446; Erman—Grapow 1926—1963.2:368.

B. Proto-Indo-European **net’-*/**not’-* ‘to wet, to moisten’: Sanskrit (nom. sg. f.) *nadī́* ‘river’; Gothic *natjan* ‘to wet, to make wet’; Dutch *nat* ‘wet, moist’, *netten* ‘to wet, to moisten’; Old High German *naz* ‘wet, damp, moist’ (New High German *naß*), *nezzen* ‘to wet, to moisten, to sprinkle’ (New High German *netzen*); Illyrian river names Νέδα, Νέστος. Pokorny 1959:759 **ned-* ‘to sound, to bellow’; Mann 1984—1987:825 **nad-* (**nod-* ?) ‘wet; water, water-’; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.II:130 **nodo-*; Orël 2003:281 Proto-Germanic **nataz*, 282 **natjanan*; Kroonen 2013:384 Proto-Germanic **nata-* ‘wet’; Feist 1939:371; Lehmann 1986:264; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:504 and 509; Kluge—Seebold 1989:499 and 503; Vercoullie 1898:199.

Buck 1949:15.83 wet, damp. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:677, no. 556.

928. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **ner-a* ‘the highest, foremost, or most prominent person or thing’:

A. Dravidian: Tamil *ne<u>rr</u>i* ‘forehead, front, top, summit’, *ne<u>r</u>i* ‘temples’; Malayalam *ne<u>rr</u>i* ‘forehead’, *ne<u>r</u>uka* ‘crown of the head’; Kota *nec*

‘forehead’; Toda *nity* ‘forehead’; Kannaḍa *netti* ‘forehead, head, crown of the head’; Koḍagu *netti* ‘forehead’; Tuḷu *netti* ‘forehead, crown of the head, front, the peak of a mountain or hill’; Telugu *netti* ‘the head’, *nettamu* ‘high land or elevated ground (such as the crest or terrace of a hill)’; Kolami *netti* ‘forehead’; Naikṛi *netti* ‘forehead’; Gadba (Salur) *nediḍe* ‘scalp’; Gondi *nēc* (*talā*) ‘the crown of the head’; Konḍa *neti* ‘the top of the head’, *neda* ‘vertex’; Kuṛux *mitʲl*, *mitil*, *nitil* ‘fontanel’; Malto *nitlu* ‘crown of the head’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:335—336, no. 3759.

B. Proto-Indo-European **ner-* ‘(the foremost) man or person, hero’: Sanskrit *nár-* ‘a man, hero (used also of gods), person; mankind, people (mostly plural)’, *nárya-ḥ* ‘manly, strong’; Pāḷi *nara-* ‘man; (pl.) people’; Avestan *nar-* ‘man’; Greek ἀνήρ ‘a man (as opposed to a woman)’; Albanian *njerí* ‘human being, man’; Latin (Sabinian) *Nĕrō* a family name; Umbrian (acc. pl.) *nerf* ‘elders, chief citizens’; Oscan *ner* ‘man’; Old Irish *nert* ‘strength’; Welsh *ner* ‘hero’. Pokorny 1959:765 **ner-(t-)* ‘life-force, man’; Walde 1927—1932.II:332—333 **ner-*, **aner-*; Mann 1984—1987:21—22 **anēr* (**anər-*, **anr-*) ‘man, creature’, 837—838 **ner-* ‘man, male’, 838 **nerio̯s* ‘manly, man’, 838 **nertos* ‘manly; manliness, virtue, strength’; Watkins 1985:44 **ner-* (also **aner-*) and 2000:58 **ner-* ‘man’ (basic sense ‘vigorous, vital, strong’) (oldest form **ǝ₂ner-*); Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.II:802 **H̥ner-*, **H̥ner-(t[ʰ])-* and 1995.I:703 **H̥ner-*, **H̥ner-(tʰ)-* ‘life force, male strength’; Mallory—Adams 1997:366 **hₐnḗr-* ‘man, person’; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.II:138; Ernout—Meillet 1979:438—439 **ner-*; De Vaan 2008:406—407 Proto-Italic **nēr*, **ner-* ‘man’, **ner-o-*/*-ōn-* ‘strong’; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.II:164—165; Beekes 1969:45 and 75 **ḫ₂ner-* and 2010.I:103—104 **h₂ner-*; Frisk 1970—1973.I:107—108 **ner-*; Boisacq 1950:62 **anēr*; Hofmann 1966:18; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:87—88; Wodtko—Irslinger—Schneider 2008:332—335 **h₂nér-*, **h₂nr-*; Orël 1998:304; Huld 1994:100—101. Semantic development as in Yurak Samoyed / Nenets *neery* ‘the foremost person’ or Selkup Samoyed *ńarnej* ‘the foremost person’ cited below. The original meaning is best preserved in Umbrian (acc. pl.) *nerf* ‘elders, chief citizens’ (cf. Benveniste 1973:237—238).

C. Proto-Uralic **nere* ‘the highest, foremost, or most prominent person or thing: nose, beak, snout, point, promontory, front, etc.’: Mordvin *neŕ* ‘beak, muzzle, snout; any sort of point’; Cheremis / Mari *ner* ‘nose, beak, muzzle, snout; point; (?) promontory’; Votyak / Udmurt *nyr* ‘nose, beak, muzzle; forward point, point, front’; Yurak Samoyed / Nenets *ner* ‘forward part, earlier part’, *neery* ‘the foremost person’; Tavgi Samoyed / Nganasan *ńara* ‘that which is foremost’, *ńaranu* ‘in front’; Selkup Samoyed *ńarne* ‘forward, to the fore’, *ńarnej* ‘the foremost person’; Kamassian *ńer* ‘point’. Collinder 1955:39 and 1977:57; Rédei 1986—1988:303—304 **nere* (**nēre*); Décsy 1990:103 **nerä* ‘nose, beak, bill’; Janhunen 1977b: 110 **ńerə̂*.

Sumerian *ner*, *nir* ‘prince, king, lord (of gods)’, *ner-ĝá-ĝá* ‘ruler, lord, sovereign, prince’, *ner-ĝál* ‘princess; lord, prince’, *nir-ĝál* ‘lord, nobleman, prince’.

Buck 1949:4.205 forehead; 4.23 nose; 12.33 top; 12.352 point. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:678—679, no. 558; Hakola 2000:116, no. 501. Different etymology in Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 1565, **'nVyärV* ‘man, male animal’ and Illič-Svityč 1971—1984.II:92—93, no. 331, **NajRʌ* ‘man, male’.

929. Proto-Nostratic root **net'ʸ-*:
(vb.) **net'ʸ-* ‘to turn, to twist together, to tie, to bind, to weave, to entwine’;
(n.) **net'ʸ-a* ‘anything twisted together, woven, entwined: mat, net, web, etc.; weaving, entwining, braiding’

A. Afrasian: Egyptian *nḏ* ‘string, thread’; Coptic *nat* [ⲛⲁⲧ] ‘loom, web’. Faulkner 1962:144; Erman—Grapow 1921:91 and 1926—1963.2:376; Hannig 1995:448; Gardiner 1957:577; Vycichl 1983:145; Černý 1976:110.
B. Proto-Dravidian **nec-*/**ney-* ‘to weave’: Tamil *ney* ‘to weave (as clothes), to string, to link together’, *neyvu* ‘weaving’, *necavu* ‘weaving, act of weaving, texture, intertexture, web’, (?) *nēyavi* ‘curtain’; Malayalam *neyka* ‘to weave, to plait mats’, *neyttu* ‘weaving’, *neypu* ‘large mat for treading out corn in sandy districts’, *neyyal* ‘weaving’; Kota *nec-* (*nec-*) ‘to weave’; Toda *nic-* (*nič-*) ‘to darn’, *nes-* (*nesθ-*), *ni·θ-* (*ni·θ-*) ‘to weave’; Kannaḍa *nĕy*, *nĕyi*, *neyyu*, *nē*, *nēyu* ‘to weave, to entwine’, *neyi*, *nē*, *nēyu* ‘weaving, a web’, *nĕyige*, *nĕyge*, *nēge* ‘weaving, entwining or being entwined’, *neysu*, *nēyisu* ‘to cause to weave’, *nĕyikāṟa*, *negikāṟa*, *nēkāṟa* ‘weaver’; Koḍagu *ne·y-* (*ne·yuv-*, *nejj-*) ‘to spin (thread)’, *neyv* ‘braiding, weaving’; Tuḷu *neyuni* ‘to weave (as a spider)’, *neyipini*, *nēpini*, *nēyuni* ‘to weave, to plait, to braid’, *neyigè*, *nēgè* ‘texture’, *neyigāre* ‘weaver’; Telugu *nēyu* ‘to weave’, *nēyincu* ‘to cause to be woven, to get woven’, *nẽ̄ta* ‘weaving, texture’, *nẽ̄ttakāḍu*, *nẽ̄ttari* ‘weaver’, *nẽ̄tta-purugu* ‘spider’; Gondi *nēcc-* ‘to weave’; Koṇḍa *ney-* ‘to weave or thatch the roof with leaves’; Kui *nehpa* (*neht-*) ‘to build a fence’; Kuwi *neh'nai* ‘to interweave’; Kuṛux *essnā* (*issyas*) ‘to weave, to entwine into a fabric, to furnish or adorn any article with net-work or plait-work’; Malto *ese* ‘to plait, to do mat-work’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:334, no. 3745; Krishnamurti 2003:8 **nec-*/**ney-* ‘to weave’.
C. Proto-Indo-European **net'-* (secondary *o*-grade form: **not'-*) ‘to turn, to twist together, to tie, to bind’: Latin *nōdus* ‘knot’; Old Irish *nascim* ‘to bind’, *naidm* ‘binding, surety’; Gothic *nati* ‘net’; Old Icelandic *net* ‘net, fishing-net’, *nót* ‘large net’; Swedish *nät* ‘net’; Old English *nett* ‘net’; Old Frisian *net*, *nette* ‘net’; Old Saxon *netti*, *net* ‘net’; Dutch *net* ‘net’; Old High German *nezzi* ‘net’ (New High German *Netz*). Pokorny 1959:758—759 **ned-*, **n$_{e}$d-* ‘(vb.) to turn, to twist together; (n.) knot’; Walde 1927—1932.II:328—329 **ned-*; Mann 1984—1987:848 **nōdus*, *-is*, *-i̯ə* ‘knot,

tie'; Watkins 1985:44 **ned-* and 2000:57 **ned-* 'to bind, to tie'; Mallory—Adams 1997:336 **ned-* 'knot' and 428 **ned-* 'to bind'; Ernout—Meillet 1979:443; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.II:172—173 **ned-*; De Vaan 2008:412; Orël 2003:281—282 Proto-Germanic **natjan*; Kroonen 2013:384 Proto-Germanic **natja-* 'net'; Feist 1939:371 **(s)nōd-*, **(s)ned-*; Lehmann 1986:263—264 **ned-* 'to tie, to bind'; De Vries 1977:408 **ned-* and 412; Onions 1966:608 **nă̆d-*; Klein 1971:494 **ned-* 'to twist, to knot'; Boutkan—Siebinga 2005:283; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:508—509 **ned-*; Kluge—Seebold 1989:503.

Buck 1949:6.33 weave; 6.38 thread; 9.192 knot. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:679, no. 559.

930. Proto-Nostratic second person personal pronoun stem **ni* (~ **ne*) and/or **na* (~ **nə*) 'you':

A. Afrasian: Proto-Omotic **ne* 'you' > Zayse second singular (subject) *né(j)* 'you', bound form *-n*; Bench / Gimira (subject) *nen* 'you', (oblique) *ni*; Yemsa / Janjero *ne* 'you'; etc. Bender (2000:196) reconstructs a Proto-Omotic second person singular independent personal pronoun **ne* 'you'. Bender (2000:197) implies, however, that there may have been a reversal of the Afrasian **n* (first person) ~ **t* (second person) pattern to **t* (first person) ~ **n* (second person) in Omotic. But note the patterning in Elamite (below).

B. Elamo-Dravidian: Elamite: The possessive pronouns of the second series, or the possessive pronouns proper in Royal Achaemenid Elamite were: (1st person sg.) *-ta*, (2nd person sg.) *-ni*, (3rd person sg.) *-e* (cf. Khačikjan 1998:26—27). Middle Elamite second person singular personal pronoun (nom. sg.) *ni* ~ *nu* 'you, thou' (Old Elamite *ni*), (pl.) *num*, *numi* 'you'. The Proto-Dravidian second person personal pronouns, singular and plural, may be reconstructed as follows:

   (a) Singular **nĭ̆n-*: Tamil *nī* 'you'; Malayalam *nī* 'you' (obl. *nin(n)-*); Kota *ni·* 'you'; Toda *ni·* 'you'; Kannaḍa *nīṃ*, *nīn(u)* 'you'; Koḍagu *ni·nï*/*ni·* 'you'; Telugu *nīvu* 'you'; Kolami *ni·v* 'you'; Naikṛi *nīv* 'you'; Konḍa *nīn* 'you'; Kuwi *nīnū* 'you'; Kuṛux *nīn* 'you'; Malto *nín* 'you'; Brahui *nī* 'you';
   (b) Plural **nĭ̆m-*: Tamil *nīm*, *nīr*, *nīyir*, *nīvir*, *nīṅkaḷ* 'you'; Malayalam *niṅṅaḷ* 'you'; Kota *ni·m* 'you'; Toda *nïm* 'you'; Kannaḍa *nīm*, *nīvu*, *nīngaḷ* 'you'; Koḍagu *niŋga* 'you'; Kolami *ni·r* 'you'; Naikṛi *nīr* 'you'; Kuṛux *nīm* 'you'; Malto *ním* 'you'; Brahui *num* 'you'.

   Krishnamurti 2003:249—252 (sg.) **nĭ̆n-*, (pl.) **nĭ̆m-*; Burrow—Emeneau 1984:327, no. 3684, and 328, no. 3688. McAlpin (1981:114—115) reconstructs the Proto-Elamo-Dravidian second person independent

personal pronoun singular as **ni* ‘you, thou’ and the second person possessive clitic as **-ni*. For the second person personal pronoun plural, he reconstructs Proto-Elamo-Dravidian **nim*.

C. Uralic: Greenberg (2000:76—77) notes that there is some evidence for a second person personal pronoun *n-* in Uralic, especially in Ob-Ugric. However, as he rightly points out, this evidence is extremely controversial and has been variously explained by specialists. As noted by Marcantonio (2002:226): “…the Possessive endings of the 2nd Singular in Vogul and Ostyak differ, yet again, from those of Hungarian and other U[ralic] languages; in fact, Vogul and Ostyak have the ending *-(V)n* and not *-t* as reconstructed for P[roto]-U[ralic]. Compare Hun[garian] *ház-a-d* vs Finn[ish] *talo-si* ‘your house’ vs Vog[ul] *ula-n* ‘bow-your’ (Keresztes 1998: 411). Several connections have been proposed for *-(V)n* (compare for example Sinor 1988: 733; Hajdú 1966: 132-3). Among these connections, one may consider that of the formant *-n-* in P[roto]-Samoyed. As Janhunen puts it (1998: 471):

> From the Proto-Uralic point of view, one of the most interesting features is that the second-person singular predicative ending seems to have been *-n* in proto-Samoyedic, as opposed to **-t* in most sub-branches of Finno-Ugric.

According to Collinder (1965a: 134), there might have been two words to indicate ‘you’: **-t* and **-n*; …”

D. Altaic: Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak (2003:959) reconstruct Proto-Altaic **na* ‘thou’ on the basis of: (a) Proto-Turkic **-ŋ* an ending of the second person > Old Turkic (Orkhon, Old Uighur) *-ŋ*; Karakhanide Turkic *-ŋ*; Turkish *-n*; Gagauz *-n*; Azerbaijani *-n*; Turkmenian *-ŋ*; Uzbek *-ŋ*; Uighur *-ŋ*; Karaim *-n*, *-y*; Tatar *-ŋ*; Bashkir *-ŋ*; Kirghiz *-ŋ*; Kazakh *-ŋ*; Noghay *-ŋ*; Oyrot (Mountain Altai) *-ŋ*; Yakut *-ŋ*; Tuva *-ŋ*; Chuvash *-n*; (b) Proto-Japanese **na* ‘thou’ > Old Japanese *na* ‘thou’; (c) Proto-Korean **nə* ‘thou’ > Middle Korean *nə* ‘thou’ (for Modern Korean, cf. Sohn 1999:207). They note: “Velarization in Turkic is not quite clear and probably secondary (perhaps a fusion with the attributive **-kʻi*). The root is widely used only in the Kor[ean]-J[apanese] area, and its original function (to judge from the O[ld] J[apanese] opposition of *si* and *na*) was probably limited to the oblique stem of the suppletive 2nd p[erson] paradigm.”

Greenberg 2000:76—77.

931. Proto-Nostratic root **nik^{h}-* (~ **nek^{h}-*):
(vb.) **nik^{h}-* ‘to strike, to hit’;
(n.) **nik^{h}-a* ‘injury, harm, damage, wound, murder, destruction; suffering, pain’

A. Proto-Afrasian **n[i]k-* ‘to strike, to hit’: Proto-Semitic **nak-ay-* ‘to strike, to smite’ > Akkadian *nakū* ‘to strike, to smite’ (?); Hebrew *nāχāh* [נָכָה] ‘to beat, to strike’; Syriac *nəχā* ‘to harm, to injure, to wound’; Arabic *nakā* ‘to cause damage, to harm, to hurt, to injure’; Sabaean *nky* ‘(vb.) to injure; (n.) injury’; Śḥeri / Jibbāli *enké* ‘to hurt, to hit on a sore spot’; Geez / Ethiopic *nakaya* [ናከየ] ‘to injure, to hurt, to damage, to harm’; Tigrinya *näkkäyä* ‘to diminish’; Tigre *näka* ‘to remove, to clear away’. Murtonen 1989:281—282; Klein 1987:415—416; Leslau 1987:397—398. Proto-Semitic **nak-aʔ-* ‘to injure, to harm, to damage’ > Hebrew *nāχāʾ* [נָכָא] ‘to beat, to strike’, *nāχēʾ* ‘smitten, afflicted’; Arabic *nakaʾa* ‘to scrape the scab off a wound, to hurt, to wound, to kill’; Tigre *näkʾa* ‘to damage, to hurt’; Tigrinya *näk̲ʾe* ‘to touch’; Amharic *näkka* ‘to touch, to hurt’; Argobba *näkka* ‘to touch, to hurt’; Harari *näkaʾa* ‘to touch, to harm’; Gurage (Zway) *näkā* ‘to touch’. Murtonen 1989:281; Klein 1987:415; Leslau 1963:118 and 1979:455. Proto-Semitic **nak-aʕ-* ‘to injure, to harm, to damage’ > Geez / Ethiopic *nakʿa* [ናክዐ] ‘to injure, to harm, to damage’. Leslau 1987:396. Egyptian *nkn* ‘harm, injury, damage’. Hannig 1995:438; Faulkner 1962:141; Erman—Grapow 1921:88 and 1926—1963.2:346—347; Gardiner 1957:576. Berber: Tamazight *nəγ* ‘to kill’, *tinγi* ‘evil, pain, suffering’, *imənγi* ‘dispute, combat, quarrel, battle’; Kabyle *nəγ* ‘to kill, to slay’; Siwa *ənγ* ‘to kill’; Tuareg *ən̲γ* ‘to kill’; Ghadames *ənγ* ‘to kill’; Nefusa *ənγ* ‘to kill, to put an end to’; Mzab ‘to kill, to assassinate’, *anuγi* ‘dispute, battle, combat, fight’, *amənγi* ‘fight, scuffle, brawl’; Zenaga *əni* ‘to kill’, *aməni* ‘killer, assassin’. Orël—Stolbova 1995:409, no. 1902, **nVkVl-* ‘to be evil’.

B. Dravidian: Tamil *neku* (*nekuv-*, *nekk-*) ‘to suffer, to be distressed’; Kota *neg-* (*negy-*) ‘to suffer from a reverse of fortune’; Kannaḍa *negaru* ‘to suffer in sickbed’; Tuḷu *neggi*, *negi* ‘shyness, shame’, *nigarụ*, *negarụ* ‘to linger as a sick person’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:333, no. 3733.

C. Proto-Indo-European **nekʰ-/*n̥kʰ-* (secondary *o*-grade form: **nokʰ-*) ‘to slay, to smite’: Sanskrit *náśyati* ‘to be lost, to perish, to disappear’; Greek νέκῡς, νεκρός ‘a dead body, a corpse’; Latin *necō* ‘to kill, to slay’, *noxa* ‘harm, injury, damage’, *noceō* ‘to hurt, to injure, to harm’, *nex* ‘violent death, murder’; Old Irish *éc* (< **n̥kʰu-*) ‘death’; Tocharian A *näk-*, *nak-*, *ñak-*, B *näk-*, *nek-* ‘to lose, to destroy, to perish, to vanish’. Rix 1998a:407 **neḱ-* ‘to perish, to disappear, to be lost’; Pokorny 1959:762 **neḱ-* ‘corpse, mortal destruction’; Walde 1927—1932.II:326 **neḱ-*; Mann 1984—1987:833—834 **neḱ-* ‘(vb.) to destroy, to perish, to vanish; (adj.) perishing, destructive; (n.) destruction, disappearance’, **noḱeu̯ō* ‘to injure, to kill’; Watkins 1985:44 **nek-* and 2000:57 **nek-* ‘death’; Mallory—Adams 1997:150 **néḱus* ‘death; dead’; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.II:145—146 **neḱ-*; Boisacq 1950:661 **aneḱ-*; Hofmann 1966:213—214 **neḱ-*; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:741; Beekes 2010.II:1003—1004 **neḱ-(u-)*; Frisk 1970—1973.II:299—300 **neḱ-s*; De Vaan 2008:407—408 **neḱ-s* (f.) ‘death’ and 411; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.II:153—156 **eneḱ-*;

Ernout—Meillet 1979:439—440 **nek-*; Van Windekens 1976—1982.I:313 **neḱ-*; Adams 1999:335 **neḱ-* ‘to kill, to destroy; to perish, to die’.

D. Uralic: Proto-Finno-Ugrian **nikkä-* ‘to push’ > Lapp / Saami *nâkketâ-* ‘to stick, to put’, (Southern) ‘to push’; Vogul / Mansi *nääk-* ‘to push’; Ostyak / Xanty *nək-* ‘to push lightly’, *nəkəm-* ‘to push, to push against’. Collinder 1955:101, 1960:412 **nikkä-*, and 1977:116; Rédei 1986—1988:304—305 **nikkä-*.

E. Proto-Altaic **nĭkʰu-* ‘to knead, to mash, to strike’: Proto-Tungus **nʸ[i]Ki-* ‘to gnaw, to crunch; to destroy, to demolish’ > Evenki *ńeki-* ‘to gnaw, to crunch’; Manchu *niqča-* ‘to shatter, to disintegrate; to be at a disadvantage, to suffer loss’; Nanay / Gold *ńikike-* ‘to swallow’. Proto-Mongolian **niku-* ‘to grind, to rub, to knead’ > Written Mongolian *niqu-*, *nuqu-* ‘to rub, to massage; to mash, to press, to knead; to crumple, to finish off, to dispose of completely, to kill’; Khalkha *nuχa-* ‘to knead, to mash, to rub; to rumple, to crumple; to kill, to finish off, to dispose of’; Buriat *ńuχa-* ‘to grind, to rub, to knead’; Kalmyk *nuχə-* ‘to grind, to rub, to knead’; Ordos *nuχu-* ‘to grind, to rub, to knead’; Moghol *nuqu-* ‘to grind, to rub, to knead’; Dagur *nogu-* ‘to grind, to rub, to knead’; Monguor *nuɢu-* ‘to grind, to rub, to knead’. Proto-Turkic **yïk-* ‘to crush, to grind; to overthrow’ > Old Turkic (Old Uighur) *yïq-* ‘to crush, to grind; to overthrow’; Karakhanide Turkic *yïq-* ‘to crush, to grind; to overthrow’; Turkish *yık-* ‘to pull down, to demolish, to ruin, to overthrow’, *yıkıcı* ‘destructive’; Azerbaijani *yïχ-* ‘to crush, to grind; to overthrow’; Gagauz *yïq-* ‘to crush, to grind; to overthrow’; Turkmenian *yïq-* ‘to crush, to grind; to overthrow’; Uzbek *yiq-* ‘to crush, to grind; to overthrow’; Uighur *yiq-* ‘to crush, to grind; to overthrow’; Karaim *yïq-*, *yïχ-* ‘to crush, to grind; to overthrow’; Tatar *yïq-* ‘to crush, to grind; to overthrow’; Bashkir *yïq-* ‘to crush, to grind; to overthrow’; Kirghiz *žïq-* ‘to crush, to grind; to overthrow’; Kazakh *žïq-* ‘to crush, to grind; to overthrow’; Noghay *yïq-* ‘to crush, to grind; to overthrow’; Oirat (Mountain Altai) *yïq-*, *d'ïq-* ‘to crush, to grind; to overthrow’; Chuvash (dial.) *śъχ-* ‘to crush, to grind; to overthrow’. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:977 **nĭkʻu* ‘to grind, to crunch; to knead’; Poppe 1960:39; Street 1974:21 **ñïk-* ‘to knead, to mash, to strike’.

Buck 1949:4.76 kill; 9.21 strike, hit, beat; 10.67 push, shove (vb.); 11.27 destroy; 11.28 harm, injure, damage (vb.); 16.31 pain, suffering. Brunner 1969:35, no. 138; Bomhard—Kerns 1994:677—678, no. 557.

932. Proto-Nostratic root **nit̪ɬʰ-* (~ **net̪ɬʰ-*):
(vb.) **nit̪ɬʰ-* ‘to lift (up), to raise; to carry, to take; to rise, to arise’;
(n.) **nit̪ɬʰ-a* ‘the act of lifting, raising, carrying’

A. Afrasian: Proto-Semitic **nat̪ɬ-aʔ-* ‘to rise, to arise; to lift, to raise, to carry, to take’ > Hebrew *nāśāʾ* [נָשָׂא] ‘to lift, to carry, to take’; Biblical Aramaic

nəšā ‘to lift, to carry, to take’; Ugaritic *nšꞌ* ‘to lift, to raise’; Akkadian *našū* ‘to lift, to raise, to carry, to bear, to bring, to transport, to take’; Arabic *našaʾa* ‘to rise, to arise, to grow, to develop’; Sabaean *nšʾ* ‘to undertake a project (especially a military action), to take, to take away’; Geez / Ethiopic *našʾa* [**ነሥአ**], *nasʾa* [**ነስአ**] ‘to take, to partake, to receive, to accept, to capture, to occupy, to grasp, to seize, to catch, to pick up, to take up, to raise, to lift, to set up, to carry off, to take away, to fetch, to take as wife’; Tigre *näsʾa* ‘to take, to lift’; Tigrinya *näsʾe* ‘to take, to lift’; Harari *näsaʾa* ‘to take, to take away, to marry’; Gurage *nässa* ‘to take, to carry, to lift’; Amharic *nässa* ‘to deprive of, to take away, to hold back’, *anässa* ‘to lift up, to raise, to pick up (from the floor), to clear away (the dishes), to move (the table), to remove (take off)’. Murtonen 1989:291—292; Leslau 1963:119, 1979:461, and 1987:404; Zammit 2002:401; Klein 1987:427—428. According to Leslau (1987:404), Beja / Beḍawye *nesāʾ-* ‘to get up, to rise’ is a Semitic loan.

B. Dravidian: Konḍa *niŋ-* ‘to rise up from a sitting position, to wake up (from sleep)’, *nik-* ‘to lift up, to raise, to rouse from sleep’; Pengo *niŋ(g)-* (*niṉt-*) ‘to rise, to get up’, *nik-* ‘to raise’; Kui *ninga* (*ningi-*) ‘to rise, to arise, to stand up’, *nipka-* (< *nik-p-*; *nikt-*) ‘to raise, to cause to stand up’; Kuwi *ningali* ‘to arise’, *nikhali* ‘to arouse’, *ninginai* ‘to rise’, *nik-* ‘to lift up, to raise’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:324, no. 3665. Tuḷu *negiyuni* ‘to rise, to come up’, *negipuni* ‘to leap, to jump, to spring up’, *negapuni* ‘to overflow’; Kannaḍa *nege*, *nese* ‘to rise, to ascend, to go upward’, *negapu*, *negavu* ‘to lift up, to hold uplifted’, *neggu* ‘to lift’; Koraga *negi* ‘to lift’; Telugu *negayu* ‘to fly, to go up, to rise up, to jump’; Kolami *negay-* (*negayt-*) ‘to fly’; Naikṛi *negay-* ‘to fly, to rise’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984: 333, no. 3730.

C. Proto-Indo-European **nekʰ-* (secondary *o*-grade form: **nokʰ-*) ‘to bear, to carry, to convey’: Greek (reduplicated) ἐν-εγκ-εῖν ‘to bear, to convey’; Lithuanian *nešù*, *nešiaũ*, *nèšti* ‘to carry, to bear’; Old Church Slavic *nesǫ*, *nesti* ‘to carry, to bear’, *nošǫ*, *nositi* ‘to carry, to bear’. Pokorny 1959:316—318 **eneḱ-*, **neḱ-*, **enḱ-*, **n̥ḱ-* ‘to reach’; Walde 1927—1932.I:128—129 **eneḱ-*, **neḱ-*, **enḱ-*, **n̥ḱ-*; Rix 1998a:222—223 **h₁neḱ-* ‘to carry, to bear, to bring, to convey, to take’; Mann 1984—1987:834 **neḱ-* ‘to take, to bring, to carry’; Watkins 1985:44 **nek-* and 2000:57 **nek-* ‘to reach, to attain’; Mallory—Adams 1997:35 **h₁eneḱ-* ‘to attain’; Boisacq 1950:251—252 **neḱ-*; Hofmann 1966:82 **eneḱ-*; Frisk 1970—1973.I:512—513; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:346 **ə₁n-ek-*, **ə₁en-k-*; Beekes 1969:45 **ħ₁neḱ-*/**ħ₁enḱ-*, 131—132 **en-enḱ-* (**ħ₁en-ħ₁enḱ-*), and 2010.I:423—424 **h₁neḱ-*; Fraenkel 1962—1965.I:497—498; Smoczyński 2007.1:423; Derksen 2008:350 **h₁neḱ-* and 2015:334 **h₁neḱ-*. Note: Different from Proto-Indo-European **h̯h̯inkʰ-* (> **h̯h̯enkʰ-*) ‘to reach, to come to, to arrive at’ found in: Hittite (3rd sg. pres. act.) *ḫi-in-ik-zi* ‘to present, to deliver, to offer, to allot’; Sanskrit *aśnóti* ‘to reach, to come to, to arrive at, to get, to obtain; to master; to offer’; Latin *nancior* ‘to get, to

gain, to obtain', *nanciscor* 'to get, to gain, to receive, to meet'; Tocharian A *ents*-, B *eṅk*- 'to seize, to take'; etc.

Buck 1949:10.11 move (vb.); 10.61 carry (bear). Bomhard—Kerns 1994:375—376, no. 208; Möller 1911:67—68.

933. Proto-Nostratic (particle) **nu* 'now, at present, currently':

A. Afrasian: Egyptian *nw* 'time, hour'; Coptic *naw* [ⲛⲁⲩ] 'time, hour'. Hannig 1995:297—298; Faulkner 1962:127; Erman—Grapow 1921:78 and 1926—1963.2:219, 220; Gardiner 1957:573;Vycichl 1983:147; Černý 1976:114.

B. Proto-Indo-European (adv.) **nu* 'now': Sanskrit *nú*, *nū́* 'now'; Avestan *nū* 'now'; Old Persian *nūram* 'now'; Greek νυ, νύ, νῦν 'now'; Latin *nunc* 'now'; Old Irish verb prefix *nu-*/*no*-; Gothic *nu* 'now'; Old Icelandic *nú* 'now'; Faroese *nú* 'now'; Norwegian *no* 'now'; Danish *nu* 'now'; Old English *nū* 'now'; Old Frisian *nŭ̄* 'now'; Old Saxon *nŭ̄* 'now'; Dutch *nu* 'now'; Old High German *nŭ̄* 'now' (New High German *nun*); Lithuanian *nù* 'now'; Old Church Slavic *nynĕ* 'now'; Tocharian A *nu*, B *no* 'however, but; (al)though, then'; Hittite *nu* 'and, but'; Palaic *nu-ú* 'now'. Pokorny 1959:770 **nŭ̄* 'now'; Walde 1927—1932.II:340 **nŭ̄*; Mann 1984—1987:854—855 **nŭ̄*, **nŭ̄n*, **nŭ̄nai* 'so, now, well, then'; Watkins 1985:45 **nu*- and 2000:59 **nu*- 'now'; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.I:359 **nu/*no* and 1995.I:313 **nu/*no*; Mallory—Adams 1997:397 **nu* 'now'; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.II:175; Hofmann 1966:219; Boisacq 1950:673 **nu*-, **nū*-; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:758; Frisk 1970—1973.II:325; Beekes 2010.II:1025 **nu*, **nuH*; De Vaan 2008:418; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.II:187—188 **nŭ̄*; Ernout—Meillet 1979:450 **nŭ̄*; Kroonen 2013:392 Proto-Germanic **nū* 'now'; Orël 2003:289 Proto-Germanic **nu*; Lehmann 1986:269 **nŭ̄*, **nŭ̄-no*-; Feist 1939:380; De Vries 1977:412; Onions 1966:616; Klein 1971:502 **nŭ̄*; Boutkan—Siebinga 2005:292; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:516 West Germanic **nŭ̄*; Kluge—Seebold 1989:509 **nu*; Falk—Torp 1903—1906.II:17; Fraenkel 1962—1965.I:509—510; Smoczyński 2007.1:429; Derksen 2008:360 **nū*, **nu* and 2015:338 **nu*-; Van Windekens 1976—1982.I:320 **nu*-, **nū*-; Adams 1999:347 **nū*-; Kloekhorst 2008b:607—608.

C. Uralic: Proto-Finno-Permian **nü-kз* (**ni-kз*) 'now' > Finnish *nyky*- 'present, current' in: *nykyaika* 'modern times', *nykyhetki* 'the present', *nykyinen* 'present, current'; *nyt*, (dialectal) *ny*, *nyy* 'now'; Estonian *nüüd*, (dialectal) *nüü* 'now, at present; by now'; Mordvin (Erza) *ńej*, (Moksha) *ńi* 'now'; Votyak / Udmurt (Sarapul) *ni* 'already'; Zyrian / Komi (Udora) *ńin*, *nin*, (Permyak) *ńi* 'already'. Rédei 1986—1988:707 **nikз* (**nükз*).

Buck 1949:14.18 now. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:681, no. 561; Illič-Svityč 1971—1984.II:97, no. 335, **Nüqʌ* ‘now’; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 1537, **n̄üH$_1$[æ]* ¬ **n̄üw[æ]* ‘now’ and, no. 1541, **n̄ükV* ¬ **n̄ukE* ‘now’.

934. Proto-Nostratic root **nus^{y}-* (~ **nos^{y}-*):
(vb.) **nus^{y}-* ‘to be small, minute, soft, weak, delicate’;
(n.) **nus^{y}-a* ‘smallness, insufficiency, decrease, diminishment’; (adj.) ‘small, minute, soft, weak, delicate’
Derivatives:
(n.) **nus^{y}-a* ‘woman, female; any female connected by marriage: wife, bride, sister-in-law, daughter-in-law’
(vb.) **nus^{y}-* ‘to be weakened, debilitated, sick; to ache, to suffer, to be in pain’;
(n.) **nus^{y}-a* ‘weakness, sickness, disease, malady, ache, pain, affliction’

A. Proto-Afrasian **n[u]s^{y}-* ‘to be small, minute, soft, weak, delicate’: Proto-Semitic **ʔa-nas^{y}-* ‘to be small, little, weak’ > Akkadian *enēšu* ‘to become weak’, *enšu* ‘weak, powerless, lean’, *enšūtu* ‘weakness’; Hebrew *ʔānaš* [אָנַשׁ] ‘to be weak, to be sick’; Ugaritic (f.) *ảnšt* ‘intimate friend’; Arabic *ʔanisa*, *ʔanusa* ‘to be companionable, sociable, nice, friendly, genial’, *ʔanīs* ‘close, intimate; close friend; friendly, kind, affable, civil, polite, courteous’, *ʔinsāna* ‘woman’, *ʔānisa* ‘young lady, miss’; Soqoṭri *ʔenes* ‘to be small’; Geez / Ethiopic (with metathesis) *nəʔsa* [ንእሰ] ‘to be small, to be little, to be young, to be diminished, to be penniless’, *nəʔus* [ንኡስ] ‘small, little, lesser, younger, minor, low (voice)’, (f.) *naʔās* [ነኣስ] ‘small, minor, young, young girl’, *nāʔs* [ናእስ] ‘smallness, littleness, youth, misery’; Tigrinya *näʔasä* ‘to be small, to be little’; Tigre *näʔaša* ‘to be small, to be little’; Amharic *annäsä* ‘to be less, to be insufficient, to diminish, to decrease, to be too little, to be small, to shrink, to flag (of strength)’; Harari *anäsa* ‘to be little, to be less, to decrease’; Argobba *hannäsa* ‘to be small, to be little’; Gurage *anäsä* ‘to be small, to be little, to be less’. Murtonen 1989:96; Klein 1987:42; Leslau 1963:29, 1979:73, and 1987:381—382. Proto-Semitic **nas^{y}-ar-* ‘to wear down, to reduce in size, to diminish, to weaken’ > Akkadian *našāru* ‘to deduct, to remove, to reduce in size, to diminish in strength, to weaken, to subtract’; Arabic *nasara* ‘to loosen and tear away, to tear off’.

B. Proto-Dravidian **nŏ̄(y)-*/**noc(c)-*, **nŭ̄(y)-*/**nuc(c)-* ‘small, minute, soft, weak, delicate’: Tamil *no* ‘small, tiny, minute, thin, slender’, *novvu* (*novvi-*) ‘to become thin, slender, minute’, *noci* ‘to be thin, slender, minute’, *nocivu* ‘slenderness, fineness’, *noy* ‘grits, groats, smallness, softness, lightness’, *noytal* ‘minuteness’, *noytu* ‘that which is thin, poor, light’, *noyppam* ‘delicateness, tenderness, skill, ability’, *noymai*, *noyvu* ‘lightness, softness, minuteness’, *noyya* ‘small, minute, soft, weak, poor’, *nucuppu* ‘waist of a woman’, *noyyenal* expression signifying lightness, thinness, insignificance; Malayalam *noccu* ‘minute, light’, *nuśu* ‘small,

minute, young', *noy(i)* 'grits, groats, anything minute'; Kota *noca·k*, *onca·k* 'a little'; Kannaḍa *nusi* 'state of being crushed, strengthless; powder, dust'; Tuḷu *noccu*, *noccè* 'minute, light, paltry', *nuggu* 'small, little', *nuggelu̯* 'smallness'; Telugu *nusi* 'small, little, slight; the dust into which wood is reduced by insects', *nusūgu* 'to slight, to scorn', *nũ̄gu* 'down, downiness, hairiness'; Kolami *nuyung* 'smooth'; Kui *nūsu* 'soft, smooth, fleecy'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:337, no. 3779. Possibly here also: Kannaḍa *nusi* 'a minute insect that destroys wood, any cloth, and paper or that destroys grain; eye-fly, gnat'; Telugu *nusuma* 'eye-fly, gnat, midge'; Gondi *nusme* 'mosquito', *nūsī* 'flour-weevil, weevil', *nusi* 'crop rust'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:329—330, no. 3699.

Buck 1949:4.82 weak; 12.56 small, little; 15.75 soft.

935. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **nus^{y}-a* 'woman, female; any female connected by marriage: wife, bride, sister-in-law, daughter-in-law':
Derivative of:
(vb.) **nus^{y}-* 'to be small, minute, soft, weak, delicate';
(n.) **nus^{y}-a* 'smallness, insufficiency, decrease, diminishment'; (adj.) 'small, minute, soft, weak, delicate'

Semantic development as in Naikṛi *koraḷ* 'daughter-in-law, bride' and Telugu *kōḍalu* 'daughter-in-law', both from the same stem found in Tamil *kuṛa* 'young, tender', Kannaḍa *koḍa* 'tenderness, tender age, youth', Tuḷu *korè* 'weak, small', etc. (cf. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:193—194, no. 2149).

A. Proto-Afrasian **nus^{y}-* 'woman, female': Proto-Semitic (pl.) (**nəs^{y}-w-* >) **nis^{y}-w-* 'women' > Hebrew (pl.) *nāšīm* [נָשִׁים] 'women'; Aramaic (pl.) *nešš̄ē* 'women'; Arabic (pl.) *niswa*, *niswān*, *nisāʾ* 'women', *niswī*, *nisāʾī* 'female, feminine, womanly'. Murtonen 1989:96; Klein 1987:429; Zammit 2002:400. West Chadic: Fyer *nusi* 'woman'; Sha *nisi* 'female'. Central Chadic: Tera *nušu* 'woman'; Guduf *nɔ́sʌ̀* 'woman'; Ngweshe *násè* 'woman'; Dghwede *níšè* 'woman'. Jungraithmayr—Ibriszimow 1994.II: 346—347. Orël—Stolbova 1995:406, no. 1887, **nüs-* 'woman'.
B. Proto-Indo-European **(s)nuso-s* 'daughter-in-law': Sanskrit *snuṣā́* 'son's wife, daughter-in-law'; Armenian *nu* 'daughter-in-law'; Greek νυός 'daughter-in-law; any female connected by marriage; wife, bride'; Albanian *nuse* 'bride, (rarely) daughter-in-law'; Latin *nurus* 'daughter-in-law; a young married woman'; Crimean Gothic *schuos* (misprint for **schnos*) 'betrothed'; Old Icelandic *snør*, *snor* 'daughter-in-law'; Old English *snoru* 'daughter-in-law'; Old Frisian *snore* 'daughter-in-law'; Middle Dutch *snoer*, *snorre* 'daughter-in-law'; Old High German *snur*, *snor*, *snura*, *snuora* 'daughter-in-law' (New High German *Schnur*); Serbian Church Slavic *snъxa* 'daughter-in-law'; Russian *snoxá* [сноха] 'daughter-in-law'; Slovenian *snáha* 'daughter-in-law'; Polish *sneszka*

‘daughter-in-law’. Pokorny 1959:978 **snusós* ‘daughter-in-law’; Walde 1927—1932.II:701—702 **snusós*; Mann 1984—1987:1238 **snusos*, *-ā*, *-i̯ə*, *-us* ‘daughter-in-law’; Mallory—Adams 1997:148 **snusós* ‘son’s wife, brother’s wife’; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.II:761, II:763, II:771 **snuso-* and 1995.I:663, I:664, I:665, I:673 **snuso-* ‘daughter-in-law, sister-in-law’; Frisk 1970—1973.II:328 **snusó-s*; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:760 **snuso-*; Boisacq 1950:674—675 **snusó-s*; Hofmann 1966:220 **snusós*; Beekes 2010.II:1028 **snuso-*; Huld 1983:100; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.II:190 **snusós*; Ernout—Meillet 1979:452; De Vaan 2008:420 **snusó-* (f.) ‘daugher-in-law’; Orël 1998:302 and 2003:359 Proto-Germanic **snuzō(n)*; Kroonen 2013:463 Proto-Germanic **snuzō-* ‘daugher-in-law’; De Vries 1977:528; Feist 1939:414—415 **snusós*; Lehmann 1939:298—299 **snusós*; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:673 **snusós*; Kluge—Seebold 1989:649—650 **snusó-*; Derksen 2008:458 **snus-ó-*; Szemerényi 1977c:68; Wodtko—Irslinger—Schneider 2008:625—626 **snus-ó-*. Notes: (1) Not related to **snew-* ‘to bind’ (as, for example, Buck 1949:2.64). (2) Some rather striking Indo-European loans are found in the indigenous languages of the Caucasus: Northwest Caucasian: Kabardian, Adyghe, Bždedux *nəsa* ‘(father’s) brother’s wife, daughter-in-law’; Ubykh *nəsá:γ* ‘(father’s) brother’s wife, daughter-in-law’; South Caucasian / Kartvelian: Mingrelian *nisa*, *nosa* ‘daughter-in-law’; Laz *nusa*, *nisa* ‘daughter-in-law’; Northeast Caucasian: Avar, Batsbi, Chechen, Ingush *nus* ‘daughter-in-law’; Andi *nusa* ‘daughter-in-law’; Ghodberi *nuse-j* ‘daughter-in-law’; Tindi *nus(a)* ‘daughter-in-law’; Karta *nusa* ‘daughter-in-law’; etc. (cf. Tuite—Schulze 1998:363—383, especially pp. 363—366, for a full list).

(?) Sumerian (reduplicated) *nunus*, *nu-nus*, *nu-nu-us* ‘wife, woman’.

Buck 1949:2.22 woman; 2.64 daughter-in-law. Dolgopolsky 1998:89—90, no. 113, **n/ǹu/üśV* or **n/ǹu/üsyV* ‘woman’ (general term) and 2008, no. 1567, **ˈn̄ûs[y]V* ‘woman (general term), woman of the opposite exogamous moiety’.

936. Proto-Nostratic root **nus^{y}-* (~ **nos^{y}-*):
(vb.) **nus^{y}-* ‘to be weakened, debilitated, sick; to ache, to suffer, to be in pain’;
(n.) **nus^{y}-a* ‘weakness, sickness, disease, malady, ache, pain, affliction’
Derivative of:
(vb.) **nus^{y}-* ‘to be small, minute, soft, weak, delicate’;
(n.) **nus^{y}-a* ‘smallness, insufficiency, decrease, diminishment’; (adj.) ‘small, minute, soft, weak, delicate’

A. Proto-Dravidian **nŏ̄(y)-/*noc(c)-* ‘to be weakened, debilitated, sick; to ache, to suffer, to be in pain’: Tamil *nō* ‘to feel pain, to ache, to suffer, to be grieved, to be distressed in mind, to be injured, to be spoiled’, *nōy* ‘to

be ill, diseased, debilitated; to wither', *noci* 'to be in pain, to suffer'; Malayalam *nōka* 'to pain, to smart, to be in labor', *noyi*, *nōyi* 'weakness, pain', *nōvu* 'pain, ache, grief, sorrow', *nōvuka* 'to suffer pain'; Kota *no·v* 'disease, pain'; Toda *nu·* 'sickness'; Kannaḍa *nō* (*nond-*), *noyyu*, *nōyu*, *noy* 'to suffer pain, to ache, to feel pain, to grieve', *nōta* 'ache, pain', *nōvu* 'affliction'; Koḍagu *no-* (*novv-*, *nond-*) 'to pain (intr.)'; Telugu *noccu* (*novv-*/*nōv-*/*nō-*) 'to ache, to pain, to smart, to be grieved', *noncu* 'to pain, to wound, to hurt', *nogulu*, *novulu* 'to grieve, to sorrow, to feel pain, to be spoiled, to be ruined', *novvi*, *novvu*, *nōvi*, *nōvu* 'pain, disease', *nōyu* 'to ache'; Tuḷu *nōpuni*, *nōpini*, *nōyipini* 'to ache, to pain', *nōvu* 'pain, ache, distress'; Parji *noy-* (*noñ-*) 'to be painful, to hurt, to ache'; Gadba (Ollari) *noy-* 'to be painful'; Gondi *noiyānā* 'to hurt, to pain, to ache', *nō-* 'to pain (intr.)'; Konḍa *nō-* 'to pain, to ache (as limbs after hard work, etc.)'; Pengo *nō-* 'to hurt, to be painful', *nōc-* (*nōcc-*) 'to be ill, to have fever'; Manḍa *nū-* 'to hurt, to pain', *nūmer* 'disease, fever'; Kui *nōva* (*nōt-*) 'to be painful, to hurt'; Kuwi *nō-* 'to pain, to ache', *nōmeri* 'fever, sickness, illness', *nōhi* 'pain'; Kuṛux *nuṅjnā* (*nuṅcas*, *nuṅjcas*) 'to smart, to pain', *nunje* '(vb.) to pain; (n.) pain', *nunjuwre* 'to be hurt'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:339, no. 3793; Krishnamurti 2003:191 **nōy-* 'to pain'.

B. Proto-Indo-European **nos-* (secondary *e*-grade form: **nes-*) 'to be or become sick, ill; to cause to be or become sick, to make sick': Greek νοσέω 'to be ill, to ail', νόσος (Homeric νοῦσος < *νοσϝος) 'sickness, disease, malady'; Tocharian A *nesset* 'spell', B *nässait* (~ *niset*) 'spell' (used only in combination with *yām-* as 'cast a spell [over], to put someone under a spell, to bewitch'). Boisacq 1950:672; Frisk 1970—1973.II:323—324; Hofmann 1966:219; Prellwitz 1905:315—316; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:757; Beekes 2010.II:1023—1024; Adams 2013:358.

Buck 1949:4.82 weak; 4.84 sick; sickness; 16.31 pain, suffering. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:685—686, no. 567.

22.45. PROTO-NOSTRATIC *nʸ

				Eurasiatic			
Proto-Nostratic	Proto-Afrasian	Proto-Dravid.	Proto-Kartvel.	Proto-IE	Proto-Uralic	Proto-Altaic	Proto-Eskimo
nʸ-	n-	ñ-		n-	nʸ-	nʸ-	
-nʸ-	-n-	-ṉ-		-n-	-nʸ-	-nʸ-	

937. Proto-Nostratic root **nʸaʕ-* (~ **nʸəʕ-*):
Extended form:
(vb.) **nʸaʕ-V-r-* ‘to appear, to arise, to sprout, to come into being; to grow (up), to mature’;
(n.) **nʸaʕ-r-a* ‘shoot, sprout, seedling’
Derivative:
(n.) **nʸaʕ-r-a* ‘young man, boy, youth’

A. Proto-Dravidian **ñāṟ-* ‘(vb.) to appear, to arise, to sprout, to come into being; to grow (up), to mature; (n.) seedling, sprout, shoot’: Tamil *ñāṟu* (*ñāṟi-*) ‘to appear, to arise’, *nāṟu* (*nāṟi-*) ‘to sprout, to shoot forth, to come into being, to be born, to appear, to arise’, *nāṟu* ‘seedlings reared for transplantation, shoot, sprout’, *nāṟṟu* ‘seedlings reared for transplantation’, *nāṟṟam* ‘origin, appearance’; Malayalam *nāṟuka* ‘to grow up’, *ñāṟu* ‘young plant fit for transplanting’; Kota *na·t* ‘seedlings raised for transplanting (paddy, tea, coffee, blue gum)’; Kannaḍa *nāṭu* ‘to sprout’, *nāṭgi* ‘a sprout’; Koḍagu *në·r-* (*në·ruv-*, *në·nd-*) ‘(person or thing) to rise up or come into view, (plant) to become tall’; Tuḷu *nēji* ‘nursling, young plant of rice, etc.’; Telugu *nāṟu* ‘young sprouts or plants which are to be transplanted’; Gondi *nēr* ‘rice-seedling’; Koṇḍa *nēṟ-* ‘(a plant) to rise from the seed’, *nāru* ‘seedlings for transplantation’; Pengo *nēz-* (*nēst-*) ‘to sprout’; Manḍa *nēy-* ‘to sprout’; Kui *nēja* (*nēji-*) ‘(vb.) to sprout up out of the ground, to germinate, to shoot up; (n.) a sproutling’; Kuwi *ney-* ‘to sprout’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:253, no. 2919.

B. Proto-Uralic **nʸärɜ* ‘sprout, sprig, twig’: Hungarian *nyír*/*nyire-* ‘sprout, reed, stalk (of reeds); twig, birch’; (?) Cheremis / Mari *nörgö* ‘sprout, twig, young tree (one year old)’; Votyak / Udmurt *ńör* ‘sprig, switch, twig’; Vogul / Mansi *ńir*, *ńər* ‘reed, switch, twig’; Ostyak / Xanty *ńər* ‘thicket grown up on the site of an earlier fire; copse, thicket’, (Yugan) *ńəri* ‘willow, twig’ (?), (Southern) *ńərə* ‘rowlock-cord of twisted willow’; Selkup Samoyed *ŋjärh* ‘willow-tree’, (?) *ńarga* ‘willow-copse’; Yurak Samoyed / Nenets *neeru* ‘reed; willow; switch, twig’, *nierka* ‘willow-tree’; Taigi *nerge* ‘willow-tree’; Kamassian *narga* ‘willow-tree’; Tavgi Samoyed / Nganasan *nerki* ‘willow-tree’. Collinder 1955:43, 1960:408 **ńerkɜ* (or **ńõrkɜ*), and 1977:61; Rédei 1986—1988:331 **ńɤ̈rɜ* (**ńɤrɜ*, **ńɤrkɜ*); Décsy 1990:104 **njärä* ‘twig, switch’; Janhunen 1977b:108 **ńɐ̈r-*.

Buck 1949:12.53 grow (= increase in size). Illič-Svityč 1971—1984.II:83—85, no. 318, **ńaʕrʌ* ‘young, new-born’; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 1625, **ńaʕ̲ŕE* ‘young, new-born’; Bomhard—Kerns 1994:692—694, no. 575.

938. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **nʸaʕ-r-a* ‘young man, boy, youth’:
Derivative of:
(vb.) **nʸaʕ-V-r-* ‘to appear, to arise, to sprout, to come into being; to grow (up), to mature’;
(n.) **nʸaʕ-r-a* ‘shoot, sprout, seedling’

A. Afrasian: Proto-Semitic **naʕar-* ‘young man, boy, youth’ > Hebrew *naʿar* [נַעַר] ‘boy, lad, youth’, *nōʿar* [נֹעַר] ‘youth, early life’; Ugaritic *nʿr* ‘boy, servant’; Phoenician *nʿr* ‘youth, boyhood’, *nʿr* ‘young man, youth’. Murtonen 1989:285; Klein 1987:421; Tomback 1978:217. Egyptian *nʿrn /naʿaruna/* ‘young soldiers’ (= Canaanite **naʿrōn(a)* ‘group of young men’). Albright 1934:49; Hannig 1995:395; Erman—Grapow 1921:77 and 1926—1963.2:209.

B. Proto-Altaic **nʸi̯arʸi* ‘man, young man’: Proto-Tungus **nʸ(i)ari* ‘man, person, young man’ > Evenki *nirawī* ‘young man’; Lamut / Even *ńarị* ‘man, young man’; Negidal *ńə̑yawī* ‘young man’; Manchu *niyalma* ‘man, person; another person, someone else, others’ (Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak write *ńalma*); Spoken Manchu (Sibo) *nanə* ‘person, human being’; Jurchen *neʁma* ‘man, person’; Ulch *ńī* ‘man’; Orok *nari* ‘man’; Nanay / Gold *naị* ‘man, person’, (dial.) *nị́a* ‘man’; Oroch *ńā̄*, *ńī* ‘man’; Udihe *nī* ‘man’. Proto-Mongolian **ǯer-me-* ‘young man’ > Khalkha (Bayat) *ǯermegei* ‘young man’; Buriat *žerbeger* ‘shapely, handsome (of a man)’. Proto-Turkic **yerʸ-ne* ‘son-in-law, sister’s husband’ > Karakhanide Turkic *yezne* ‘son-in-law, sister’s husband’; Azerbaijani *yeznä* ‘son-in-law, sister’s husband’; Turkmenian (dial.) *yezne* ‘son-in-law, sister’s husband’; Uzbek *ǯeznä*, *ǯezdä* ‘son-in-law, sister’s husband’; Tatar *ǯiznɛ*, *ǯizni* ‘son-in-law, sister’s husband’; Kirghiz *ǯezde* ‘son-in-law, sister’s husband’; Kazakh *žezde* ‘son-in-law, sister’s husband’; Noghay *yezde* ‘son-in-law, sister’s husband’; Sary-Uighur *yezde* ‘son-in-law, sister’s husband’; Oyrot (Mountain Altai) *yeste*, *d'este* ‘son-in-law, sister’s husband’; Tuva *česte* ‘son-in-law, sister’s husband’. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:1013—1014 **ńi̯aŕi* ‘man, young man’.

Buck 1949:14.14 young. Illič-Svityč 1971—1984.II:83—85, no. 318, **ńaʕrʌ* ‘young, new-born’; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 1625, **ńaʕ̲ŕE* ‘young, new-born’; Bomhard—Kerns 1994:692—694, no. 575.

939. Proto-Nostratic root **nʸam-* (~ **nʸəm-*):
(vb.) **nʸam-* ‘to press, to squeeze’;
(n.) **nʸam-a* ‘pressing, squeezing’

A. Proto-Dravidian **ñam-* ‘to press, to squeeze, to crush, to pinch’: Tamil *ñemi* ‘to break, to give way (as under weight)’, *ñemiṭu* (*ñemiṭi-*) ‘to crush, to press out with the hands, to rub’, *ñemir* ‘to be crushed, compressed; to be pressed out (as pulp); to break, to snap off’, *ñemuṅku* (*ñemuṅki-*) ‘to yield to pressure, to be pressed in, to be squeezed (as ripe fruit), to be compact, to be in close contact’, *ñemukku* (*ñemukki-*) ‘to press hard’, *ñemukkam* ‘yielding to pressure’, *namuku* (*namuki-*) ‘to yield under pressure’, *nimiṭṭu* (*nimiṭṭi-*) ‘to pinch (as in punishment), to rub or crush between the hands’, *nimiṇṭu* (*nimiṇṭi-*) ‘to crush, to squeeze between the hands (as grain), to pinch, to nip off’; Malayalam *ñamuṇṭuka* ‘to yield to pressure, to sink, to bulge’, *ñeviṇṭuka* ‘to bruise between the fingers, to squeeze’; Koḍagu *ñavṇḍ-* (*ñavṇḍi-*) ‘to squeeze’; Tuḷu *nauṇṭuni* ‘to pinch’, *nauntu* ‘squeezing, pinching, crushing’, *naumpuni* ‘to entangle’; Kuwi *nabgali* ‘to press down’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:254, no. 2926.

B. Uralic: Proto-Finno-Ugrian **nʸamɜ-* (or **nʸomɜ-*) ‘to press (together), to squeeze’ > Hungarian *nyom-* ‘to press’, *nyom* ‘footprint’, *nyomás* ‘pressure, pressing, pushing’; (?) Cheremis / Mari *numurge-*, *ńumurge-* ‘to condense, to concentrate, to compress, to draw together; to contract, to condense, to tighten (intr.)’; (?) Zyrian / Komi *ńamyrt-* ‘to compress, to squeeze, to press; to take, to seize’, *ńamral-* ‘to squeeze out, to press’, *ńaml'av-* ‘to knead’. Collinder 1955:103, 1960:414 **ńomɜ*, and 1977:117; Rédei 1986—1988:330 **ńɤmɜ*. Yukaghir (Southern / Kolyma) *ńamγə-* ‘to champ’. Nikolaeva 2006:287.

C. Proto-Altaic **nʸi̯ame-* ‘to crush, to destroy; to cripple, to maim; to be crushed, destroyed, weakened’: Proto-Tungus **nʸim-*/**nʸum-* ‘to be weakened, exhausted, sick’ > Evenki *ńumu* ‘weakness, sickness’; Lamut / Even *ńụmъr* ‘shame’, *ńụm-* ‘to be weakened, exhausted, sick’; Negidal *ńomụ-* ‘to be weakened, exhausted, sick’; Manchu *nime-* ‘to ache, to be painful, to suffer, to be ill’, *nimeku* ‘sickness, illness; pain; defect, weakness’; Spoken Manchu (Sibo) *nimə-* ‘to be weakened, exhausted, sick’; Ulch *ńimeremdi*, *ńumeremži* ‘shameless’, *ńumursi-* ‘to be sorry, sad’; Nanay / Gold *ńịmorịži*, *ńomorị* ‘awkward’. Mongolian: Written Mongolian *ǯemdeg* ‘crippled, handicapped, maimed’, *ǯemdeg bolγaqu* ‘to mutilate, to maim, to cripple’, *ǯemdegle-* ‘to cripple’; Khalkha *ʒemdeg* ‘crippled, handicapped, maimed’; Dagur *d'emden* ‘crippled, handicapped, maimed’; Shira-Yughur *ǯemteg* ‘crippled, handicapped, maimed’. Proto-Turkic **yem-ür-* ‘to crush, to destroy’ > Old Turkic (Old Uighur) *yemir-* ‘to crush, to destroy; to curse, to reproach’; Karakhanide Turkic *yemür-* ‘to crush, to destroy’; Azerbaijani *yümür-* ‘to crush, to destroy’; Turkmenian *yemir-* ‘to crush, to destroy’; Uighur *yimir-* ‘to crush, to destroy’; Karaim *yemir-* ‘to crush, to destroy’; Tatar *ǯimer-* ‘to crush, to destroy’; Bashkir *yemer-* ‘to crush, to destroy’; Kirghiz *ǯemir-* ‘to crush, to destroy’; Noghay *yemir-* ‘to crush, to destroy’; Oyrot (Mountain Altai) *yemir-*, *d'emir-* ‘to crush, to destroy’; Tuva *čemir-* ‘to crush, to destroy’; Chuvash *śəʷməʷr-*

‘to crush, to destroy; to curse, to reproach’. Décsy 1998:108 *jimir* ‘to smash’; Clauson 1972:937 *jämir*. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:1011—1012 **ńi̯ame* ‘to curse, to harm’.

Buck 1949:4.82 weak; 4.84 sick; sickness; 11.27 destroy. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:692, no. 574; Illič-Svityč 1971—1984.II:85, no. 319, **ńamʌ* ‘to squeeze, to seize’; Pudas-Marlow 1974:136, no. 603; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 1602, **ńam[o]* ‘to squeeze, to seize’.

940. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **nʸapʰ-a* ‘offspring, descendant, young one’:

A. Proto-Afrasian **n[a]f-* ‘offspring, descendant, young one’: Semitic: Akkadian *niplu* ‘offshoot’, *nipru* ‘offspring’. Egyptian *nfrw* (pl.) ‘young men (of army), recruits’ (also *ḫwnw nfrw*), (f.) *nfr-t* ‘maiden, young woman, teenager’. Hannig 1995:409; Faulkner 1962:132; Erman—Grapow 1921:81 and 1926—1963.2:258; Gardiner 1957:574. Chadic: Pero *neepe* ‘first-born child’.

B. Proto-Indo-European **nepʰ-(ō)tʰ-* ‘descendant, offspring, grandson’: Sanskrit *nápāt-* ‘descendant, offspring, grandson’ (RV also *náptṛ-*, in weak cases only), (f.) *naptī́-ḥ* ‘female descendant, granddaughter’; Pāḷi *nattar-* ‘grandson’; Avestan (nom.) *napå̊*, (obl.) *napāt-* ‘grandson’, *naptya-* ‘descendant, offspring’; Old Persian (nom.) *napā*, (obl.) *napāt-* ‘grandson’; Albanian *nip* ‘nephew, grandson’; Greek (Homeric) νέποδες ‘young ones, children’ (according to Mallory—Adams 1997:239, “the erroneous δ was backformed from *νέπως, the regular nominative, when the stem-final consonant was no longer certain”); Latin (nom. sg.) *nepōs* (< **nepōts*) ‘grandson, nephew’ (gen. sg. *nepōtis*), (f.) *neptis* ‘granddaughter’; Old Irish *ni(a)e*, *nia* ‘sister’s son’, (f.) *necht* ‘niece’; Middle Welsh *nei* ‘nephew’ (Modern Welsh *nai*); Old Cornish *noi* ‘nephew’; Middle Breton *ni* ‘nephew’; Old Icelandic *nefi* ‘nephew’, (f.) *nipt* ‘female relative, sister’; Old English *nefa* ‘nephew, grandson, stepson’, (f.) *nift* ‘granddaughter, stepdaughter, niece’; Old Frisian *neva* ‘nephew’, (f.) *nift* ‘niece’; Old Saxon *nevo* ‘nephew’; Dutch *neef* ‘nephew’, (f.) *nicht* ‘niece’ (Middle Dutch *nifte*, *nichte*); Old High German *nevo* ‘nephew’ (New High German *Neffe*), (f.) *nift* ‘niece’ (New High German *Nichte* [< Middle Low German *nichte*]); Old Lithuanian *nepõtis*, *nepuotìs* ‘grandson’, (f.) *neptẽ* ‘granddaughter’; Russian Church Slavic *netijь* ‘nephew’, (f.) *nestera* ‘niece’; Old Russian *netii* ‘nephew’; Old Polish *nieć* ‘cousin’, *nieściora* ‘niece’; Czech *net'*, *neteř* ‘niece’; Serbo-Croatian *nèstera* ‘niece’. Pokorny 1959:764 **nepōt-* ‘grandson, nephew’, (f.) **neptī-* ‘granddaughter, niece’; **neptı̯os* ‘descendant’; Walde 1927—1932.II:329—330 **nepōt-*, (f.) **neptī-*; Mann 1984—1987:835—836 **nepis*, *nepō(n)* ‘nephew, grandson’, 836 **nepōts* (**nepəts*) ‘nephew, grandson’, 836 **nepteris* (**neptris*) ‘niece, granddaughter’, 838 **neptis* ‘niece, granddaughter’;

Watkins 1985:44 **nepōt-* and 2000:58 **nepōt-* ‘grandson, nephew’ (f. **neptī-*); Mallory—Adams 1997:239—240 **nepōts* ‘grandson; (?) sister’s son’ (gen. **népotos*) (Mallory—Adams note: “Efforts to etymologize **ne-pot-* as ‘powerless’ [< **ne-* ‘not’ + **potis* ‘independent, dominating’, i.e., young unmarried male of extended family] are pointless as the correct segmentation revealed by the feminine forms is **nep-ot-* in which *-ot-* is the same nominal suffix found in Germanic **mēnōþ-* ‘month’ [from ‘moon’] or Hit[tite] *sīw-att-* ‘day’ [from ‘daytime, sky’]”); Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.II:768, fn. 1, **nep[ʰ]ōt[ʰ]-* and 1995.I:669, fn. 51, **nepʰōtʰ-* ‘grandson’; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.II:132—133; Boisacq 1950:664—665; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:747; Frisk 1970—1973.II:307—308; Huld 1984:99; Hofmann 1966:215; Beekes 2010.II:1010; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.II:161—162 **nepōt-*, (f.) **neptī-*; De Vaan 2008:405—406; Ernout—Meillet 1979:437—438; Orël 1998:300 and 2003:283 **nefōđ(z)*, 283—284 **neftiz*; Kroonen 2013:386 Proto-Germanic **nefan-* ‘nephew, cousin’, and 387 **neftī-* ‘niece, cousin’; De Vries 1977:406 and 410; Onions 1966:607 Common Germanic **neƀon* and 609 Common Germanic **niptiz*; Klein 1971:493 and 496; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:506 **népōt* and 510 **neptī-*; Kluge—Seebold 1989:500—501 **nepōt-* and 503 **neptiə-*; Vercoullie 1898:200; Derksen 2008:350—351; Smoczyński 2007.1:420 **nep-ōt-s*; Fraenkel 1962—1965.I:494 **nepōt-*, (f.) **neptī-*; Derksen 2008:349—350 **h₂nep-t-ter-eh₂*, 350—351 **(h₂)nep-t-i-o-*, and 2015:332 **(h₂)nep-t-ih₂*; **(h₂)nep-ōt*, **(h₂)nep-(o)t*; Wodtko—Irslinger—Schneider 2008:520—524 **népōt-*, **népot-*, **nept-*.

C. Proto-Uralic **nʸepɬ3* ‘reindeer calf’: Lapp / Saami (Southern) *njäblo-* ‘to give birth to a calf’, (Lule) *njäb'loo* ‘weak, feeble (said of a reindeer calf in its first weeks of life; also said of dogs and children’); Yurak Samoyed / Nenets (Obdorsk) *ńaabl'uuj* ‘hide of the reindeer calf in autumn (when the fur begins to thicken in anticipation of the colder weather)’. Rédei 1986—1988:316 **ńepɬ3*; Décsy 1990:104 **njeplä* ‘reindeer calf’.

D. Proto-Altaic **nʸablʸu(-ǯV)* (< **nʸapʰ-lʸu-* ?) ‘young (of plants, animals), child’: Proto-Tungus **nʸab[l]ǯa-* ‘young, boy, child’ > Ulch *ńawǯa(n)* ‘young, boy, child’; Orok *naoǯoqqa(n)* ‘young, boy, child’; Nanay / Gold *naonǯoã* ‘young, boy, child’; Udihe *ńa‘ula* ‘young, boy, child’. Proto-Mongolian **ǯulǯa-gan* ‘young (of plants, animals)’ > Written Mongolian *ǯulǯaγa(n)* ‘fledgling, nestling, squab; young of an animal (except cattle), young of a plant’; Khalkha *ʒulʒgan*, *ʒulʒaga* ‘fledgling, nestling; the young of animals (except cattle); tree sprout or shoot’; Buriat *zulzaga* ‘young (of plants, animals)’; Kalmyk *zulǯiγən* ‘young (of plants, animals)’; Ordos *ǯulǯaɢa* ‘young (of plants, animals)’; Dagur *ǯilǯig*, *ǯilǯag* ‘young (of plants, animals)’; Dongxiang *ǯunǯuγa* ‘young (of plants, animals)’; Shira-Yughur *ǯilǯaɢan* ‘young (of plants, animals)’; Monguor *ʑiʑiɢa* ‘young of certain animals; bud, sprout’. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:1002 **ńabĺu(-ǯu)* ‘young, child’.

E. Etruscan *neftś*, *nefš*, *nefiś* ‘nephew, grandson’ (< Latin *nepōs* ‘grandson, nephew’).

Buck 1949:2.48 grandson; 2.49 granddaughter; 2.53 nephew; 2.54 niece. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:691—692, no. 573.

941. Proto-Nostratic root *$n^{y}uk^{h}$- (~ *$n^{y}ok^{h}$-):
(vb.) *$n^{y}uk^{h}$- ‘to shake, to tremble’;
(n.) *$n^{y}uk^{h}$-*a* ‘shaking, trembling’

A. Afrasian: Proto-Semitic (reduplicated) **nak-nak-* ‘to shake’ > Arabic *naknaka* ‘to press a debtor hard; to do a thing well’; Geez / Ethiopic *naknaka* [**ነሕነሐ**] ‘to shake, to agitate, to hit hard, to stimulate, to excite, to trouble’; Tigrinya *näk̲näk̲ä* ‘to shake’; Tigre *näknäka* ‘to shake’; Amharic *näkännäkä* ‘to shake’. Leslau 1987:396—397.
B. Proto-Dravidian **ñukk-* ‘to shake’ (> North Dravidian **nukk-*): Kuṛux *nuknā* ‘to shake, to cause to oscillate, especially up and down’, *nukrū* ‘shaky, tottering’, *nukta?ānā* ‘to cause another to shake something’; Malto *nuke* ‘to shake’, *nukre* ‘to swing, to rock, to be shaken’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:329, no. 3696.
C. Uralic: Finno-Ugrian: Vogul / Mansi (Middle Konda) *ńowt-* ‘to swing, to rock, to sway’; Ostyak / Xanty (Vah, Vasyugan, Tremyugan) *ńoγa-*, (Yugan) *ńowa-*, (Kazym) *ńoχ̲a-* ‘to move (intr.)’.

Buck 1949:10.26 shake (vb. tr.). Illič-Svityč 1965:369 **ńukʌ* [‘тормошить’] ‘to pull’ and 1971—1984.II:91, no. 328, **ńükʌ* ‘to tremble, to shake’; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 1584, **ńukV*- ‘to shake, to swing, to tremble’.

				Eurasiatic			
Proto-Nostratic	Proto-Afrasian	Proto-Dravid.	Proto-Kartvel.	Proto-IE	Proto-Uralic	Proto-Altaic	Proto-Eskimo
l-	l-	l-	l-	l-	l-	l-	
-l-	-l-	-l-	-l-	-l-	-l-	-l-	-l-

942. Proto-Nostratic root **lab-* (~ **ləb-*):
(vb.) **lab-* ‘to take hold of, to grasp’;
(n.) **lab-a* ‘taking, grasping’
Possible derivative:
(vb.) **lab-* ‘to eat greedily, to lap (up), to suck milk’;
(n.) **lab-a* ‘eating, sucking’

A. Afrasian: Proto-Semitic **lab-ak-* ‘to take hold of, to grasp’ > Aramaic *ləβaχ* ‘to lay hold of, to hold fast’; Arabic *labaka* ‘to mix (which is done by touching), to mingle, to intermix; to confuse, to mix up, to muddle, to jumble’, *labika* ‘to get confused, to be thrown into disorder, to be disarranged, to become disorganized’; Geez / Ethiopic *labaka* [ለበከ] ‘to touch, to reach’; Tigre *läbbäkä* ‘to rub in’. Leslau 1987:305.

B. Proto-Indo-European **lab^{h}-* ‘(vb.) to take, to seize, to take into one’s possession, to gain, to obtain; (n.) gain’: Sanskrit *lábhate*, *lámbhate*, *rábhate* ‘to take, to seize, to catch; to gain possession of, to obtain, to receive, to get’, *lābha-ḥ* ‘obtaining, getting, attaining, acquisition, gain, profit; capture, conquest’; Greek λάφῡρα ‘spoils (taken in war)’, ἀμφι-λαφής ‘taking in on all sides, wide-spreading’; Old Prussian *labs* ‘good’; Lithuanian *lõbis* ‘possessions, riches’, *lobstù*, *lõbti* ‘to get rich’, *lãbas* ‘goods; good’. Pokorny 1959:652 **labh-* ‘to seize’; Walde 1927—1932.II:385 **labh-*; Mallory—Adams 1997:564 **la(m)bh-* ‘to seize, to take into one’s possession’; Mann 1984—1987:656 **labh-* (**labhos*) ‘acceptable’, 656 **lābhos*, *-i̯os*, *-us* ‘gain, gainful, gained, profitable’; Hofmann 1966:174—175 **(s)lăbh-*; Frisk 1970—1973.II:91; Boisacq 1950:561 **(s)lăbh-*; Beekes 2010.I:838 (pre-Greek); Chantraine 1968—1980.II:623 **labh-*; Smoczyński 2007.1:331; Fraenkel 1962—1965.I:327; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.III:42—43.

Buck 1949:5.17 mix; 11.14 seize, grasp, take hold of; 11.15 hold; 15.71 touch. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:703—704, no. 588; Illič-Svityč 1971—1984.II:29, no. 262, **Labʌ* ‘to seize, to acquire’; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 1255, **LabV* ‘to grasp, to get, to obtain’.

943. Proto-Nostratic root **lab-* (~ **ləb-*):
(vb.) **lab-* ‘to eat greedily, to lap (up), to suck milk’;

(n.) *lab-a ‘eating, sucking’
Possibly related to or derived from:
(vb.) *lab- ‘to take hold of, to grasp’;
(n.) *lab-a ‘taking, grasping’

Assuming semantic development from ‘to grasp with the teeth’ > ‘to eat greedily’ as in Proto-Tungus *laba-da- cited below.

A. Proto-Afrasian *lab- ‘to eat much, to suck milk’: Proto-Semitic *lab-an- ‘to eat much, to suck milk’ > Arabic *labana* ‘to eat much, to suck milk’, *laban* ‘milk’, *labān* ‘breast’, *libān* ‘sucking, nursing’. Proto-Semitic *lab-ay- ‘to eat much’ > Arabic (inf.) *laby* ‘to eat much’. Zammit 2002: 364—365. Highland East Cushitic: Kambata *laaba* ‘udder’. Hudson 1989: 330. [Ehret 1995:397, no. 808, *lib- ‘to lap’.]
B. Proto-Altaic *labV- (~ -p-) ‘to eat greedily’: Proto-Tungus *lebge- ‘to eat greedily’ > Negidal *lebge-* ‘to eat greedily’; Ulch *legbe-* ‘to eat greedily’; Nanay / Gold *legbeči-* ‘to eat greedily’; Udihe *legbe-* ‘to eat greedily’. Proto-Mongolian *labsi- ‘to eat greedily’ > Mongolian *labsi-* ‘to eat greedily, to champ’; Khalkha *lawši-* ‘to eat greedily’. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:869 *lebV (~ -p-) ‘to eat greedily’ (Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak also note Proto-Tungus *labada- ‘to grasp with the teeth’). As opposed to Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak, I would reconstruct Proto-Altaic *labV- and assume vowel assimilation in Tungus. The original vowel was preserved in Proto-Tungus *laba-da- ‘to grasp with the teeth’ (cf. Solon *lawā-dā-* ‘to grasp with the teeth’).

Buck 1949:4.41 breast (of woman); 4.42 udder; 5.11 eat; 5.16 suck (vb.).

944. Proto-Nostratic root *lag- (~ *ləg-):
(vb.) *lag- ‘to put, place, lay, or set down’;
(n.) *lag-a ‘the act of putting, placing, laying, or setting down’

A. Proto-Afrasian *lag- ‘to put, place, lay, or set down’: Egyptian *ʒg* (< *lg) ‘to plant, to cause to grow or sprout’. Hannig 1995:16; Erman—Grapow 1926—1963.1:22. Central Chadic: Bachama *laga* ‘to plant’. Carnochan 1975:465. Semantic development as in Kartvelian. Perhaps also: Highland East Cushitic: Sidamo *lagaaw-* ‘to descend, to go down’. Hudson 1989: 382.
B. Proto-Kartvelian *lag-/*lg- ‘to put, to plant’, (past ptc.) *na-rg- (< *na-lg-) ‘planted’: Georgian *lag-* ‘to put, to place, to set, to lay’, *rg-* ‘to plant’, *narg-* ‘planted’; Mingrelian *rg-* ‘to plant’, *norg-* ‘seedling, sapling’; Laz *rg-* ‘to plant’; Svan *laǯ-/lǯ-*: *li-lǯ-eni* ‘to plant something; to attach, to fasten’. Klimov 1964:118—119 *lag-/*lg- and 1998:106 *lag- ‘to plant’ (according to Klimov, “[t]he variant *rg-* derives from the zero grade of the

stem *lg-*"), 138 **na-rg-* 'planted', 155 **rg-* 'to plant'; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:280—281 **rg-*; Schmidt 1962:129; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.II:877 **lag-*/**lg-* and 1995.I:774 **lag-*/**lg-* 'to put, to lay; to plant'; Fähnrich 1994:234 and 2007:342 **rg-*. Fähnrich 2007:263 gives Proto-Kartvelian **lag-* 'place, region': Georgian *a-lag-i* 'place, region'; Svan *lag-a* 'route, way, direction'.

C. Proto-Indo-European **leg*^{h}-/**log*^{h}- 'to put, place, lay, or set down; to lie down': Greek (Hesychius) λέχομαι 'to lie down', λέχος 'couch, bed', λόχος 'ambush; place of ambush, place of lying in wait; the act of lying in wait; the men that form the ambush; any armed band, a body of troops; any body of people, a union'; Latin *lectus* 'couch, bed'; Old Irish *lige* 'bed', *la(i)gid* 'to lie'; Gothic *ligan* 'to lie, to lie down', *lagjan* 'to lay, to lay down, to set, to place', *ligrs* 'bed, couch'; Old Icelandic *liggja* 'to lie', *leggja* 'to lay, to place, to put'; Old English *lecgan* 'to lay, to put', *licgan* 'to lie, to lie down'; Old Frisian *lidz(i)a* 'to lie, to lie down', *ledza* 'to lay, to put'; Old Saxon *liggian* 'to lie, to lie down', *leggian* 'to lay, to put'; Dutch *leggen* 'to lay, to put', *liggen* 'to lie, to lie down'; Old High German *liggen* 'to lie, to lie down' (New High German *liegen*), *lecken*, *leggen* 'to lay, to put' (New High German *legen*); Old Church Slavic *ležǫ*, *ležati* 'to lie, to recline', *lęgǫ*, *lešti* 'to lie down' (*lęgǫ* contains a nasal infix [cf. Shevelov 1964:115 and 317]); Tocharian A *lake*, B *leke* 'couch, bed', B *lyäk-* 'to lie down'; Hittite (3rd sg. pres. act.) *la-a-ki* 'to cause to incline, to cause to fall, to overturn', (3rd sg. pres. mid.) *la-ga-a-ri* 'to incline, to fall, to lie'. Rix 1998a:357—358 **leg*^{h}- 'to lie, to lie down'; Walde 1927—1932.II:424—425 **legh-*; Pokorny 1959:658—659 **legh-* 'to lie down'; Mann 1984—1987:669 **leghō* 'to lay, to lie', 669 **leghos* 'resting-place, place, site'; Watkins 1985:35 **legh-* and 2000:47 **legh-* 'to lie, to lay'; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.I:216, II:877 **leg[*^{h}*]-* and 1995.I:186, I:774 **leg*^{h}- 'to lie (down)'; Mallory—Adams 1997:352 **legh-* 'to lie'; Boisacq 1950:574—575 **legh-*; Frisk 1970—1973.II:110—112 Greek λόχος < **logho-*; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:634—635 Greek λόχος < **logho-*; Beekes 2010.I:852—853 **leg*^{h}-; Hofmann 1966:178—179; De Vaan 2008:332; Ernout—Meillet 1979:348 **legh-*; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:777—779 **legh-*; Orël 2003:231 Proto-Germanic **laɣjanan*, 240 **leɣjanan*, 240 **leɣran*; Kroonen 2013:322 Proto-Germanic **lagjan-* 'to put'; Feist 1939:319 and 330—331; Lehmann 1986:233 **legh-* 'to lie down' ("originally athematic and punctual, as in Gk λέκτο aor *he lay down*, but later thematic in all IE dialects"); De Vries 1977:349 and 355; Onions 1966:519 and 527 **legh-*, **logh-*, **lēgh-*; Klein 1971:414 and 421 **legh-* 'to lie'; Vercoullie 1898:167; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:431 and 441 **legh-*; Kluge—Seebold 1989:434 and 442 **legh-*; Van Windekens 1976—1982.I:254 **legh-*, **logh-* and I:271 **legh-*; Adams 1999:559 **lógʰo-* and 556 **leg*^{h}-; Puhvel 1984— .5:33—37 **legh-* 'to lie down';

Kloekhorst 2008b:514—515; Derksen 2008:270—271 *leg^h-, 271—272, and 272; Wodtko—Irslinger—Schneider 2008:450—451 *leg^h-.

Buck 1949:12.12 put (place, set, lay); 12.14 lie. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:703, no. 587; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 1265, *$\bar{l}Ega$ ‘to lie, to lie down; to lay, to put’; Illič-Svityč 1971—1984.II:35—36, no. 271, *$L\Lambda ga$ ‘to lie’.

945. Proto-Nostratic root *lah- (~ *$l\partial h$-):
(vb.) *lah- ‘to shine, to blaze, to burn’;
(n.) *lah-a ‘shining, blazing, burning’

A. Afrasian: Proto-Semitic *lah-ab- ‘to shine, to blaze, to burn’ > Arabic *lahiba* ‘to flame, to burn, to blaze; to kindle, to light, to set on fire, to ignite, to inflame (something); to excite, to stir up, to provoke; to be aflame, to be ablaze; to catch fire, to flare up, to be inflamed’, *lahab* ‘flame, blaze, flare’, *ʔilhāb* ‘kindling, lighting, ignition, inflammation’, *multahib* ‘burning, flaming, blazing, aflame, ablaze; inflamed; heated, excited, glowing, aglow’; Ḥarsūsi *láhab* ‘flame’; Mehri *ləhēb* ‘hot wind’; Śḥeri / Jibbāli *léhɛb* ‘flame’; Hebrew *lahaβ* [לַהַב] ‘flame’; Aramaic *lahəββā* ‘flame’; Geez / Ethiopic *lahaba* [ለሀበ], *ləhba* [ልህበ] ‘to burn, to blaze, to flame, to be warm, to perspire’; Tigre *lähaba* ‘to perspire’; Tigrinya *lahbät* ‘perspiration’; Amharic *labä* ‘to be warm, to perspire’. Leslau 1987:308; Zammit 2002:373. Proto-Semitic *lah-ak'- ‘to be bright, to shine brightly’ > Arabic *lahaḳa*, *lahiḳa* ‘to be very white, to shine brightly’, *lahaḳ*, *lahiḳ* ‘entirely white’. [Orël—Stolbova 1995:363 *$lihab$- ‘to burn’. Note: The Egyptian form cited by Orël—Stolbova is a borrowing from Semitic.]

B. Proto-Indo-European *leh-p^h- [lah-p^h-] (> *$l\bar{a}p^h$-) ‘to light, to burn’: Greek λάμπω (< *$l\r{n}$-n-p^h-) ‘to give light, to shine, to beam; to be bright, brilliant, radiant’, λαμπρός ‘bright, brilliant, radiant’; Old Irish *lassaid* ‘to burn’, *lassar* ‘flame’; Welsh *llachar* ‘shining, gleaming, flashing; Lithuanian *lópė* ‘light’; Latvian *lãpa* ‘torch’ Old Prussian *lopis* flame’; Hittite (3rd sg. pres. act.) *la-ap-zi* ‘to catch fire, to flare up, to flash’, (nom. sg.) *la-ap-pí-(ya-)aš* ‘fever’; Luwian *lappiya*- ‘heat’ (?). Rix 1998a:361 *leh_2p- ‘to light up’; Pokorny 1959:652—653 *$l\bar{a}[i]p$- ‘to light, to burn’; Walde 1927—1932.II:383 *$l\bar{a}p$- : *$l\partial p$-; Watkins 1985:35 *$l\bar{a}p$- and 2000:47 *lap- ‘to light, to burn’ (nasalized form *la-m-p-); Mallory—Adams 1997:513 *lap- ‘to shine’ and 2006:328, 329 *lap- ‘to shine’; Boisacq 1950:554 *$l\partial mp$-; Hoffmann 1966:172 *$l\bar{a}[i]p$-, *$l\partial ip$-, *$l\partial p$-; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:617 *$l\bar{a}p$- or *$l\bar{o}p$-; Frisk 1970—1973.II:79—80 *$l\bar{a}p$- or *$l\bar{o}p$-; Prellwitz 1905:259 *$l\bar{a}p$-; Beekes 2010.I:829—830 *leh_2p-; Puhvel 1984— .5:58—60 *leA-p-; Kloekhorst 2008b:519—520 *leh_2p-/*lh_2p-; Matasović 2009:235 *leh_2p-; Fraenkel 1962—1965.I:386; Smoczyński 2007.1:362 *leh_2p-; Derksen 2015:293 *leh_2p-.

Buck 1949:1.82 flame (sb.); 1.85 burn (vb.); 1.86 light (vb.), kindle; 15.56 shine; 15.57 bright. Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 1316, **LahPV* ‘flame; to glow’.

946. Proto-Nostratic root **laḥ-* (~ **ləḥ-*):
(vb.) **laḥ-* ‘to make flow, to pour, to moisten, to wet’;
(n.) **laḥ-a* ‘flowing, pouring; moistness, wetness’

A. Proto-Afrasian **laḥ-* ‘to make flow, to moisten, to wet’: Proto-Semitic **laḥ-aḥ-* ‘to make flow, to moisten, to wet’ > Arabic *(ʾa)laḍḥa* ‘to rain continuously’; Hebrew *laḥ* [לַח] ‘moist, fresh, new’ (base *lḥḥ* [לחח] ‘to be moist, to be fresh’); Aramaic *laḥlaḥ* ‘to moisten’; Palmyrene *lḥ* ‘moisture’; Ugaritic *lḥt* ‘freshness, vigor’ (?); Geez / Ethiopic *laḥḥa* [**ለሐ**], *laḥaḥa* [**ለሐሐ**] ‘to be humid, to be soft, to be smooth’, *ʾalḥəḥa* [**አልሕሐ**] ‘to moisten, to cool off, to soften’, *lāḥləḥa* [**ላሕልሐ**] ‘to be humid, damp’, *ləḥluḥ* [**ልሕሉሕ**] ‘humid, wet’. Murtonen 1989:247; Klein 1987:297 and 298; Leslau 1987:310.
B. Proto-Indo-European **leḫ̱ḫ̱-* [**laḫ̱ḫ̱-*] (extended form **leḫ̱ḫ̱-w/u-* [**laḫ̱ḫ̱-w/u-*]) ‘to pour, to pour out (liquids)’: Hittite *laḫ̱-* in: (nom. sg.) *la-aḫ̱-ni-iš* ‘flask, flagon, frequently of metal (silver, gold, copper)’ (acc. pl. *la-ḫa-an-ni-uš*), (1st sg. pret.) *la-a-ḫu-un* ‘to pour, to pour out (liquids)’, (2nd sg. imptv.) *la-a-aḫ̱* ‘pour!’; *laḫ̱(ḫ)u-* in: (3rd sg. pres.) *la(-a)-ḫu(-u)-wa(-a)i*, *la-a-ḫu-u-wa-a-iz[-zi]*, *la-ḫu-uz-zi* ‘to pour (liquids, fluids; containers of these); to cast (objects from metal); to flow fast, to stream, to flood (intr.)’, (reduplicated ptc.) *la-al-ḫu-u-wa-an-ti-it* ‘poured’, (reduplicated 3rd sg. pres.) *li-la-ḫu-i*, *le-el-ḫu-wa-i*, *li-il-ḫu-wa-i* ‘to pour’, (reduplicated acc. sg.) *le-el-ḫu-u-un-da-in* ‘a vessel’; Luwian (1st sg. pret.) *la-ḫu-ni-i-ḫa* ‘to pour’ (?); Greek ληνός (Doric λᾱνός) ‘anything shaped like a tub or a trough: a wine-vat, a trough (for watering cattle), a watering place’ (< **lā-no-s* < **leḫ̱ḫ̱-no-s* [**laḫ̱ḫ̱-no-s*]). Puhvel 1984— .5:6—8 and 5:16—25 **leA$_1$-w-*; Kloekhorst 2008b:511—513; Rix 1998a:360 **leh$_2$-* ‘to pour’; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:637 etymology unknown; Boisacq 1950:578—579 etymology unclear; Hofmann 1966:180 etymology unexplained; Beekes 2010.I:857 etymology unexplained; Frisk 1970—1973.II:117 etymology unexplained. These forms are not related to Greek λούω ‘to wash, to bathe’, Latin *lavō* ‘to wash, to bathe’, etc., which must be derived from Proto-Indo-European **lewḫ̱ḫ̱-*/**lowḫ̱ḫ̱-* ‘to wash, to bathe’ (cf. Winter 1965a:108; Bomhard—Kerns 1994:699, no. 581).

Sumerian *làh* ‘to wash, to clean’, *làh* ‘laundry, wash’.

Buck 1949:9.35 pour; 9.36 wash; 15.83 wet, damp; 15.87 clean. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:700, no. 582.

947. Proto-Nostratic root **laḥ-* (~ **ləḥ-*):

(vb.) **laħ-* ‘to strike, to fight’;
(n.) **laħ-a* ‘fight, battle, slaughter’

A. Proto-Afrasian **lVħ-* ‘(vb.) to strike, to fight; (n.) fight, battle, slaughter’: Proto-Semitic **laħ-am-* ‘(vb.) to strike, to fight; (n.) fight, battle, slaughter’ > Arabic *laḥima* ‘to join in battle, to engage in mutual massacre, to kill one another, to slaughter’, *malḥama* ‘bloody fight, slaughter, massacre, fierce battle’, *ʔiltiḥām* ‘grapple, struggle, fight, close combat’; Sabaean *lḥm* ‘fight, brawl’; Hebrew *lāḥam* [לָחַם] ‘to fight, to do battle’, *milḥāmāh* [מִלְחָמָה] ‘battle, war’; Imperial Aramaic *mlḥm* ‘battle, war’; Ugaritic *mlḥmt* ‘battle, war’. Murtonen 1989:247; Klein 1987:298 and 349. (?) Central Chadic **lim-* (< **liHVm-*) ‘war’ > Lamang *ləmo* ‘war’; Daba *lim* ‘war’. Orël—Stolbova 1995:363, no. 1672, **liḥum-* ‘to kill, to fight’.
B. Elamo-Dravidian: Neo-Elamite *la-h-li/u-* ‘to knock, to smash, to hammer’.
C. Kartvelian: Georgian *lax-* in: *ga-lax-av-*, *ga-lax-e-* ‘to beat (up), to hit, to strike’, *laxvar-i* ‘spear’ (Old Georgian *laxuar-i*). Lange 1987:29.
D. Proto-Indo-European **leḫ̲h-* [**laḫ̲h-*] ‘warfare, military campaign’, **leḫ̲h-wo-s* [**laḫ̲h-wo-s*] ‘men under arms (as opposed to their leaders): warriors, soldiers, troops’: Hittite (loc. sg.) *la-aḫ-ḫi* ‘warfare, military campaign’, (3 sg. pres. act.) *la-aḫ-ḫi-ya-iz-zi* ‘to go to war, to wage war, to (go on) campaign; to make war on, to attack, to confront, to take on; to brave’, (nom. sg.) *la-aḫ-ḫi-ya-la-aš* ‘fighter, warrior; infantry’, (acc. pl.) *la-aḫ-ḫé-mu-uš* ‘military action, raid, maneuver’; Luwian (acc. sg.) *lalḫiyan* in *kuwalanallin-tar lalḫiyan* ‘military campaign’; Lycian (3 sg. pres. act.) *laχadi* ‘to strike, to attack’; Greek (Homeric) λᾱός (Ionic ληός; Attic λεώς) ‘(in the warlike language of the Iliad) the people or men of the army, troops, soldiers; also a land-army (as opposed to a fleet); the common men (as opposed to their leaders)’; Phrygian λαϜαγταει ‘military leader’ (Greek loan); Old Irish *láech* ‘warrior’ (formerly thought to have been borrowed from Latin *lāicus* ‘layman’ [itself a loan from Greek λαϊκός ‘layman’]). Mann 1984—1987:667 **lău̯ō*, *-i̯ō* ‘to chase, to catch, to capture, to seize, to hold’, 667 **lāu̯os* (**ləu̯-*) ‘seizure’; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.II:740 **laH(u̯)o-* and 1995.I:644 **laH(w)o-* ‘people, folk; army; campaign’; Mallory—Adams 1997:31 **leh₂u̯ós* ‘people (under arms)’, **leh₂-* ‘±military action’, **leh₂u̯ós* ‘±army’; Sturtevant 1942:35, §36b, Indo-Hittite **laxo-* ‘war’ and 1951:47, §74, Indo-Hittite **lex-* ‘war’, **lexwos* ‘army’; Puhvel 1984— .5:1—6; Kloekhorst 2008b:510—511; Benveniste 1969.II:89—95 and 1973:371—376; Matasović 2009:234—235 **leh₂-*; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:619—620; Frisk 1970—1973.III:144; Boisacq 1950:556 **lāu̯-o-s*; Prellwitz 1905:259 **lāu̯o-s*; Hofmann 1966:173; Beekes 2010.I:832—833 (pre-Greek).

Sumerian *lah* ‘to beat, to strike, to hit; to pummel’, *lah₄* ‘to push, to shove’.

Buck 1949:20.12 battle; 20.13 war. Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 1338, **L[a]χV* ‘to strike, to fight’.

948. Proto-Nostratic root **lak^{h}-* (onomatopoeic):
(vb.) **lak^{h}-* ‘to lick, to lap up’;
(n.) **lak^{h}-a* ‘licking’

A. Afrasian: Chadic: Daffo-Butura *loḳ* ‘to lick’; Bokos *lok* ‘to lick’; Sha *lig*, *lik* ‘to lick’; Pa’a *lıkən* ‘to lick’; Boghom *ṇalak* ‘to lick’; Sumray *la* ‘to lick’; Ndam *ləgnya* ‘to lick’; Tumak *lag* ‘to lick’. Jungraithmayr—Ibriszimow 1994.I:111 **lkd* and II:224—225.
B. Proto-Dravidian **nakk-* (< **lakk-*) ‘to lick, to lap’: Tamil *nakku* (*nakki-*) ‘(vb.) to lick, to lap; (n.) licking’, *nakkal* ‘food taken by licking’, *nakki* ‘a destitute person, as one who licks scrapings’; Malayalam *nakkuka* ‘to lick’, *nakki* ‘to licker, a beggar’; Kota *nak-* (*naky-*) ‘to lick’; Toda *nok-* (*noky-*) ‘to lick’; Kannaḍa *nakku*, *nekku* ‘to lick’, *nekkisu* ‘to cause to lick’; Koḍagu *nakk-* (*nakki-*) ‘to lick’, *nakk* ‘licking’; Tuḷu *nakkuni*, *nekkuni* ‘to lick, to lap’, *nakkāvuni* ‘to cause to lick’, *nakkele* ‘a man who licks, especially the plate on which food has been served; a greedy man’ (f. *nakkeldi*); Telugu *nāku* ‘to lick’; Kolami *na·k-* (*na·kt-*) ‘to lick’; Naikṛi *nāk-* ‘to lick’; Parji *nēk-* ‘to lick’; Gadba *nāk-* ‘to lick’; Gondi *nākānā*, *nākīnā*, *nāk-* ‘to lick’; Konḍa *nāk-* (*nākt-*) ‘to lick’; Pengo *nāk-* ‘to lick’; Manḍa *nēk-* ‘to lick’; Kui *nāka* (*nāki-*) ‘to lick, to lap’; Kuwi *nākali*, *nāk-* ‘to lick, to lap’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:314, no. 3570; Krishnamurti 2003:108 **nakk-* ‘to lick’.
C. Proto-Indo-European **lak^{h}-* ‘to lick, to lap up’: Armenian *lakem* (*-k-* < **-kk-*) ‘to lick’; Lithuanian *lakù*, *làkti* ‘to lap up, to swill’; Latvian *lakt* ‘to lap up, to swill’; Old Church Slavic *ločǫ*, *lokati* ‘to lick, to lap’. Pokorny 1959:653 **lak-* ‘to lick with a clicking sound’; Walde 1927—1932.II:380 **laq-*; Mann 1984—1987:660 **lak-* ‘to lap up, to gulp, to gobble’; Mallory—Adams 1997:352 **lak-* ‘to lick’; Derksen 2008:283—284 **lak-*; Fraenkel 1962—1965.I:337—338; Smoczyński 2007.1:335.
D. Uralic: Proto-Finno-Ugrian **lakka-* ‘to lick, to lap up’: Finnish *latkia*, *lakkia*, *litkiä* ‘to lick, to lap (up)’; Karelian *lakki-* ‘to lick’; Estonian *lakku-* ‘to lick, to lap’; Zyrian / Komi *lak-* ‘to lap’. Hakola 2000:94—95, no. 399.

Buck 1949:4.59 lick (vb.). Illič-Svityč 1971—1984.II:15, no. 247, **laḳʌ* (onomatopoeic) ‘to lick, to lap’; Bomhard—Kerns 1994:704, no. 589.

949. Proto-Nostratic **lak^{h}-* (~ **lək^{h}-*):
(vb.) **lak^{h}-* ‘to go on foot, to travel on foot’;
(n.) **lak^{h}-a* ‘leg, foot’

A. Proto-Afrasian *_lak-_ (~ *_lik-_ ~ *_luk-_) ‘leg, foot’: Berber: Tuareg _əlkəm_ ‘to follow, to pursue, to accompany on a trip, to follow on foot’; Tamazight _əlkəm_ ‘to reach, to arrive at, to reunite with, to overtake’; Tashelhiyt / Shilha _əlkəm_ ‘to arrive at, to reunite with, to reach’. Proto-East Cushitic *_lak-_/*_lik-_/*_luk-_ ‘leg, foot’ > Saho _lak_ ‘leg, foot’; Somali _lug_ ‘leg, foot’; Arbore _luk-a_ ‘leg, foot’; Sidamo _lekk-a_ ‘leg, foot’; Bayso _luk-i_ ‘leg, foot’; Galla / Oromo _luk-a_ ‘thigh’; Burji _lúkk-a_ ‘leg’; Gedeo / Darasa _lekka-_ ‘leg, foot’; Hadiyya _lokko_ ‘leg, foot’; Kambata _lokka-ta_ ‘leg, foot’; Elmolo _luk_ ‘leg, foot’; Gidole _lukk-et_ ‘leg, foot’; Alaba _lokk-a_ ‘leg, foot’; Tsamay _luk-te_ ‘leg, foot’; Gawwada _lux-ti_ ‘leg, foot’. Sasse 1979:12 and 1982:136; Hudson 1989:66. Orël—Stolbova 1995:367—368 *_lVk-_/*_lVḳ-_ ‘leg’.

B. Elamo-Dravidian: Royal Achaemenid Elamite _la-gi-_ ‘to go across, to travel across’, _lag-gi-ma-na_ ‘for their journey’, _la-ki-_ ‘to travel, to journey’.

C. Proto-Indo-European *_lak^{h}-_ ‘leg, foot’: Greek (adv.) λάξ ‘with the foot’, λακτίζω ‘to kick with the heel or foot’; Latin _lacertus_ ‘upper arm’; Old Icelandic _leggr_ (< *_lagjaz_) ‘leg, hollow bone (of arms and legs)’, _lær_ ‘the leg above the knee, thigh’; Swedish _lägg_ ‘calf (of the leg)’, _lår_ ‘thigh’; Danish _legg_, _læg_ ‘calf (of the leg)’, _laar_ ‘thigh’; Norwegian _legg_ ‘calf (of the leg)’, _laar_, _lær_ ‘thigh, leg (of a fowl)’; Old English _lēow_ ‘thigh, ham’; Middle English _leg_ ‘leg’ (Scandinavian loan). Pokorny 1959:673 *_lek-_ (: *_l$_{e}$k-_), *_lēk-_ : *_lək-_ ‘limb of the body’; Walde 1927—1932.II:420—421 *_leq-_ (: *_ləq-_), *_lēq-_ : *_ləq-_; Mann 1984—1987:660 *_lak-_ ‘to kick’, 660 *_laks-_ (?) ‘jump; lumping horse’; Mallory—Adams 1997:323 *_lek-_ ‘to jump, to scuttle along, to bulge (of muscles)’; Boisacq 1950:555—556; Frisk 1970—1973.II:82—83; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:619; Hofmann 1966:173; Beekes 2010.I:831—832; De Vaan 2008:321 no semantically convincing connections; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:743—744; Ernout—Meillet 1979:336 (Latin _lacertus_ is only compared with Old Irish _laghairt_ — no other known connection); Orël 2003:231—232 Proto-Germanic *_laǥwaz_ ~ *_laxwaz_; Kroonen 2013:321—322 Proto-Germanic *_lagja-_ ‘leg’; De Vries 1977:349—350; Falk—Torp 1903—1906.I:437 and 450; Onions 1966:522; Klein 1971:416.

Buck 1949:4.35 leg. Illič-Svityč 1971—1984.II:22—23, no. 255, *_ł/a/Ḳa_ ‘leg’; Bomhard—Kerns 1994:700—701, no. 583; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 1282a, *_LaḲa_ (= *_laḲa_ ?) ‘leg’.

950. Proto-Nostratic root *_lak’-_ (~ *_lək’-_):
(vb.) *_lak’-_ ‘to gather, to collect’;
(n.) *_lak’-a_ ‘collection’; (adj.) ‘gathered, collected, picked, chosen’

A. Proto-Afrasian *_lak’-_ ‘to gather, to collect’: Proto-Semitic *_lak’-at’-_ ‘to gather, to pick up’ > Akkadian _laḳāṭu_ ‘to collect, to gather’; Hebrew _lāḳaṭ_ [לָקַט] ‘to gather up, to pick up’, _leḳeṭ_ [לֶקֶט] ‘gleanings; the poor person’s

share of the crop'; Aramaic *ləḳaṭ* 'to pick up, to gather'; Ugaritic /l-ḳ-ẓ/ 'to gather'; Arabic *laḳaṭa* 'to gather, to collect, to pick up from the ground, to glean (something)', *laḳaṭ* 'that which is picked up or gathered, leftovers, gleanings'; Sabaean *stlḳṭ* 'to be abducted' (?) (reflexive of the causative?); Śḥeri / Jibbāli *lḳɔṭ* 'to pluck, to pick off, to pick up'; Mehri *əwḳáwṭ* 'to pick up one thing, something small'. Murtonen 1989:250; Klein 1987:305; Zammit 2002:370—371. Proto-Semitic **lak'-am-* 'to pick, to pick up, to gather, to collect' > Geez / Ethiopic *laḳama* [ለቀመ] 'to pick, to choose, to separate'; Tigre *läḳma* 'to gather, to pluck'; Tigrinya *läḳämä* 'to pick, to pluck, to glean'; Amharic *läḳḳämä* 'to collect, to gather (wood), to pick (fruit), to pick up'; Argobba *läḳḳämä* 'to collect, to gather, to pick, to pick up'; Gurage *läḳämä* 'to pick, to pick up'; Harari *läḳämä* 'to pick up'. Leslau 1963:101, 1979:382, and 1987:317. Proto-Semitic **lak'-ap-* 'to grasp, to take (hold of), to pick off' > Arabic *laḳifa* 'to seize quickly, to grab, to snatch (something); to catch (something); to snatch up, to take over; to seize, to rob, to usurp'; Śḥeri / Jibbāli *lḳɔf* 'to grasp in the fist, to get hold of'; Mehri *līḳəf* 'to take, to get hold of; to pick off (scab, resin)'; Ḥarsūsi *lēḳef* 'to grasp in the fist, to get hold of'. Proto-Semitic **lak'-in-* 'to gather' > Arabic *laḳina* 'to gather, to infer, to teach'.

B. Proto-Indo-European **lek'-*/**lok'-* 'to pick, to gather, to collect': Greek λέγω 'to pick, to gather, to speak', λογάς, -άδος 'gathered, picked, chosen', λογία 'a collection for the poor', λόγος 'word, speech, discourse, conversation', λόγιος 'learned, erudite'; Latin *legō* 'to collect, to gather together, to pick; to choose, to select, to pick out; to read, to peruse', *lectus* 'chosen, selected'; Albanian *mb-ledh* 'to collect, to add'. Rix 1998a:386 **leĝ-* 'to gather, to collect'; Pokorny 1959:658 **leĝ-* 'to gather, to collect'; Walde 1927—1932.II:422 **leĝ-*; Mann 1984—1987:670 **leĝō*, *-i̯ō* 'to gather, to pick, to pick out, to read'; Watkins 1985:35 **leg-* and 2000:47 'to collect', with derivatives meaning 'to speak'; Mallory—Adams 1997:242 **leĝe/o-* 'to gather' (> Greek λέγω 'to gather'); Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.II:941 **leḱ'-*/**loḱ'-* and 1995.I:834 **leḱ'-*/**loḱ'-* 'to collect, to gather, to select'; Meyer 1891:265; Huld 1984:145 and 156; Orël 1998:251; Boisacq 1950:563—564 **leĝ-*; Frisk 1970—1973.II:94—96; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:625—626; Hofmann 1966:175 **leĝ-*; Prellwitz 1905:263; Beekes 2010.I:841—842 **leǵ-*; Ernout—Meillet 1979:348—350; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:780 **leĝ-*; De Vaan 2008:332—333 **leǵ-e/o-*.

C. Uralic: Proto-Finno-Ugrian **luke-* '(vb.) to read, to count; (n.) number, figure, account' (Indo-European loan, see below) > Finnish *luke-* 'to read, to count', *luku* 'number, figure; account, consideration, chapter'; Estonian *lugu* 'story, tale', *luge-* 'to read, to recite, to count'; Lapp / Saami *lokkâ-*/*logâ-* 'to read, to count; to bring tidings, news of; to tell, to say, to give one's opinion', *lokko* 'number, account, consideration', *lokke* 'ten (at cards); (as last part of compounds) ten altogether'; Cheremis / Mari *lu*

‘ten’, *lõda-*, *luda-* ‘to read, to count’; Votyak / Udmurt *lyd* ‘number’; Zyrian / Komi *lyd* ‘number’; Vogul / Mansi *low* ‘ten’, *lowint-* ‘to count’; Mordvin *lovo-* ‘to count’. Collinder 1955:131 and 1977:142—143; Joki 1973:278—279; Rédei 1986—1988:253 **luke*; Sammallahti 1988:545 **luki-* ‘to count’. As noted by Gamkrelidze—Ivanov (1995.I:834), Proto-Finno-Ugrian **luke-* “can be considered an early borrowing from Indo-European (Jokl 1921:111—12, Collinder 1955:131). Borrowing can be assumed on the basis of the semantics of the Finno-Ugric word, which reflects a derived cultural meaning of the Indo-European word (‘count’, not ‘gather’).”

Buck 1949:12.21 collect, gather; 18.21 speak, talk. Bomhard 1984b:279, no. 303; Bomhard—Kerns 1994:697—698, no. 578; Greenberg 2002:38, no. 70; Hakola 2000:98, no. 419; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 1275, **lukê* ‘to gather’.

951. Proto-Nostratic root **lak'-* (~ **lək'-*), **lik'-* (~ **lek'-*), **luk'-* (~ **lok'-*) (onomatopoeic):
(vb.) **lak'-*, **lik'-*, **luk'-* ‘to lick’;
(n.) **lak'-a*, **lik'-a*, **luk'-a* ‘licking’

A. Proto-Afrasian **lak'-* ~ **lik'-* ~ **luk'-* ‘to lick, to lap, to gulp down, to swallow’: Proto-Semitic **lak'-am-* ‘to gulp down, to swallow’ > Arabic *laḳima* ‘to eat, to devour, to gobble, to swallow up’, *luḳma* ‘bite; bit, mouthful; little piece, morsel’; Mehri *alōḳəm* ‘to put into someone’s mouth’, *látḳəm* ‘’to swallow’, *əwḳəmēt* ‘mouthful’; Śḥeri / Jibbāli *elóḳum* ‘to put something into someone’s mouth’, *ləḳmét* ‘mouthful’; Soqoṭri *ólḳam* ‘to swallow’; Ḥarsūsi *alēḳem* ‘to make someone swallow something’, *látḳem* ‘to swallow; to put in the mouth’, *elḳemét* ‘piece, mouthful’; Geez / Ethiopic *laḳama* [ለቀመ] ‘to chew on food that is hard and makes noise when it is eaten’; Tigrinya *läḳämä* ‘to eat roasted grain’; Tigre *läḳma* ‘to eat’. Leslau 1987:317; Zammit 2002:371. Proto-Semitic **lak'-ak'-* ‘to lick, to lap’ > Arabic *laḳḳa* ‘to lick, to lap’; Hebrew *lāḳaḳ* [לָקַק] ‘to lick, to lap’. Murtonen 1989:250; Klein 1987:306. Coptic *lōǧ* [ⲗⲱϫ] ‘to lick’ (Semitic loan). Vycichl 1983:102. Berber: Tuareg *əlləɣ* ‘to lick’; Siwa *əlləɣ* ‘to lick’; Nefusa *əlləɣ* ‘to lick, to lap’; Ghadames *əlləɣ* ‘to lick’; Wargla *əlləɣ* ‘to lick’; Mzab *əlləɣ* ‘to lick, to lap’; Tamazight *əlləɣ* ‘to lick, to lap’; Tashelhiyt / Shilha *əlləɣ* ‘to lick’; Riff *əllaɣ*, *əǧǧəɣ* ‘to lick’; Kabyle *əlləɣ* ‘to lick, to lap’; Chaoia *əlləɣ* ‘to lick, to lap’; Zenaga *əlli*, *əllaɣ* ‘to lick’. Proto-East Cushitic **lik'-*/**luk'-* ‘to swallow, to lap’ > Somali *luq-* ‘to swallow’, *luqum* ‘neck’; Konso *loq-* ‘to swallow’; Gedeo / Darasa *lik'in-s-* ‘to swallow’; Galla / Oromo *lik'im-s-* (< **lik'm-*/**luk'm-*) ‘to swallow’, *luk'um-a* ‘esophagus’, *lukk'uum-un*, *-aa* ‘larynx’; Hadiyya *lik'icc'-*, *lic'ikk'-* ‘to swallow’, *loom-ee-* (< **luk'm-*) ‘Adam’s apple’; Gidole *lok'-* ‘to swallow’. Sasse 1979:49 and 1982:132; Hudson 1989:147;

Heine 1978:67. Proto-Southern Cushitic **lak'-* 'gullet' > Dahalo *lak'a* 'area under the chin'. Ehret 1980:328. Orël—Stolbova 1995:363, no. 1673, **liḳam-/*liḳim-* 'to eat, to swallow' (derived from **lVḳ-* 'to lick'), 368, no. 1697, **lVḳ-* 'to lick'; Ehret 1995:403, no. 822, **lak'-* 'to lap up'.

B. Proto-Kartvelian **lok'-* 'to lick': Georgian *lok'-* 'to lick'; Mingrelian *lok'-*, *lont'k'-* 'to lick'; Laz *lok'-*, *losk'-* 'to lick'; Svan *lōk'-*, *lāk'-* 'to lick'. Klimov 1964:121—122 **loḳ-* and 1998:110 **loḳ-* 'to lick'; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:221 **loḳ-*; Fähnrich 1994:233 and 2007:270 **loḳ-*.

C. Proto-Indo-European **lik'-* 'to lick': Latin *ligula* (also *lingula*) 'little tongue', *lingō* (with *n*-infix) 'to lick'; Old Irish *ligim* 'to lick'. Proto-West Germanic **likkōjan* 'to lick' > Old English *liccian* 'to lick' (Middle English *licken*); Old North Frisian *leccon* 'to lick'; Old Saxon *liccōn*, *leccōn* 'to lick'; Dutch *likken* 'to lick'; Old High German *leckōn*, *lecchōn* 'to lick' (New High German *lecken*). Assuming here that these forms are not derivatives of Proto-Indo-European **leyg^{h}-/*loyg^{h}-/*lig^{h}-* 'to lick'. Proto-Indo-European appears to have had several variant forms for 'to lick', as seen by Mann (1984—1987:671 **leiĝ-* 'to lick', 672 **leiĝhō*, *-i̯ō* 'to lick', and 690—691 **liĝō*, *-i̯ō* [**liĝāi̯ō*, **linĝ-*] 'to lick'). Ernout—Meillet 1979:360; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:800—801 and I:806; De Vaan 2008:343; Orël 2003:245—246 Proto-Germanic **likkōjanan*; Kroonen 2013:337 Proto-Germanic **likkōn-* 'to lick'; Onions 1966:526; Klein 1971:420; Vercoullie 1898:172; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:430; Kluge—Seebold 1989:433.

Buck 1949:4.59 lick (vb.). Bomhard—Kerns 1994:704—705, no. 590; Illič-Svityč 1971—1984.II:15, no. 247, **laḳʌ* (onomatopoeic) 'to lick, to lap'; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 1284, **lak̲[U]* 'to lick, to lap'.

952. Proto-Nostratic root **lam-* (~ **ləm-*):
(vb.) **lam-* 'to bend down, to stoop down, to sink down, to lie down, to duck down; to be or become bent down, curved down; to be low';
(n.) **lam-a* 'lowland, low-lying ground, any piece of land'; (adj.) 'low'
Extended form:
(vb.) **lam-V-d-* 'to bend down, to stoop down, to sink down, to lie down, to duck down; to be or become bent down, curved down; to be low';
(n.) **lam-d-a* 'lowland, low-lying ground, any piece of land'; (adj.) 'low'

A. Proto-Afrasian **lam-* 'to bend down, to stoop down, to sink down, to lie down, to duck down; to be or become bent down, curved down; to be low': Semitic: Arabic *lamada* 'to submit, to be obsequious', *lamdān* 'submissive, obsequious'. Berber: Tuareg *əlməγ* 'to be immersed, to be dyed by immersion', *səlməγ* 'to immerse, to dye by immersion'; Ghadames *əmməγ* 'to immerse, to clean underground wells'; Tawlemmet *əmməγ* 'to be soaked', *səmməγ* 'to soak'; Tamazight *əmməγ* 'to get wet, to be soaked

with water'; Kabyle *əmməγ* 'to pounce on, to chase someone'. Central Cushitic: Bilin *läm y-* 'to lie down, to bend down'. Appleyard 2006:93; Reinisch 1887:256 (*lum y-*).

B. Proto-Indo-European **lend^h-/*lond^h-/*lo̯nd^h-* 'low-lying ground, lowland, any piece of land': Old Irish *land* 'open place'; Middle Welsh *llan* 'enclosure, yard'; Breton *lann* 'heath'; Cornish *lan* 'piece of land'; Gothic *land* 'land, country'; Old Icelandic *land* 'land (as opposed to sea), country'; Old English *land* 'earth, land, soil'; Old Frisian *lond*, *land* 'land'; Old Saxon *land* 'land'; Old High German *lant* 'land' (New High German *Land*); Old Prussian (acc. sg.) *lindan* 'valley'; Russian *ljadá* [ляда] 'overgrown field'; Czech *lada* 'fallow land'. Pokorny 1959:675 **lendh-* 'free land, heath'; Walde 1927—1932.II:438—439 **lendh-*; Mann 1984—1987:677 **lendhos*, *-ā*, *-om* 'fallow, fallow land'; Mallory—Adams 1997: 200 **lendh- ~ *londh-* 'open land, waste'; Watkins 1985:36 **lendh-* and 2000:48 **lendh-* 'open land'; Orël 2003:235 Proto-Germanic **lanđan*, 235 **lanđjanan*, 235 **lanđōn*; Kroonen 2013:326 Proto-Germanic **landa-* 'land'; Feist 1939:321—322; Lehmann 1986:226—227 **lendh-*; De Vries 1977:345; Onions 1966:513 **londh-*, **lendh-*; Klein 1971:409 **lendh-*; Boutkan—Siebinga 2005:233—234 Proto-Germanic **landa-*; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:421 Proto-Germanic **lanđa-*; Kluge—Seebold 1989:426—427 Proto-Germanic **landa-*; Preobrazhensky 1951:496—497. The unextended stem may be preserved in Balto-Slavic: Lithuanian *lomà* 'hollow, valley, plot, lump'; Latvian *lãma* 'hollow, pool'; Russian (dial.) *lam* [лам] '(Pskov) meadow covered with small trees and bushes that is occasionally flooded; (Novgorod) wasteland'; Polish (obsolete) *łam* 'quarry, bend'; Slovenian *lam* 'pit; (dial.) quarry'; Serbo-Croatian *lâm* (dial.) 'knee-joint, underground passage'. Derksen 2008:268 Balto-Slavic **lōm-*; Fraenkel 1962—1965.I:385. The extended verb stem may be preserved in: Sanskrit *rádhyati* (< **lo̯nd^h-*) 'to be subject to, to be subdued or overthrown, to succomb'; Lithuanian *lendù*, *lįĩsti* 'to creep, to crawl; to be troublesome'. Rix 1998a:370—371 **lend^h-* 'to be reduced, lowered; to be brought down'; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.III:40 "etymology "unsure"; Smoczyński 2007.1:359 **lend^h-/*lo̯nd^h-*; Derksen 2015:289 **l(e)nd^h-*; Fraenkel 1962—1965.I:377.

C. Proto-Uralic **lamte* 'low; low-lying ground, lowland': Finnish *lansi*/*lante-* 'low; low-lying ground, lowland'; Lapp / Saami *luow'de-* 'to lie down flat (especially of a stubborn or tired draught-reindeer)'; Mordvin *lańd'a* 'to stoop, to duck down'; Votyak / Udmurt *lud* 'field, arable land'; Zyrian / Komi *lud* 'meadow, meadow bearing a light growth of timber, small wood-meadow, small field, meadow-land'; Selkup Samoyed *lamdi* 'low'; Yurak Samoyed / Nenets *lamtu* 'low'; Yenisei Samoyed / Enets *loddu* 'low'. Collinder 1955:31 and 1977:50; Rédei 1986—1988:235—236 **lamte*; Janhunen 1977b:81 **lə̄mtɜ-*; Décsy 1990:102 **lamta* 'deep, low; lowlands'.

(?) Sumerian *la-am-ma* ‘underworld’. (Sumerian loan in Akkadian *lammu* ‘underworld’.)

Buck 1949:1.21 earth, land; 12.32 low. Illič-Svityč 1971—1984.II:30—31, no. 264, **Lamd/i/* ‘low; depression’; Bomhard—Kerns 1994:702—703, no. 586; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 1303, **l̄am[V]dV* ‘low’. Note: The Altaic forms included by Dolgopolsky do not belong here (cf. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:1011 **ńi̯ama* ‘low, level; side of the mountain’).

953. Proto-Nostratic root **las^{y}-* (~ **lə*s^{y}-), **lis^{y}-* (~ **les^{y}-*), **lus^{y}-* (~ **los^{y}-*) (?) (onomatopoeic):
(vb.) **las^{y}-*, **lis^{y}-*, **lus^{y}-* ‘to lick, to lap (up)’;
(n.) **las^{y}-a*, **lis^{y}-a*, **lus^{y}-a* ‘tongue; lip’

A. Proto-Afrasian **las^{y}-* ‘to lick, to lap (up)’, **lis^{y}-* (or **les^{y}-*) ‘tongue’: Proto-Semitic **las^{y}-ān-* ~ **lis^{y}-ān-* ‘tongue’ > Akkadian *lišānu* ‘tongue’ (pl. *lišānātu*); Hebrew *lāšōn* [לָשׁוֹן] ‘tongue’; Aramaic *liššān*, *liššānā* ‘tongue’; Syriac *leššānā* ‘tongue’; Phoenician *lšn* ‘tongue’; Ugaritic *lšn* ‘tongue’; Mandaic *lišana* ‘tongue’; Arabic *lisān* ‘tongue, language’; Mehri *əwšēn*/*ləšōn* ‘tongue’; Soqoṭri *léšin* ‘tongue’; Śḥeri / Jibbāli *ɛlšén* ‘tongue’; Ḥarsūsi *lēšen* ‘tongue, language’; Geez / Ethiopic *ləssān* [ልሳን] ‘tongue, language’; Tigre *nəssal* (also *ləsan*) ‘tongue’; Tigrinya *ləsan* ‘tongue’; Amharic *ləssan* ‘tongue, language’ (cf. *ləssanä nəgus* ‘Amharic [literally, the language of the king]’). Murtonen 1989:250—251; Klein 1987:306; Leslau 1987:318; Zammit 2002:368. Proto-Semitic **las^{y}-* ‘to lick, to lap (up)’ (**las^{y}-ab-*, **las^{y}-ad-*, **las^{y}-am-*, **las^{y}-aw-*, **las^{y}-as^{y}-*, **las^{y}-aḥ-*) > Arabic *lasaba* ‘to lick; to bite’, *lasada* ‘to suck, to suck out the udder; to lick out’, *lasama* ‘to taste’, *lasā* (base *lsw*) ‘to eat greedily’, *lassa* ‘to eat; to lick out’; Geez / Ethiopic *lasḥa* [ለስሐ] ‘to smack the lips, to chew saliva making noise’. Leslau 1987:318. Egyptian *ns* /ls/ ‘tongue’, *nsb* /lsb/ ‘to lick, to lap up’; Coptic *las* [ⲗⲁⲥ] ‘tongue, language’, *lapsi* [ⲗⲁⲡⲥⲓ] (< **lasb-*) ‘to bite, to seize’. Hannig 1995:430 and 432; Faulkner 1962:139; Gardiner 1957:575; Erman—Grapow 1921:86, 87 and 1926—1963.2:320, 2:334; Vycichl 1983:98 and 99; Černý 1976:74. Berber: Tuareg *īləs* ‘tongue, speech, language’; Siwa *iləs* ‘tongue, speech’; Nefusa *iləs* ‘tongue’; Ghadames *iləs* ‘tongue’; Tamazight *iləs* ‘tongue, language’; Riff *ils*, *irs* ‘tongue’; Kabyle *iləs* ‘tongue, language’; Chaouia *ils* ‘tongue’. Chadic: Hausa *lààsáá* ‘to lick, to lick up’ (this may be an Arabic loan [cf. Jungraithmayr—Ibriszimow 1994.I:111]). Omotic: Kaffa *milaso* ‘tongue’ (prefix *mi-*) (loan from Ethiopian Semitic [cf. Tigrinya *mälḥas* ‘tongue’; Amharic *məlas* ‘tongue’; Gafat *məlasä* ‘tongue’]). Orël—Stolbova 1995:361, no. 1666, **les-* ‘tongue’; Ehret 1995:406, no. 827, **lis’-* ‘to lick’ (Proto-Semitic **lisn-* ~ **lasn-* ‘tongue’).

B. Proto-Kartvelian **lašk-* ‘lip’: Georgian *laš-* ‘lip (of animal), mouth’; Mingrelian *ločkv-* (< **lešk-*) ‘lip’; Laz *lešk-* ‘lip’. Klimov 1964:120 **laš-* and 1998:107 **laš-* ‘lip’; Schmidt 1962:120; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:216—217 **laš-*; Fähnrich 1994:222 and 2007:265 **laš-*. Proto-Kartvelian **lšk-wn-* ‘to lick, to lap (up)’: Old Georgian *lošn-*, *lušn-* ‘to lick’; Modern Georgian *lošn-* ‘to kiss (rudely)’, (reduplicated) *lošloš-* ‘to eat (greedily)’; Mingrelian *riskon-*, *rəskon-* ‘to gorge, to nibble’. Klimov 1964:122 **lšwn̥-* and 1998:111 **lš-wn-* ‘to eat (rudely)’.

C. (?) Indo-European: Sanskrit *rasáyati* (also *rasati*, *rasyati*) (if from **les-*/**los-*) ‘to taste, to relish’, *rása-ḥ* ‘taste, flavor (as the principal quality of fluids); any object of taste, condiment; the tongue’, *rasanā* ‘the tongue as organ of taste’, *rasā́* ‘the tongue’. Mayrhofer 1956—1980.III:48.

Buck 1949:4.25 lip; 4.26 tongue; 4.59 lick (vb.). Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 1332, **LVšV* ‘to lick’ ([in descendant languages] → ‘to taste; tongue’; Illič-Svityč 1971—1984.II:36—37, no. 273, **Lʌšʌ* (onomatopoeic) ‘to lick, to lap’.

954. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **lat^{h}-a* ‘skin’:

A. Proto-Afrasian **lat-* ‘skin’: Egyptian (reduplicated) *ntnt* /ltlt/, *ntt* /ltt/ ‘skin’ (medical term). Erman—Grapow 1926—1963.2:356 and 2:357; Hannig 1995:442. West Chadic: Zaar *ləèd*, *là:t* ‘skin’. Jungraithmayr—Ibriszimow 1994.II:296—297. Orël—Stolbova 1995:359, no. 1655, **lat-* ‘skin’.

B. Proto-Indo-European **let^{h}-ro-* ‘skin, hide, leather’: Old Irish *lethar* ‘skin, hide, leather’; Welsh *lledr* ‘skin, hide, leather’; Breton *lezr* ‘skin, hide, leather’; Old Icelandic *leðr* ‘skin, leather’; Faroese *leður* ‘leather’; Norwegian *lěder* ‘leather’; Swedish *läder* ‘leather’; Danish *læder* ‘leather’; Old English *leþer* ‘leather’; Old Frisian *lether* ‘leather’; Old Saxon *leđar* ‘leather’; Dutch *leder*, *leer* ‘leather’; Old High German *ledar* ‘leather’ (New High German *Leder*). Pokorny 1959:681 **letro-* ‘leather’ (?); Walde 1927—1932.II:428 **letro-* (?); Mann 1984—1987:681 **letros*, *-ā* ‘piece, strip, skin’; Watkins 1985:36 **letro-* and 2000:48 **letro-* ‘leather’; Mallory—Adams 1997:269 **letrom* ‘leather’; De Vries 1977:349; Falk—Torp 1903—1906.I:480 **letro-*; Orël 2003:241 Proto-Germanic **leþran*; Kroonen 2013:332 Proto-Germanic **leþra-* ‘leather’; Onions 1966:521 Common Germanic **leþram*; Klein 1971:415; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:430 **letro-*; Kluge—Seebold 1989:433; Vercoullie 1898:166.

Buck 1949:4.12 skin, hide; 6.29 leather. Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 1334, **L[a]ṭV* ‘skin/leather, bark’.

955. Proto-Nostratic root **law-* (~ **ləw-*):
(vb.) **law-* ‘to bend, to twist, to turn’;

(n.) **law-a* ‘bend, twist, turn’

A. Proto-Afrasian **law-* ‘to bend, to twist, to turn’: Proto-Semitic **law-ay-* ‘to bend, to twist, to turn’ > Akkadian *lawū* ‘to move in a circle, to encircle, to wrap, to wrap up, to surround’; Hebrew *liwyāh* [לִוְיָה] ‘wreath, garland’, *liwyāθān* [לִוְיָתָן] ‘serpent, dragon’; Phoenician *lwy* ‘to writhe, to crouch’; Arabic *lawā* (base *lwy*) ‘to turn, to crook, to curve (something); to bend, to flex, to bend up, to bend down, to bend back or over; to twist, to contort, to wrench, to wrap (something); to distort, to pervert (something); to turn (the head), to turn away, to avert (the face); to turn around, to turn (to someone, something), to face (someone, something)’; Ḥarsūsi *lewō* ‘to bend, to wrap up’; Śḥeri / Jibbāli *lē* (base *lwy*) ‘to turn (a corner), to catch hold of’; Mehri *ləwū* ‘to bend’; Geez / Ethiopic *lawaya* [ለወየ] ‘to twist, to wind, to wrap around, to err’; Tigre *läwla* (reduplicated base *lwlw*) ‘to wind around’, *läwäyä* ‘crooked’; Tigrinya *läwäyä* ‘to twist’. Murtonen 1989:246; Klein 1987:296; Leslau 1987:322; Zammit 2002:375. Proto-Semitic **law-ad^{y}-* ‘to twist, to turn’ > Hebrew *lūz* [לוּז] (base *lwz* [לוז]) ‘to turn aside, to depart’, *nālōz* [נָלוֹז] ‘devious, crooked’; Arabic *lāḏa* (base *lwḏ*) ‘to turn aside’; Geez / Ethiopic *loza* [ለዐዘ] (base *lwz*) ‘to twist, to wrap around, to deviate from the road’. Klein 1987:296; Leslau 1987:322; Murtonen 1989:245; Zammit 2002:374—375 . Proto-Semitic **law-ak’-* ‘to soften, to distort, to curve’ > Arabic *lāḳa* (base *lwḳ*) ‘to soften, to distort, to curve’. Proto-Semitic **law-at^{y}-* ‘to wrap, to twist, to turn’ > Hebrew *lūš* [לוּשׁ] (base *lwš* [לושׁ]) ‘to knead’; Aramaic *lūš* (base *lwš*) ‘to knead’; Mandaic *luš* ‘to knead’; Akkadian *lāšu* ‘to knead’; Arabic *lāṯa* (base *lwṯ*) ‘to wrap the turban around one’s head; to go around; to soak in water or fat; to take refuge with; to stick always at home’; Geez / Ethiopic *losa* [ለሰሰ], *loša* [ለሠሠ] ‘to knead, to mingle, to mix’; Tigre *lōša* ‘to intermingle’; Tigrinya *läwwäsä* ‘to knead’; Amharic *läwwäsä* ‘to knead’; Argobba *lewäsa* ‘to knead’; Gafat *liwwäsä* ‘to knead’; Gurage *lawäsä* ‘to knead dough, to mix, to intermingle’. Klein 1987:297; Murtonen 1989:246; Leslau 1979:384 and 1987:321. Proto-Semitic **law-ag-* ‘to turn’ > Arabic *lāǧa* (base *lwǧ*) ‘to turn about in the mouth; to deviate, to turn aside from the road, to swerve’. Proto-Semitic **law-aγ-* ‘to turn about, to roll around’ > Arabic *lāġa* (base *lwġ*) ‘to roll about in the mouth and throw out’. Proto-Semitic **law-ak-* ‘to turn about’ > Arabic *lāka* (base *lwk*) ‘to turn about in the mouth and chew’. Proto-Semitic **law-at’-* ‘to wrap up tightly’ > Hebrew *lūṭ* [לוּט] ‘to cover, to wrap up, to envelop’; Akkadian *lāṭu* ‘to confine, to keep in check (with a bridle), to curb, to control’, *līṭu* ‘hostage’; Arabic *lāṭa* (base *lwṭ*) ‘to be in one’s mind; to bring together; to coat with clay, to plaster (a wall); to be a sodomite, pederast; to prevent, to hinder, to turn from’, *lūṭī* ‘sodomite, pederast’. Murtonen 1989:245; Klein 1987:296; Von Soden 1965—1981.I:540 and I:558. Proto-Semitic **law-aw-* ‘to turn, to twist, to wrap’ > Geez / Ethiopic *lawawa* [ለወወ] ‘to wrap around, to

twist, to be evil, to be impudent, to be of a threatening appearance, to observe fixedly'. Leslau 1987:321. Egyptian *i̯wšš* (< /lwšš/), **i̯wšm* (< /lwšm/) 'to knead'; Coptic *wōšm* [ⲟⲩⲱϣⲙ] '(vb.) to knead, to mix; (n.) dough'. Faulkner 1962:14 *i̯wšš* 'gruel'; Erman—Grapow 1921:9 and 1926—1963.I:58; Hannig 1995:37; Vycichl 1983:240; Černý 1976:221. Egyptian **rwrw* /lwlw/ 'to wander about'; Coptic *lele* [ⲗⲉⲗⲉ] 'to wander about'. Vycichl 1983:97; Černý 1976:72. Berber: Kabyle *lawəḥ* 'to wander, to roam'; Tashelhiyt / Shilha *lulli* 'to wander about, to turn'. West Chadic **lawya-* 'to bend' > Hausa *lauyà* 'to bend to make round; to turn (steering wheel)'. Orël—Stolbova 1995:359, no. 1658, **lawVy-* 'to twist, to bend'.

B. Proto-Indo-European **lew-*/**low-*/**lu-* 'to bend, to twist, to turn, to wind' (extended forms: **lew-k'-*/**low-k'-*/**lu-k'-* and **lew-t'-*/**low-t'-*/**lu-t'-*): Greek λυγίζω 'to bend, to twist, to writhe'; Latin *luctor*, *luctō* 'to wrestle'; Gothic *galūkan* 'to lock up'; Old Icelandic *lykna* 'to bend the knees', *lykja* 'to shut in, to enclose', *lykkja* 'loop, coil (of rope)', *lykkjóttr* 'looped, curved', *ljúka*, *lúka* 'to shut', *lúta* 'to lout, to bow down', *lútr* 'louting, bent down, stooping', *lok* 'bolt (of a door), lock'; Old English *lūcan* 'to close, to shut up, to confine', *loc* 'lock, bolt, bar', *lūtan* 'to bow, to bend, to turn, to prostrate oneself'; Old Frisian *lūka* 'to close'; Old Saxon *bi-lūkan* 'to close up'; Dutch *luik* 'shutter, trapdoor'; Old High German *lūhhan* 'to close', *bi-lūhhan* 'to close up'. Rix 1998a:372 **leu̯d-* 'to be bent down, bowed down' and 374 **leu̯g-* 'to bend'; Pokorny 1959:634 **leud-* 'to be bent down, bowed down', 685 **leug-* 'to bend'; Walde 1927—1932.II:413—414 **leug-* and II:415—416 **leud-*; Mann 1984—1987:716 **lūd-* (?) 'to lay low, to reduce', 717 **lŭ̄g-* 'to bend, to twist', 718 **lŭ̄ĝ-* 'to bend, to twist'; Watkins 1985:37 **leud-* 'small', 37 **leug-* 'to bend, to turn, to wind' and 2000:49 **leud-* 'small'; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:648—649; Beekes 2010.I:874—875 **leug-*; Hofmann 1966:184; Boisacq 1950:589—590 **lug-*; Frisk 1970—1973.II:141; Ernout—Meillet 1979:368; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:826—827 **lug-*; De Vaan 2008:350 **lug-to-* 'bent'; Orël 2003:252 Proto-Germanic **lūkanan*, 252 **lūtanan*; Kroonen 2013:334 Proto-Germanic **leukan-* ~ **lūkan-* 'to close; to pull'; De Vries 1977:364, 368, 369, and 370; Feist 1939:189—190 **leu̯g-*; Lehmann 1986:143; Onions 1966:534; Klein 1971:427; Boutkan—Siebinga 2005:246—247.

Buck 1949:5.54 knead; 9.14 bend (vb. tr.); 10.12 turn (vb.); 10.13 turn around (vb.); 10.14 wind, wrap (vb.); 10.15 roll (vb.). Bomhard—Kerns 1994:701, no. 584.

956. Proto-Nostratic root **law-* (~ **ləw-*):
(vb.) **law-* 'to shine';
(n.) **law-a* 'light, glow'; (adj.) 'shining, gleaming, glowing, bright'

A. Proto-Afrasian **law-* ‘to shine, to gleam, to glow, to glimmer’: Proto-Semitic **law-aḥ-* ‘to shine, to gleam, to glimmer’ > Ugaritic *lḥ* (base *lwḥ*) ‘to shine, to gleam, to glimmer’ (Aistleitner 1967:169); Arabic *lāḥa* (base *lwḥ*) ‘to shine, to gleam, to flash, to glimmer, to sparkle; to appear, to show, to come into sight’; Śḥeri / Jibbāli *láḥ* (base *lwḥ*) ‘to appear fleetingly’. Egyptian *nwḫ* /lwḫ/ ‘to be burnt, to become warm, to heat up, to become scorched’; (?) Coptic *lōbš* [**ⲗⲱⲃϣ**] ‘to be hot, to glow’. Hannig 1995:399; Faulkner 1962:128; Erman—Grapow 1921:78 and 1926—1963.2:224; Vycichl 1983:95 (Vycichl derives *lōbš* [**ⲗⲱⲃϣ**] from Egyptian *ꜣbḫ* /lbḫ/ ‘to burn, to scorch’); Černý 1976:70 (Černý derives *lōbš* [**ⲗⲱⲃϣ**] from Egyptian *nwḫ* /lwḫ/ ‘to be burnt, to become warm’).

B. Proto-Indo-European **lew-k^{h}-/*low-k^{h}-/*lu-k^{h}-* ‘to shine, to be bright’: Sanskrit *rócate* ‘to shine, to be bright’; Greek λευκός ‘bright, white’, λεύσσω ‘to gaze, to look at, to see’; Latin *lūceō* ‘to shine’, *lūx* ‘light’, *lūmen* ‘light’; Welsh *llug* ‘light’; Gothic *liuhaþ* ‘light’; Old English *lēoht* ‘light’, *līeg* ‘flame, lightning’, *līexan* ‘to shine, to glitter’, *liehtan* ‘to shine’, *lēohtian* ‘to become light, to shine’; Old Frisian *liācht* ‘light’; Old Saxon *lioht* ‘light’; Old High German *lioht*, *lioth*, *lihot*, *liaht*, *lich*, *leoht*, *liecht* ‘light’ (New High German *Licht*, *Leuchte*), *liehten*, *liohtan* ‘to shine’ (New High German *leuchten*); Armenian *loys* ‘light’; Tocharian A *lyok-*, *lyk-*, B *luk-*, *lyuk-*, *lauk-*, *lyauk-* ‘to shine’; Old Church Slavic *luča* ‘gleam’, *lučь* ‘ray of light’; Luwian (nom. sg.) *lu-u-ḫa-aš* ‘light’; Hittite (3rd sg. pres.) *lu-uk-ki-iz-zi* ‘to set fire to’, (3rd sg. pres.) *lu-uk-zi* ‘to grow bright’. Rix 1998a:376—377 **leu̯k-* ‘to grow bright’; Pokorny 1959:687—690 **leuk-* ‘(vb.) to shine; (n.) light’; Walde 1927—1932.II:408—412 **leuq-*; Mann 1984—1987:683—684 **leuketos*, *-om*, *-os* (**leukət-*, **leuk̂ət-*) ‘light, bright, brightness’, 684 **leuk̯ō* (**leuke̯ō*, **louk-*) ‘to shine, to appear, to look, to see, to become clear’, 684 **leukm-* (**lukm-*) ‘brilliance’, 684 **leukos*, *-ā* (**louk-*) ‘light, white; light, brilliance’, 684—685 **leuks-*, 712 **louk-*, 712 **loukn-*, **loukən-*, 713 **louksnos*, *-ā*, 713 **louk̂-*, 718 **luk-* ‘light, shine’, 719 **lŭ̂k-*, 719 **luk̂əros*, *-i̯os*, 719 **luk̂ətos* (**luk̂eto-*, **luk̂ito-*) ‘light, bright; gleam’, 719 **lŭ̂kin-*, 719 **luk̂n̥t-*, 719—720 **luk̂s-*, 720 **luk̂stros*, *-is* ‘bright; brightness’, 720 **luk̂sn-*, 720 **luk̂tis*, *-os* (**luk̂st-*) ‘light, shining, shine’; Watkins 1985:37 **leuk-* and 2000:49 **leuk-* ‘light, brightness’; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.II:883 **l(e)uk[^{h}]-* and 1995.I:779 **l(e)uk^{h}-* ‘to shine’; Mallory—Adams 1997:352 **lóuk(es)-* ‘light’ and 513 **leuk-* ‘to shine’; Boisacq 1950:571—573 **leuq-/*louq-/*luq-* and 574 **leuq-*; Hofmann 1966:178 **leuq-*; Frisk 1970—1973.II: 108—109 and II:110; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:632—633 **leuq-/*louq-*; Beekes 2010.I:851 **leuk-* and I:851—852 **leuk-*; De Vaan 2008:355—356; Ernout—Meillet 1979:372—374 **leuk-*; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:823—824; Orël 2003:242 Proto-Germanic **leuxmōn*, 242 **leuxsaz*, 242 **leuxsjanan*, 242 **leuxsnaz*, 242—243 **leuxtan*, 243 **leuxtjanan*; Kroonen 2013:333 Proto-Germanic **leuhanda-* ‘light’, 333 **leuhman-*

‘beam of light’, 333 *leuhna-* ‘lightning’, and 334 **leuhsa-* ‘light, bright’; Feist 1939:334—335 **leu̯k-*; Lehmann 1986:236 **leuk-*, **leuk̂-*; Onions 1966:527 **leuk-*/**louk-*/**lŭk-*; Klein 1971:421 **leuq-*; Boutkan—Siebinga 2005:238; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:437 and 439 **leuk-*; Kluge—Seebold 1989:440 and 441 **leuk-*; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.III:56—57; Kloekhorst 2008b:530—533; Puhvel 1984— .5:103—108 **lewk-*; Adams 1999:556 **leuk-*; Van Windekens 1976—1982.I:169 **leuq-*/**louq-*/**luq-* and I:274 **leuqo-s*.

Buck 1949:15.56 shine. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:698—699, no. 580.

957. Proto-Nostratic root **law-* (~ **ləw-*):
(vb.) **law-* ‘to separate, to divide, to part, to sever, to detach’;
(n.) **law-a* ‘part cut off, separation, division’

A. Proto-Afrasian **laaw-* ‘to separate, to divide, to part, to sever, to detach’: Semitic: Geez / Ethiopic *loḳa* [ለቍዐ] (base *lwḳ*) ‘to let go, to release, to let loose’. Leslau 1987:321. Egyptian *i̯wd* (*i̯-* < **lu-*) ‘to separate’, *i̯wdt* ‘separation’, *r i̯wd* ‘between’; Coptic *ute-*, *utō-* [ⲟⲩⲧⲉ-, ⲟⲩⲧⲱ-] ‘between, among’. Hannig 1995:38; Faulkner 1962:14; Gardiner 1957:552; Erman—Grapow 1921:9 and 1926—1963.1:58—59; Černý 1976:218; Vycichl 1983:238. Proto-Southern Cushitic **laaw-* ‘to pick, to pluck’ > Iraqw *lot-* ‘to milk’, *lotusmo* ‘milker’; Burunge *lomid-* ‘to milk’; Alagwa *lomit-* ‘to milk’; Dahalo *laaw-*, *loom-* ‘to pick, to pluck’. Ehret 1980:204. [Ehret 1995:407, no. 830, **laaw-* ‘to take hold of’.]
B. Kartvelian: Svan (Lower Bal) *lawxi* ‘shovel’, (Upper Bal) *lãxīr* ‘spade, shovel’.
C. Proto-Indo-European **lew(H)-*/**low(H)-*/**lu(H)-* (> **lū-*) ‘to separate, to divide, to part, to sever, to detach’: [Sanskrit *lū-* (3rd sg. pres. act. *lunā́ti*, [Vedic] *lunoti*) ‘to cut, to sever, to divide, to pluck, to reap, to gather; to cut off, to destroy, to annihilate’, *láva-ḥ* ‘act of cutting, reaping (of grain), mowing, plucking, or gathering’, *lāva-ḥ* ‘cutting, cutting off, plucking, reaping, gathering; cutting to pieces, destroying, killing’, *laví-ḥ* ‘cutting, sharp, edge (as a tool or instrument); an iron instrument for cutting or clearing’, *lūna-ḥ* ‘cut, cut off, severed, lopped, clipped, reaped, plucked; nibbled off, knocked out; stung; pierced, wounded; destroyed, annihilated’, *lūnaka-ḥ* ‘a cut, wound, anything cut or broken; sort, species, difference’, *lavítra-m* ‘sickle’]; Greek λύω ‘to loosen, to unbind, to unfasten, to untie’, λύη ‘dissolution’, λυτός ‘that may be unloosened, released, untied’, λύτρον ‘a ransom, a price paid’; Latin *luō* ‘to loosen’, *solvō* (< **se-luō*) ‘to loosen’; Old Irish *as-loa* (< **eks-luwo-*) ‘to escape’; Gothic (acc. sg.) *lun* ‘ransom’, *us-luneins* ‘salvation’; Old Icelandic *lé* (< Proto-Germanic **lewan*) ‘scythe’, *ljár* ‘scythe’; Faroese *liggi* ‘sickle’; Norwegian *ljaa* ‘sickle’; Swedish *lie* ‘sickle’; Danish *lja* ‘sickle’; Old English *ā-lynnan* ‘to

deliver, to let go, to release, to loosen'; Tocharian B *lu-* 'to send'; Luwian (3rd sg. pret.) *la-wa-ar-ri-it-ta* 'to despoil, to strip' (Kloekhorst [2008:521] rejects the comparison of this form with Hittite *duwarni-* 'to break'). Rix 1998a:374—375 **leu̯H-* 'to cut off, to loosen'; Pokorny 1959:681—682 **leu-* 'to cut apart, to divide, to loosen'; Walde 1927—1932.II:407—408 **leu̯-* (also **leu̯ā^{x}-* and **lēu̯-* : **ləu-* [: **lŭ̄-*]); Mann 1984—1987:683 **leuĝō* 'to loosen, to crumble, to shred', 687 **lēu̯is*, *-os*, *-ā* 'cutting, felling, injury, slaughter', 711—712 **louĝ-* 'to break, to loosen, to release; loose, free, broken, fragmentary', 714 **loupei̯ō* 'to strip, to plunder', 714 **loupos* 'stripping, plunder; stripper; stripped thing, peel, leaf', 717—718 **lŭ̄ĝ-* 'to break, to tear', 718 **lūĝ-* 'to jerk, to pull', 718 **lūi̯ō* 'to slacken', 720 **lŭ̄p-* 'to peel', 722 **luu̯ō* 'to strike, to destroy'; Watkins 1985:36—37 **leu-* and 2000:48—49 **leu-* 'to loosen, to cut, to divide'; Mallory—Adams 1997:481 **leuh$_{x}$-* 'to release, to cut off'; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.III:106—107; Boisacq 1950:593 **lēu-* : **ləu-* : **lŭ̄-* 'to cut off, to detach, to untie'; Frisk 1970—1973.II:149—150; Hofmann 1966:185 **lĕ̄u-*, **ləu-*, **lŭ̄-*; Beekes 2010.I:881—882 **lh$_{1}$u-*; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:652—653; Ernout—Meillet 1979:370; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:834—835 **lēu-*, **ləu-*, **lŭ̄-*; De Vaan 2008:353; Orël 2003:243 Proto-Germanic **lewōn*; Feist 1939:338 **leu̯-*; Lehmann 1986:238 **lew-* 'to cut off, to release'; De Vries 1977:349 **leu-*; Falk—Torp 1903—1906.I:465; Adams 1999:555—556 **lew(h$_{x}$)-* 'to cut off, to separate'; Van Windekens 1976—1982.I:268—269 **leu-*; Kloekhorst 2008b:521. Proto-Indo-European **lew-s-*/**low-s-*/**lu-s-* 'to lose, to loosen; to untie, to undo; to release, to set free': Gothic *ga-lausjan* 'to rescue', *lausjan* 'to free, to rescue, to deliver', **us-lausjan* 'to empty', **us-lauseins* 'salvation', *laus* 'free from, empty', **fra-liusan* 'to lose', *fra-lusnan* 'to be lost, to perish', *fra-lusts* 'lost'; Old Icelandic *leysa* 'to lose, to loosen, to untie, to undo; to dissolve, to break up; to absolve; to free, to set free, to release; to discharge, to pay', *losa* 'to loosen, to make loose; to perform, to do; to get loose, to get away', *losna* 'to become loose, to get free; to dissolve, to break up; to get away', *lauss* 'loose; free, unimpeded, unencumbered; disengaged (free) from; void, not binding; vacant; empty; -less'; Swedish *lös* 'loose, movable, detached'; Danish *løs* 'loose, untied'; Old English *lēas* 'devoid of, without', *for-lēosan* 'to lose, to destroy', *losian* 'to be lost; to escape (from); to perish', *līesan* 'to release, to deliver; to redeem'; Old Frisian *lās* 'free from, without, deprived of', *lēsa* 'to be free (from)', *lēsene* 'ransom', *for-liasa* 'to lose'; Middle Dutch *loos* 'free from'; Old Saxon *lōs* 'free from, empty of, -less', *lōsian* 'to release', *far-liosan* 'to lose'; Old High German *lōs* 'free from, empty of; -less' (New High German *los*), *lōsen* 'to release' (New High German *lösen*), *fir-liosan* 'to lose' (New High German *verlieren*). Pokorny 1959:681—682 **leu-* 'to cut apart, to divide, to loosen'; Walde 1927—1932.II:407—408 **leu̯-* (also **leu̯ā^{x}-* and **lēu̯-* : **ləu-* [: **lŭ̄-*]), **leu-s-*; Mann 1984—1987:686 **leusō*

(*leus-) ‘to release, to let, to free, to lose; to depart, to die’, 714 *lousos ‘loose, free, freed, robbed, deprived’, 721—722 *lusō ‘to loosen’; Watkins 1985:36—37 *leu- (Germanic *leusan) and 2000:48—49 *leu- ‘to loosen, to cut, to divide’ (extended Germanic root *leus-); Mallory—Adams 1997:481 *leus-; Orël 2003:243 Proto-Germanic *leusanan, 251 *lusan, 251 *lusnōjanan, 251 *lusōjanan, 251 *lustiz; Kroonen 2013:329 Proto-Germanic *lausa- ‘empty, idle’; Feist 1939:163—164 *leu̯-, 325, and 326; Lehmann 1986:123—124 *lew- ‘to separate, to free’ and 229; Falk—Torp 1903—1906.I487—488 Germanic *lausa-; De Vries 1977:348, 354, and 366—367; Klein 1971:429 and 430 *leus-; Onions 1966:536 Common Germanic *lausaz < *laus-, *leus-, *lus- and 537 *leus-, extension of *lou-, *leu-, *lu-; Barnhart 1995:443; Boutkan—Siebinga 2005:227—228 *lew- and 234; Kluge—Mitzke 1967:446, 447, and 815; Kluge—Seebold 1989:448 and 760. Note: Some of the forms listed here may belong under Proto-Nostratic *lax^{w}- (~ *lǝx^{w}-) ‘to strike, to hit, to beat’ (see below) instead. Clearly, there has been contamination between these stems in the Indo-European daughter languages, and, consequently, it is difficult to sort out the ultimate origin of individual reflexes.

Buck 1949:8.22 dig; 8.23 spade; 8.24 shovel; 8.33 sickle; scythe; 11.33 lose; 12.23 separate (vb.).

958. Proto-Nostratic root *law- (~ *ləw-):
(vb.) *law- ‘to moisten, to water; to wash, to clean’;
(n.) *law-a ‘the act of bathing, washing’

A. Proto-Afrasian *law- ‘to moisten, to water; to wash, to clean’: Egyptian *i̯wḫ* (< /lwḫ/) ‘to moisten, to water (field plots), to inject (a liquid)’, *i̯wḫw* (< /lwḫw/) ‘inundation’. Hannig 1995:36; Faulkner 1962:14; Erman—Grapow 1921:9 and 1926—1963.1:57; Gardiner 1957:552. Berber: Tuareg *ləlləwət* ‘to wash, to be washed’; Nefusa *llil*, *ilil* ‘ocean, sea’, *sslil* ‘to rinse’; Tamazight *lil* ‘to be rinsed’, *slil* ‘to rinse’; Tashelhiyt / Shilha *slil* ‘to rinse’; Riff *slil*, *srir* ‘to rinse’; Kabyle *lil* ‘to be rinsed’, *slil* ‘to rinse’; Chaouia *slil* ‘to rinse, to gargle’; Zenaga *il* ‘sea’.
B. Proto-Indo-European *lewḫ̯-/*lowḫ̯- ‘to wash, to bathe’: Greek λούω (Homeric λόω, λοέω) ‘to wash, to bathe’, λουτρόν (Homeric λοετρόν) ‘a bath’; Mycenaean *re-wo-to-ro-ko-wo* (= /λεϝοτροχοϝοι/) ‘bath-pourers’, *re-wo-te-re-jo* (= /λεϝοτρειος/) ‘for bathing’; Latin *lavō* ‘to wash, to bathe’; Gaulish *lautreo* ‘a bath, a bathing-place’; Old Irish *lúaith* ‘ashes’, *loathar*, *lóthor* ‘basin’; Armenian *loganem* (< *lowH-ye/o-) ‘to bathe’; Old Icelandic *lauðr* ‘lather, froth, foam of the sea’, *laug* ‘bath’, *leyðra* ‘to wash, to clean’; Old English *lēaþor* ‘lather, soap’, *līeþran* ‘to lather, to smear’, *lēag* ‘lye, ashes and water for washing’; Middle Dutch *lōghe* ‘lye’ (Dutch *loog*); Old High German *louga* ‘lye’ (New High German *Lauge*).

Rix 1998a:375—376 *$leu̯h_3$- ‘to wash’; Pokorny 1959:692 *lou-, *$lou̯ə$- ‘to wash’; Walde 1927—1932.II:441 *lou-; Mann 1984—1987:688 *ləughō (*ləughnō) ‘to wash, to bathe’, 688 *$ləu̯$ənos, -ā ‘wash, washing; washtub’, 688—689 *$ləu̯ō$; *$lōu̯ō$, -$i̯ō$ ‘to wash, to bathe, to soak, to swill’, 710—711 *lōtos ‘washed; wash, washing-bowl, basin’, 714—715 *$lou̯tĕ̄r$-, *loutro-, *$lōu̯ətēr$-, *$ləu̯ətro$- ‘ablution, bath, bathtub’, 715 *$lōu̯tos$, -us ‘trough, washbasin, bath’; Watkins 1985:37 *leu(ə)- and 2000:49 *leu(ə)- ‘to wash’ (oldest form *$leu(ə_3)$-); Mallory—Adams 1997:108 *$leuh_3$- ‘to wash, to bathe’; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.I:171 *loH^o- > *$loHu̯$- and 1995.I:147 *loH^o- > *loHw-; Vilborg 1960:50; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:647 *low-$ə_1$-; Boisacq 1950:587—588 *lou-; Beekes 2010.I:872—873 *$leuh_3$-; Frisk 1970—1973.II:138—139 *$lou̯ə$-; Hofmann 1966:183; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:773—775; Ernout—Meillet 1979:344—346; De Vaan 2008:330—331; Orël 2003:238 Proto-Germanic *$lauɣō$, 239—240 *lauþran; Kroonen 2013:329 Proto-Germanic *lauþra- ‘lather’; De Vries 1977:346, 347, and 353; Onions 1966:517 and 542 *lou- ‘to wash’; Klein 1971:412 and 434; Hoad 1986:259—260 *lou- and 274; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:427 *$lou̯$-; Kluge—Seebold 1989:431 *leuə-. The Mycenaean forms confirm that the original Proto-Indo-European stem was *$lewḫ̯h$-/*$lowḫ̯h$- (cf. Winter 1965a:108); thus, the comparison with Hittite *la-a-ḫu-wa-i* ‘to pour, to pour out (liquids)’ should be abandoned.

Sumerian *luh* ‘to wash, to clean’, *luh(-luh)* ‘to be washed, cleaned’.

Buck 1949:9.36 wash; 15.87 clean. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:699, no. 581.

959. Proto-Nostratic root *lax^w- (~ *$lə x^w$-):
(vb.) *lax^w- ‘to strike, to hit, to beat’;
(n.) *lax^w-a ‘the act of striking, hitting, beating; stroke, hit, blow’

A. Proto-Afrasian *lax^w- ‘to strike, to hit, to beat’: Proto-Semitic *lax- (*lax-ab-, *lax-ap-, *lax-am-) ‘to strike, to hit, to beat’: Arabic *laḫaba* ‘to lie with; to box on the ear, to beat, to slap’; Sabaean *lx[b]*, *l[xb]n* ‘slaps, contentions’. Arabic *laḫafa* ‘to beat violently; to enlarge the mark of an animal (by branding)’. Arabic *laḫama* ‘to strike, to hit on the face’, *laḫām* ‘a slap’; Sabaean *lxm* ‘brawl’; Geez / Ethiopic *laḥma* [ለሕመ], *laḥama* [ለሐመ] ‘to be tender, soft; to be reduced to powder, to be pulverized; to be flexible, supple; to be feeble, infirm; to be moist’; Tigrinya *läḥamä* ‘to be pulverized; to be soft, tender’; Amharic *lamä* ‘to be pulverized; to be tender’; Argobba *lähim* ‘soft’; Harari *lēḥama* ‘to become soft (skin, cloth), to be tender (meat), to be easy (test)’; Gurage *lāmä* ‘to be soft, to be smooth’. Leslau 1963:99, 1979:379, and 1987:311. Arabic *laḫz* ‘sharp knife’. Egyptian *rḫs* /lḫs/ ‘to slaughter’. Hannig 1995:476; Faulkner

1962:152; Gardiner 1957:578; Erman—Grapow 1921:96 and 1926—1963.2:448. Berber: Tuareg *allaγ* ‘iron javelin’, *tallaγin* ‘wooden javelin’, *ələγ* ‘leg (from the knee to the ankle)’; Tamazight *iləγ* ‘calf (of leg)’; Tashelhiyt / Shilha *aləγ* ‘main branch of a tree’; Kabyle *illəγ* ‘branch cut short, leaf stem; earring’; Chaouia *iləγ* ‘branch cut off, earring with a pendant’. The following East Cushitic forms may belong here as well: Harso *lax-ko* ‘arrow (poison)’; Burji *law-ée* ‘arrow for bleeding’; Galla / Oromo *law-aa* ‘arrow’; Konso *law-itta*, *law-a* ‘arrow’; Yaaku *lax* ‘arrow’; Rendille *laħaw* ‘children’s arrow’; Gollango *laah-ko* ‘arrow (poison)’; Gawwada *laax-e* ‘arrow’. Sasse 1979:20—21 Proto-East Cushitic (?) **lawx-* ‘arrow’ and 1982:133—134; Hudson 1989:209. For the semantics, cf. Old Icelandic *ljósta* ‘to strike, to smite; to strike, to hit (with a spear or arrow)’, *ljóstr* ‘salmon spear’ cited below.

B. Proto-Indo-European *leḫ͡ḫ^{w}- [*laḫ͡ḫ^{w}-] (> *lāw-), (*ləḫ͡ḫ^{w}- >) *luḫ͡ḫ^{w}- (> *lū-) ‘to hit, to strike, to beat’: [Sanskrit *lū-* (3rd sg. pres. act. *lunā́ti*, [Vedic] *lunoti*) ‘to cut, to sever, to divide, to pluck, to reap, to gather; to cut off, to destroy, to annihilate’, *láva-ḥ* ‘act of cutting, reaping (of grain), mowing, plucking, or gathering’, *lāva-ḥ* ‘cutting, cutting off, plucking, reaping, gathering; cutting to pieces, destroying, killing’, *laví-ḥ* ‘cutting, sharp, edge (as a tool or instrument); an iron instrument for cutting or clearing’, *lūna-ḥ* ‘cut, cut off, severed, lopped, clipped, reaped, plucked; nibbled off, knocked out; stung; pierced, wounded; destroyed, annihilated’, *lūnaka-ḥ* ‘a cut, wound, anything cut or broken; sort, species, difference’, *lavítra-m* ‘sickle’]; Old Icelandic *ljósta* (< **lew-s-*) ‘to strike, to smite; to strike, to hit (with a spear or arrow)’, *ljóstr* ‘salmon spear’, *lost* ‘blow, stroke’, *lýja* ‘to beat, to hammer; to forge iron; to wear out, to exhaust; (reflexive) to be worn, exhausted’, *lúi* ‘weariness’, *lúinn* ‘worn, bruised; worn out, exhausted’; Norwegian (dial.) *lua* ‘to unwind’; Old Irish *loss* ‘the point or end of anything, tail’; Welsh *llost* ‘spear, lance, javelin, tail’ (< **lustā*). Mann 1984—1987:687 **lēu̯is*, *-os*, *-ā* ‘cutting, felling, injury, slaughter’; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.III:106—107; Orël 2003:245 Proto-Germanic **lēwan*, 245 **lēwjanan*; Kroonen 2013:335 Proto-Germanic **lewan-* ‘scythe’; De Vries 1977:360, 361, 367, 368, and 369; Lewis—Pedersen 1937:21. Note: Some of the forms listed here may belong under Proto-Nostratic **law-* (~ **ləw-*) ‘to separate, to divide, to part, to sever, to detach’ (see above) instead. Clearly, there has been contamination between these stems in the Indo-European daughter languages, and, consequently, it is difficult to sort out the ultimate origin of individual reflexes.

C. Chukchi-Kamchatkan: Proto-Chukotian **ləv-* ‘to defeat’ > Chukchi *ləw-* ‘to defeat’; Kerek *luu-* ‘to defeat’, *ina-lw-aat-* ‘to win (something from someone)’; Koryak *ləv-* ‘to defeat, to tame’; Alyutor *ləv-* ‘to defeat, to tame’. Fortescue 2005:168.

Buck 1949:9.21 strike (hit, beat); 11.33 destroy; 20.25 arrow; 20.26 spear; 20.42 defeat (sb.).

960. Proto-Nostratic root *li^{2}- (~ *le^{2}-):
(vb.) *li^{2}- ‘to come into being, to arise, to grow, to become’;
(n.) *li^{2}-*a* ‘being, becoming’

A. Afrasian: Proto-Highland East Cushitic *le^{2}- ‘to grow (up)’ > Burji *le-* ‘to sprout’; Hadiyya *li^{2}-* ‘to grow (up)’; Kambata *le^{2}-* ‘to grow (up)’; Sidamo *le^{2}-* ‘to ripen (of coffee, berries)’. Hudson 1989:74. Southern Cushitic: Ma’a *-lí* ‘to grow (of plants)’. Ehret 1980:205.
B. Uralic: Proto-Finno-Ugrian **le-* ‘to be, to become, to live’ > Finnish *lie-* ‘to be’ (only in the potential mood); Veps *le-*, *li-* ‘to be’; Vote *lee-* ‘to be, to become’; Lapp / Saami *læ-* ‘to be’; Cheremis / Mari *liä-*, *li(j)a-* ‘to be, to become, to be possible’; Votyak / Udmurt *lu-* ‘to be’; Zyrian / Komi *lo-* ‘to become, to be’; Hungarian *lë-* ~ *lëv-* ‘to become, to be; shall be, will be’. Collinder 1955:32, 1960:407 **le(γä-)*, and 1977:51; Rédei 1986—1988: 243—244 **le-*. Yukaghir (Southern / Kolyma) *l'ə-* ‘to be, to exist’, (Northern / Tundra) *l'e-* ‘to be, to exist’. Nikolaeva 2006:237.
C. Proto-Eskimo postbase **li-* ‘to become (more)’: Alutiiq Alaskan Yupik *#+li-*, *+(ɣ/ʁ)i-* ‘to become’; Central Alaskan Yupik *#+li-*, *+(ʁ)i-* ‘to become or cause to make more and more’; Naukan Siberian Yupik *+li-* in *anli-* ‘to grow bigger’; Central Siberian Yupik *#+li-*, *+(ʁ)i-* ‘to become’; Seward Peninsula Inuit *#+li-* ‘to become’; Greenlandic *#(+)li-* ‘to become, to make become’; North Alaskan Inuit *#li-*, *ɣli-*, *kɬi-* ‘to become, to make become’; Western Canadian Inuit *#(ɣ)li-* ‘to become’; Eastern Canadian Inuit *#li-* ‘to become, to make become’. Fortescue—Jacobson—Kaplan 1994:405.
D. Proto-Chukchi-Kamchatkan **li-* ‘to become’: Alyutor *li-* ‘to become, to change to, to turn to’; Kamchadal / Itelmen *le-kas* ‘to become’. Fortescue 2005:158—159.

Buck 1949:9.92 become. Fortescue 1998:142.

961. Proto-Nostratic root **lip’-* (~ **lep’-*):
(vb.) **lip’-* ‘to form, to fashion, to mold’;
(n.) **lip’-a* ‘form, mold’

A. Afrasian: Semitic: Geez / Ethiopic *labḥa* [**ለብሐ**] ‘to make earthenware, to work iron’, *labḥ* [**ለብሕ**] ‘clay, earthenware’, (denominative) *labḥawa* [**ለብሐወ**] ‘to make earthenware’, *labḥā* [**ለብሓ**] ‘earthenware’; Amharic *läbəh* ‘clay, brick’ (from Geez). Leslau 1987:305.
B. Kartvelian: Mingrelian *lip’-* ‘to fashion, to model; to slap someone in the face’. Klimov (1998:109—110 **lipˀ-* ‘to fashion, to model; to slip’) compares Georgian *lip’-* ‘to become slippery’, but it seems unlikely that

the Georgian and Mingrelian forms are related — this etymology is not included in Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995 or Fähnrich 2007.

C. (?) Indo-European: Old Icelandic *lipr* ‘handy, skilled, adroit’ (Modern Icelandic *lipur*), *lipr-leiki* ‘adroitness’. This word is frequent in modern usage but seems not to occur in writers before the 15th century and may be borrowed.

Buck 1949:9.41 craft, trade; 9.72 mold (clay, etc.); 9.73 clay. Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 1322, **LiP[ħ]a* ‘to stick, to stick to; sticky, glue; to make earthenware’.

				Eurasiatic			
Proto-Nostratic	Proto-Afrasian	Proto-Dravid.	Proto-Kartvel.	Proto-IE	Proto-Uralic	Proto-Altaic	Proto-Eskimo
r-	r-		r-	r-	r-		
-r-	-r-	-r-/-r̲-	-r-	-r-	-r-	-r-	-ʀ-

962. Proto-Nostratic root **raʔ-* (~ **rəʔ-*):
(vb.) **raʔ-* ‘to see, to perceive’;
(n.) **raʔ-a* ‘sight, observation, perception’; (adj.) ‘seeing, perceiving’
Extended form:
(vb.) **raʔ-V-y-* ‘to see, to perceive’;
(n.) **raʔ-y-a* ‘sight, observation, perception’; (adj.) ‘seeing, perceiving’

A. Proto-Afrasian **raʔ-Vy-* ‘to see, to perceive’: Proto-Semitic **raʔ-ay-* ‘to see, to perceive’ > Hebrew *rāʾāh* [רָאָה] ‘to see, to perceive, to look at, to observe, to watch, to consider, to discern, to reflect, to gaze at, to behold’; Jewish Aramaic *rēwā* ‘appearance’; Phoenician *rʾy* ‘eyesight’; Arabic *raʾā* ‘to see, to behold, to perceive, to notice, to observe, to discern, to look (at), to regard, to consider, to deem, to think’; Sabaean *rʾy* ‘to experience, to see’; Śḥeri / Jibbāli *ríʾ* ‘opinion’; Mehri *rāy* ‘opinion’; Geez / Ethiopic *rəʾya* [ርእየ] ‘to see, to observe, to look, to look at, to look on, to regard, to contemplate, to consider, to watch, to have a vision, to take notice of, to notice, to behold, to perceive, to explore’; Tigre *räʾa* ‘to see’; Tigrinya *räʾayä* ‘to see’; Harari *riʾa* ‘to see’; Gurage (Zway) *ərī* ‘to see, to look’; Amharic *raʾəy* ‘vision’ (from Geez / Ethiopic). Murtonen 1989:390—391; Klein 1987:600; Leslau 1963:132, 1979:83, and 1987:458—459; Militarëv 2012:95 Proto-Semitic **rʔy*; Zammit 2002:187. Egyptian **i̯ry* (< **ri̯y*) ‘to see’ (imptv. *i̯r ṯm* ‘pay attention!’), *i̯r-t* ‘eye, sight’; Coptic *ya* [ⲉⲓⲁ] ‘eye’. Hannig 1995:87—88; Faulkner 1962:25; Gardiner 1957:554; Erman—Grapow 1921:16 and 1926—1963.1:106—108, 1:108; Vycichl 1983:60; Černý 1976:44—45. North Cushitic: Beja / Beḍawye *ʔerh-* ‘to see’. Reinisch 1895:29. Orël—Stolbova 1995:447, no. 2104, **reʔ-* ‘to see’.

B. Proto-Indo-European **reʔi-C-/*roʔi-C-/*rəʔi-C-* > (with syncope of *i*) **reʔ-C-/*roʔ-C-/*rəʔ-C-* > (with loss of the laryngeal) **rē-C-/*rō-C-/*rə-C-*; **reʔy-V-/*roʔy-V-/*rəʔy-V-* > (with metathesis) **reyʔ-V-/*royʔ-V-/*rəyʔ-V-* > (with loss of the laryngeal) **rey-V-/*roy-V-/*riy—V-* ‘to contemplate, to consider, to ponder, to reckon’: Latin *reor*, *rērī* ‘to reckon, to think, to be of the opinion, to suppose, to judge’, *ratiō* ‘reckoning, account, computation, calculation’, *rītus* ‘religious custom, ceremony, rite’; Old Irish *rím* ‘number’; Welsh *rhīf* ‘number’; Gothic *raþjō* ‘number, account’, *ga-raþjan* ‘to count’, *rōdjan* ‘to speak’, *ga-rēdan* ‘to reflect upon’, *raidjan* ‘to determine, to fix, to order, to appoint’; Old Icelandic *ráð*

'counsel, advice', *ráða* 'to advise, to counsel', *rím* 'computation', *ræða* '(vb.) to speak, to speak about; (n.) speech, talk'; Old English *rǣd* 'advice', *rīm* 'number', *rīman* 'to count, to calculate'; Old Frisian *rēd* 'advice', *rēda* 'to advise'; Old Saxon *rād* 'advice', *rādan* 'to advise'; Dutch *raden* 'to advise, to guess'; Old High German *radia*, *redea* 'account, speech' (New High German *Rede*), *rāt* 'counsel, advice' (New High German *Rat*), *rāten* 'to advise' (New High German *raten*), *redōn*, *rediōn* 'to speak' (New High German *reden*). Rix 1998a:451 *reh_1- 'to count, to reckon'; Pokorny 1959:59—61 *rē-, *rə-; *(a)rĭ̄-, *rēi-; *rē-dh-, *rō-dh-, *rə-dh-; *rēi-dh-; Walde 1927—1932.I:73—75 *rē-, *rə-; *(a)rēi-, *(a)rĭ̄-; *rē-dh-, *rə-dh-; Mann 1984—1987:1068—1069 *rē̯i̯ō 'to be mindful, to think, to ponder, to observe, to watch, to regard', 1081 *rīmos, -om 'count, reckoning'; Watkins 1985:3 *ar- (also *arə-) 'to fit together', variant or separate root *rē- (< *re̯ə-) and 2000:70—71 *rē(i)- 'to reason, to count' (oldest form *$ə̯_2re̯ə̯_1(i)$-, contracted to *$ə̯_2rē(i)$-, with zero-grade extended form *$ə̯_2rə̯_1i$- and methatesized zero-grade *$ə̯_2ri̯ə̯_1$-, the latter contracted to *$ə̯_2rī$-); Mallory—Adams 1997:472 *reh_1- 'to put in order'; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.II:419—420, II:429, and II:437 *rei-; Ernout—Meillet 1979:570 (no certain parallels elsewhere in Indo-European for Latin *reor*) and 574; De Vaan 2008:519—520 and 524; Kroonen 2013:405—406 Proto-Germanic *raþjōn- 'account', 408 *rēdan- 'to decide', *rīma- 'number, calculation', and 415 *rōdjan- 'to speak'; Orël 2003:295 Proto-Germanic *raiđīniz, 295 *raiđjanan, 298 *raþjanan ~ *raþōjanan, 298 *raþjō(n), 303—304 *rēđan ~ *rēđaz, 304 *rēđanan, 304 *rēđaz, 304 *rēđjan, 305 *rīman, 306 *rōđjanan; Feist 1939:199 *rē(i̯)dh- (< *rē(i̯)-), 393 *rē̯idh-, and 394 *rē-; Lehmann 1986:148 *rēdh- (< *rē-), 280—281 *rēy-dh-, 281—282 *ar-, *rē-, *rə-, *rĭ̄-; De Vries 1977:430—431 *rē-, *rə-, 431, 446 *rei-, *rī-, and 457; Boutkan—Siebinga 2005:314; Onions 1966:743 Common Germanic *rǣðan; Klein 1971:619; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:584 *rē-, *rə- and 589; Kluge—Seebold 1989:583 and 587.

Buck 1949:17.13 think (= reflect, etc.); 17.14 think (= be of the opinion); 18.21 speak, talk. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:708—709, no. 595; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 1955, *rVʔi 'to see'.

963. Proto-Nostratic root *rag- (~ *rəg-):
(vb.) *rag- 'to stir, to move, to shake';
(n.) *rag-a 'trembling, quaking, shaking, rocking; movement; collapse (from shaking)'

A. Proto-Afrasian *rag- 'to stir, to move, to shake': Proto-Semitic *rag-ap- 'to stir, to shake; to shake off, to make fall; to fall down' > Aramaic *rəγaφ* 'to stir, to shake'; Arabic *rağafa* 'to agitate, to convulse, to shake; to

tremble, to quake, to be shaken'; Mehri *hərgūf* 'to shiver, to shiver with fever', *rátgəf* 'to shake, to quiver (in fear)'; Śḥeri / Jibbāli *ɛrgɔ́f* 'to shiver'; Ḥarsūsi *argōf* 'to shake (with fever)'; Geez / Ethiopic *ragafa* [ረገፈ] 'to fall to the ground (fruit, leaves)'; Tigrinya *rägäfä* 'to fall down (fruit, leaves)'; Gurage *rägäfä* 'to fall down (fruit, leaves)', *arägäfä* 'to shake to make fall down, to make fall down'; Harari *rägäfa* 'to fall to the ground (fruit, leaves)', *arägäfa* 'to make fall down (fruit, leaves), to remove'; Amharic *räggäfä* 'to fall to the ground (fruit, leaves)'; Argobba *(ar)raggäfa* 'to shake'. Zammit 2002:189—190; Leslau 1963:133, 1979:523, and 1987: 464—465. Proto-Semitic **rag-aʒ-* 'to shake, to quake, to tremble' > Arabic *rağaza* (inf. *rağz*) 'to thunder, to roar, to surge (sea); to get angry', *rağaza* (inf. *tārağğuz*) 'to roll; to grow angry', *rağaz* 'trembling disease of a camel'; Hebrew *rāγaz* [רָגַז] 'to be agitated, to quake, to quiver; to be excited, perturbed'; Aramaic *rəγaz* 'to tremble, to rage'; Phoenician *rgz* 'to disturb'. Murtonen 1989:393; Klein 1987:605. Proto-Semitic **rag-ag-* 'to quiver, to shake' > Arabic *rağğa* 'to convulse, to shake, to rock, to tremble', *rağğ* 'shaking, rocking, convulsion', *rağğāğ* 'trembling, quaking, shaking, rocking'; Mehri *rəg* 'to be loose (as, for example, a tooth)', *ráttəg* '(ground) to quiver, to shake'; Śḥeri / Jibbāli *regg* 'to be or become loose; to become unpopular; (water) to run under the topsoil; (man, animal) to run under the cover of the bushes, undergrowth', *rɔ́ttəg* 'to be loose; to change for the worse; (ground) to shake, to quiver'; Ḥarsūsi *reg* 'to be loose'. Zammit 2002:189. Proto-Semitic **rag-ad-* 'to tremble' > Arabic *rağada* 'to tremble'. Proto-Semitic (reduplicated) **rag-rag-* 'to tremble, to quake, to sway' > Arabic *rağrağa* 'to tremble, to quake, to sway'. Proto-Semitic **rag-ac-* 'to thunder; to shake' > Arabic *rağasa* (inf. *rağs*) 'to roar, to thunder', *rağasa* (inf. *ʔirtirağ*) 'to be shaken, to shake', *rağğās* 'roaring, surging (sea); thundering'. [Ehret 1995:446, no. 935, **rig-*/**rag-* 'to move; to walk (intr.)'; Orël—Stolbova 1995:444, no. 2087, **rag-*/**rug-* 'to tremble'.]

B. Proto-Indo-European **reg*^{h}-/**rog*^{h}- 'to stir, to move': Old Irish *ráig* 'outburst'; Swedish *ragla* 'to toss, to sway'; Middle High German *regen* 'to stir, to move, to rouse' (New High German *regen*), *rege* 'movement' (New High German [adj.] *rege* 'astir, in motion, animated; lively, alert, quick, nimble, brisk, active, busy, bustling, industrious'). Assuming here that New High German *ragen* 'to tower up, to project' and *regen* 'to move, to stir, to rouse, to animate' have different origins. [Rix 1998a:450 **reg*^{h}- 'to tower up; to be erect, raised'; Walde 1927—1932.II:361 **req-* 'pole, post, stake'; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:590; Kluge—Seebold 1989:588.]

C. Uralic: Proto-Ugric **rɤkkɜ-* 'to fall, to fall down' > Ostyak / Xanty (Tremyugan) *råγ-* 'to collapse, to fall down (landslide); to fall or tumble down (trees)'; Vogul / Mansi (Northern) *räγ-*, *räγät-* 'to fall (down), to drop'; Hungarian *rokkant* '(adj.) disabled, invalid; (n.) disabled person,

invalid', *rokkantság* 'disability, infirmity', *megrokkan-* 'to become disabled'. Rédei 1986—1988:883—884 **rɤkkɜ-*.

Buck 1949:10.23 fall (vb.); 10.26 shake (vb. tr.). Bomhard 1996a:212, no. 610.

964. Proto-Nostratic root **rak^h-* (~ **rək^h-*):
(vb.) **rak^h-* 'to twist, to turn, to bend; to tie, to bind, to fasten';
(n.) **rak^h-a* 'twist, turn, bend; tie, bond, cord'
Derivative:
(vb.) **rak^h-* 'to put, join, fit, or fasten (together); to assemble, to prepare, to construct';
(n.) **rak^h-a* 'the act of putting, joining, fitting, or fastening (together); the act of assembling, preparing, constructing'

A. Proto-Afrasian **rak-* 'to twist, to turn, to bend': Proto-Semitic **rak-as-* 'to twist, to turn, to bend; to tie, to bind, to fasten' > Akkadian *rakāsu* 'to bind'; Hebrew *rāχas* [רָכַס] 'to bind, to fasten, to button up'; Ugaritic *rks* 'to bind'; Arabic *rakasa* 'to overturn, to turn topsy-turvy', *raks* 'turning, topsy-turvy'. Murtonen 1989:400; Klein 1987:618; Zammit 2002:199. Proto-Semitic **rak-aʕ-* 'to bend, to bow' > Arabic *rakaʿa* 'to bend the body, to bow (especially in prayer); to kneel down, to drop to one's knees', *rakʿa* 'bending of the torso from an upright position, followed by two prostrations (in Moslem prayer ritual)'; Śḥeri / Jibbāli *rékaʿ* 'to hop, to hobble; to bow in prayer', *rɔ́tkaʿ* 'to kneel to pray; to run here and there sniffing', *rəkʿát* 'prostration (in prayer)'; Mehri *rūka* 'to hobble, to hop', *rekāt* 'prostration (in prayer)'; Ḥarsūsi *rōka* 'to hobble', *rekʿāt* 'prostration (in prayer)'. Zammit 2002:200. Syriac *rəχaš* 'to bind, to tie'. Egyptian (reduplicated) *rkrk* 'to creep', *rkrk*, *rrk* 'snake'. Erman—Grapow 1926—1963.2:440; Faulkner 1962:153; Hannig 1995:479. Proto-Southern Cushitic **rak-* 'to turn (tr.)' > Ma'a *-re* 'to return (something)'; Alagwa *rankus-* 'to bend around; to bow; to curve (tr.)'. Ehret 1980:219. Ehret 1995:447, no. 938, **ruk-* 'to bend (intr.)'.
B. Elamo-Dravidian: Royal Achaemenid Elamite *rák-qa-qa* 'tied' (?).
C. Proto-Indo-European **rek^h-*/**rok^h-* '(vb.) to tie, to bind; (n.) rope, cord': Sanskrit *raśanā́* 'rope, cord, strap, rein, bridle, girdle', *raśmíḥ-* 'string, rope, cord, rein, bridle, leash, goad, whip'; Pāḷi *rasanā* 'woman's girdle', *rasmi-* 'rein'; Sinhalese *rasan* 'girdle', *rähän-a*, *rā̃n-a* 'cord, rein, line'; Punjabi (f.) *rassī* 'rope'. Pokorny 1959:863 **reḱ-* 'to bind' (?); Walde 1927—1932.II:362 **reĥ-*; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.III:47.

Buck 1949:3.85 snake; 9.19 rope, cord; 10.41 creep, crawl. Brunner 1969:36, no. 140; Bomhard—Kerns 1994:707, no. 592.

965. Proto-Nostratic root **rak^h-* (~ **rək^h-*):

(vb.) *rak^h- ‘to put, join, fit, or fasten (together); to assemble, to prepare, to construct’;
(n.) *rak^h-*a* ‘the act of putting, joining, fitting, or fastening (together); the act of assembling, preparing, constructing’
Derivative of:
(vb.) *rak^h- ‘to twist, to turn, to bend; to tie, to bind, to fasten’;
(n.) *rak^h-*a* ‘twist, turn, bend; tie, bond, cord’

A. Afrasian: Proto-Semitic **rak-ab*- ‘to put, join, fit, or fasten (together); to assemble, to prepare, to construct’ > Arabic *rakiba* ‘to make (someone) ride; to put, to place, to fasten, to mount (something on), to insert, to set (something in); to build in (a machine part); to assemble (for example, the parts of an apparatus); to set up (a machine); to install, to lay (an electric line and the like); to assemble, to put together, to fit together (something); to make, to prepare (something out of several components or ingredients); to construct, to build’, *tarkīb* ‘fitting in, insertion, setting; building in; fastening, mounting; assembling, assembly; final assembly, installation; composition; making, preparation (out of several components or ingredients); construction, building; structure; constitution, build, physique’, *murakkab* ‘mounted, fastened, fixed (on); fitted, inserted, set (in); built-in; assembled; made up, composed, consisting (of); compound, composite; complex; bound, not free’; Hebrew *rāχaβ* [רָכַב] (Qal) ‘to mount (an animal or a vehicle), to ride’, (Hif.) ‘to cause to ride; to put on; to join, to combine; to graft upon’. Murtonen 1989:399; Klein 1987:617. Probably also: Ethiopic / Geez *rakaba* [ረከበ] ‘to find, to get, to acquire, to obtain, to attain, to receive, to gain, to reach, to take possession, to possess, to overtake, to apprehend, to invent, to find out, to discover, to perceive, to suppose; (with indirect object suffixes) to come upon, to fall upon, to befall, to occur, to come to pass, to happen, to be becoming to, to be proper’, *rukeb* [ሩኩብ] ‘joining together’, *rukābe* [ሩካቤ] ‘joining together, intercourse’, *rakb* [ረክብ] ‘congregation, meeting, council, assembly’; Tigrinya *räk̲äbä* ‘to obtain, to find’; Tigre *räkba* ‘to find, to obtain; to own, to have; to seize, to catch, to meet; to become rich; to copulate’; Harari *räxäba* ‘to obtain’; Gurage *räkäbä* ‘to find, to meet’; Amharic *(as)räkkäbä* ‘to hand over’; Argobba *(as)rekkäba* ‘to hand over’. Leslau 1963:134, 1979:524, and 1987:469; Zammit 2002:199.
B. Proto-Indo-European *rek^h-/*rok^h- ‘to put together, to put in order, to arrange, to prepare, to construct’: Sanskrit *racáyati* ‘to produce, to fashion, to form, to make, to construct, to complete, to cause, to effect’, *racana-ḥ* ‘the act of making, forming, arranging, preparing, composing’; Nepali *racnu* ‘to make’; Hindi *racnā* ‘to be made, to be formed’; Gothic *rahnjan* ‘to reckon, to calculate’; Lithuanian *rãkas* ‘time, limit, end’; Old Church Slavic *rokъ* ‘time’; Serbo-Croatian *rôk* ‘period, time’; Russian *rok* [рок] ‘fate’. Pokorny 1959:863 **rĕk*- ‘to arrange’; Walde 1927—1932.II:362

**req-*, **rēq-*; Rix 1998a:457—458 **rek-* ‘to arrange, to fix, to determine’; Mann 1984—1987:1069 **rek-* ‘to formulate, to arrange, to fix’, 1088 **rok-* ‘formulation, pronouncement, determination, fixture’; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.III:33; Lehmann 1986:280; Feist 1939:392 **rĕ̆g-* (along with **rĕ̆k-*); Derksen 2008:438; Smoczyński 20017.1:498; Fraenkel 1962—1965.II:693—694.

C. Uralic: Proto-Finno-Ugrian **rakkɜ-* ‘to put together, to put in order, to arrange’ > Finnish *rakenta-* ‘to build, to construct, to erect, to build up’, *rakennus* ‘building, edifice, structure, construction’, *rakenne* ‘structure, construction’; Lapp / Saami (North) *raakkâdi-* ‘to make, to prepare; to form, to establish, to found, to build, to construct’ (Finnish loan); (?) Hungarian *rak-* ‘to put; to arrange; to construct, to build’. Collinder 1955:110 and 1977:124; Rédei 1986—1988:419 **rakkɜ-*.

Buck 1949:9.11 do, make; 9.44 build; 12.12 put (place, set, lay). Illič-Svityč 1965:368 **ra/ḳ/ʌ* ‘to build’ [‘строить’]; Bomhard—Kerns 1994:712—713, no. 600; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 1987, **raĶaXV* (= **raĶaħU* ?) ‘to arrange, to put in order’.

966. Proto-Nostratic root **rak’-* (~ **rək’-*):
(vb.) **rak’-* ‘to stretch, to extend, to draw out’;
(n.) **rak’-a* ‘the act of stretching, extending, drawing out; stretch, extension’;
(adj.) ‘stretched, extended, drawn out’

A. Proto-Afrasian **rak’-* ‘to stretch, to extend, to draw out’: Proto-Semitic **rak’-ak’-* ‘to stretch out, to be or become thin’ > Akkadian *raḳāḳu* ‘to be thin’; Hebrew *raḳ* [רַק] ‘thin’; Syriac *raḳḳīḳā* ‘thin’; Arabic *raḳḳa* ‘to be or become thin, delicate, fine; to flatten, to roll out; to make thin, fine, tender’; Śḥeri / Jibbāli *reḳḳ* ‘to be shallow; to be delicate, transparent’, *rəḳíḳ* ‘shallow; delicate’, *erḳéḳ* ‘to make something thin’, *ɛrtéḳéḳ* ‘to become thin, smooth’; Mehri *rəḳáyḳ* ‘fine, delicate’; Ḥarsūsi *reḳéḳ* ‘fine, transparent, soft (cloth)’; Geez / Ethiopic *raḳḳa* [ረቀ], *raḳaḳa* [ረቀቀ] ‘to be subtle, soft, thin, slight’; Tigre *räḳḳa* ‘to be thin, delicate’; Tigrinya *räḳäḳä* ‘to be thin, delicate’; Amharic *räḳḳäḳä* ‘to be fine, thin’. Murtonen 1989:404—405; Klein 1987:628 and 629; Leslau 1987:473. Proto-Semitic **rak’-aʕ-* ‘to stretch out, to flatten, to spread out’ > Hebrew *rāḳaʿ* [רָקַע] ‘to stretch, to flatten, to beat out (metal), to spread out’; Syriac *rəḳaʿ* ‘to press down, to make firm, to spread out’; Phoenician *mrḳʿ* ‘platter of gold’; Arabic *raḳaʿa* ‘to spread out a patch, to patch, to mend, to repair’; Śḥeri / Jibbāli *réḳaʿ* ‘to patch’; Mehri *rūḳa* ‘to patch; to bang holes in a stone to make a quern, grinding-stone’; Ḥarsūsi *reḳat* ‘bundle of cloth, rags’. Murtonen 1989:405; Klein 1987:629. Proto-Semitic **rak’-ap-* ‘to make flat, to flatten’ > Śḥeri / Jibbāli *erḳəféf* ‘to make flat, to flatten’. [Orël—Stolbova 1995:462—453, no. 2138, **rüḳ-* ‘to be thin’.]

B. Proto-Indo-European **rek'-/*rok'-/*ṛk'-* ‘to stretch out, to draw out, to extend’: Sanskrit *ṛjú-ḥ* ‘straight, upright, right’, *ṛ́jyati* ‘to stretch, to stretch out, to hasten’; Avestan *rāzayeiti* ‘to arrange’, *rā̆šta-* ‘straight, right, true’, *ərəzu-* ‘straight’; Old Persian *rāsta-* ‘straight, right, true’, *aršta-* ‘upright’; Greek ὀρέγω ‘to reach out, to stretch’; Latin *regō* ‘to guide, to direct, to lead’, *rēctus* ‘straight’; Umbrian (adv.) *rehte* ‘right, in a satisfactory manner’; Old Irish *rigid* ‘to stretch out’, *recht* ‘law’, *rog(a)id* ‘to extend’; Welsh *rhaith* ‘law’; Breton *reiz* ‘law, order, arrangement’; Gothic *raihts* ‘right’, **uf-rakjan* ‘to reach out, to extend; to stretch (the skin)’; Old Icelandic *réttr* ‘straight; erect, upright; right, just’, *rekja* ‘to spread out, to unwind, to unfold’; Old English *reht*, *riht* ‘straight, erect’, *reccan* ‘to stretch, to extend, to give’, *racian* ‘to rule, to direct’, *rihtan* ‘to direct; to put upright, to restore; to make straight; to correct, to reform; to rule, to govern’, (adv.) *rihte* ‘straight (on)’; Old Frisian *riucht* ‘straight, erect’, *riuchta* ‘to direct, to rule, to lead’; Old Saxon *reht* ‘straight, direct; erect, upright; right, proper, correct’, *rihtian* ‘to direct, to rule, to lead’; Old High German *reht* ‘straight, direct; erect, upright; right, proper, correct’ (New High German *recht*), (adv.) *rehto* ‘rightly’ (New High German [adv.] *recht*), *rechen*, *recchen* ‘to stretch out; to explain’ (New High German *recken*), *rihten*, *richten*, *rihtin*, *rihtan*, *rithen* ‘to straighten out, to adjust, to make right, to put in order, to settle’ (New High German *richten*). Rix 1998a:270—271 **h₃reĝ-* ‘to straighten out, to spread, to stretch’; Pokorny 1959:854—855 **reĝ-* ‘straight’; Walde 1927—1932.II:362—365 **reĝ-*; Mann 1984—1987:1066 **rĕ̆ĝō* ‘to spread, to reach, to extend, to rule’, 1066 **rĕ̆ĝst-* (**roĝst-*) ‘stretch, extent’, 1070 **rĕ̆k̂tos*, *-is*, *-us* ‘true, right, straight; truth, rightness, straightness’, 1085 **roĝei̯ō*; Watkins 1985:54 **reg-* and 2000:70 **reg-* ‘to move in a straight line’, with derivatives meaning ‘to direct in a straight line, to lead, to rule’ (oldest form **h₂₃reĝ-*); Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.II:751—752 **rek̂'-* (see also fn. 2) and 1995.I:654 **rek̂'-* ‘to direct, to correct, to straighten, to even out’ (see also fn. 23); Mallory—Adams 1997:187 **h₃reĝ-* ‘to move in a straight line; to extend, to stretch’ and 329—330; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.I:121; Burrow 1973:182; Boisacq 1950:710—711 **oreĝ-*; Frisk 1970—1973.II:412—413; Szemerényi 1964b:226—238; Beekes 1969:37—38 **ħ₃reĝ-* and 2010.II:1099 **h₃reǵ-*; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:817 **h₂₃r-eg-*; Hofmann 1966:237 **reĝ-*; Ernout—Meillet 1979:566 and 567—569; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:424 and I:426—427 **reĝ-*; De Vaan 2008:517—518; Kroonen 2013:403 Proto-Germanic **raka-* ‘straight’, 403 **rakjan-* ‘to stretch’, and 408 **rehta-* ‘straight’; Orël 2003:296 Proto-Germanic **rakaz*, 296—297 **rakjanan*, 300—301 **rextaz*, 301 **rextinǯō* ~ **rextunǯō*, 301 **rextīn*, 301 **rextjan*, 301 **rextjanan*, 301 **rextuz* ~ **rextan*; Feist 1939:393 **reĝ-*, 397—398 **reg-*, and 513; Lehmann 1986:281 **reĝ-*, **rek̂-to/u-* and 284—285 **reĝ-*; De Vries 1977:440 and 442; Onions 1966:767—768 **reg-*; Klein 1971:639 **reĝ-*; Boutkan—

Siebinga 2005:321—322; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:588—589 **reĝ-*, 589, 598—599; Kluge—Seebold 1989:586 **reǵ-*, 587, and 599; Matasović 2009:308 **$h_3$reǵ-o-*.

Buck 1949:9.32 stretch; 12.65 thin (in dimension); 12.73 straight. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:706, no. 591.

967. Proto-Nostratic root **rak'-* (~ **rək'-*):
(vb.) **rak'-* 'to observe, to watch, to regard attentively; to supervise, to control';
(n.) **rak'-a* 'observation, watchfulness, care, protection'

A. Proto-Afrasian **rak'-* 'to observe, to watch, to regard attentively; to supervise, to control': Proto-Semitic **rak'-ab-* 'to observe, to watch, to regard attentively; to supervise, to control' > Arabic *raḳaba* 'to observe, to watch, to regard attentively; to control, to supervise', *riḳba* 'observation, control, attention, caution, wariness, vigilance, watchfulness', *raḳaba* 'slave'; Sabaean *rḳb* 'serfs'. Zammit 2002:197—198. Proto-Southern Cushitic **raak'-* 'to graze' > Iraqw *daqi* 'herd'; Burunge *raqama?u* 'pasture'. Ehret 1980:329. Semantic development as in Latin *pāscō* 'to feed, to lead to pasture; to keep, to support, to give as pasture; to graze on; to feast on, to delight in', *pāscuum* 'a pasture' < Proto-Indo-European **p^hā-* < **p^he$\underset{\smile}{ħ}\underset{\smile}{h}$-* [**$p^ha\underset{\smile}{ħ}\underset{\smile}{h}$-*] 'to protect, to feed, to tend' (cf. Rix 1998a:415 **peh_2-* 'to watch over, to care for; to graze'; Pokorny 1959:787 **pā-* : **pə-* 'to protect, to feed'; Mann 1984—1987:898 **p$\breve{a}$-* 'to feed, to guard', 890 **p$\breve{a}_i$ō* 'to feed, to guard', 906 **pāsk$\hat{o}$ō* 'to feed, to tend, to protect', 907—908 **p$\breve{a}$t-* 'to protect, to foster, to feed').

B. Proto-Kartvelian **rek'-* 'to drive (cattle)': Georgian *rek'-* 'to drive (cattle)'; Svan *rek'-*/*rk'-*: *li-rk'-äli* 'to drive cattle to grass'. Schmidt 1962: 129; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:282 **reḳ-*; Fähnrich 2007:344 **reḳ-*.

C. Proto-Indo-European **rek'-*/**rok'-* (lengthened-grade: **rēk'-*/**rōk'-*) 'to observe, to watch, to watch out for, to care for': Greek ἀρήγω 'to help, to aid, to support', ἀρωγή 'help, aid, support'; Old Icelandic *rækja* 'to reck, to heed, to take care of', *rækta* 'to take care of, to regard, to keep'; Old English **rēcan*, *reccan* 'to care for, to reck'; Old Saxon *rōkjan* 'to care for, to concern oneself about'; Old High German *ruohhen* 'to care for, trouble oneself about', *ruohha*, *ruah(c)ha* 'worry, anxiety, care, trouble, concern'; Lithuanian *regiù*, *regĕti* 'to see, to perceive, to discern'. Rix 1998a:253—254 **$h_2$reh$_1$g-* 'to concern oneself about; to help'; Pokorny 1959:854 **reg-* 'to see' (?); Walde 1927—1932.II:366 **reg-*; Mann 1984—1987:1065 **r$\breve{e}$gō*, *-$\underset{\cdot}{i}$ō* (**regs-* ?) 'to see, to observe', 1084—1085 **rōgos*, *-ā* (or **rō$\hat{g}$-*) 'care, attention'; Boisacq 1950:76—77; Frisk 1970—1973.I:137; Hofmann 1966:23; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:107; Beekes 1969:34 (Beekes rejects the comparison of Greek ἀρήγω with Old Saxon

rōkjan ‘to take care of’, etc.) and 2010.I:129 *h_3reh_1g-; Kroonen 2013:415 Proto-Germanic **rōkjan*- ‘to heed’; Orël 2003:301 Proto-Germanic **rekōn* I, 307 **rōkaz*, 307 **rōkjanan*, 307 **rōkjaz*; De Vries 1977:457; Onions 1966:746 Common Germanic **rōkjan*; Klein 1971:621; Fraenkel 1962—1965.II:712—713; Smoczyński 20017.1:506.

Buck 1949:1064 lead (vb.); 10.65 drive (vb. tr.); 15.51 see. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:711 —712, no. 599.

968. Proto-Nostratic root **raq'*- (~ **rəq'*-):
(vb.) **raq'*- ‘to move quickly, to move back and forth’;
(n.) **raq'-a* ‘any rapid motion: shaking, trembling, jumping, dancing, etc.’

A. Afrasian: Proto-Semitic **rak'-ac'*- ‘to move back and forth, to move to and fro, to undulate, to dance’ > Arabic *raḳaṣa* ‘to dance, to prance, to gallop (horse), to skip, to move to and fro, to undulate; to dance with joy; to make (someone) dance or skip; to make gallop (horse); to set (something) in a swinging motion; to make (the heart) tremble; to provoke loud laughter’, *raḳṣ* ‘dance, gallop’; Ḥarsūsi *reḳōṣ* ‘to dance’; Mehri *rəḳáwṣ* ‘to jog up and down, to catch one’s finger’; Śḥeri / Jibbāli *ɛrḳóṣ* and *rɔ́ḳɔ́ṣ* ‘to catch one’s/someone’s finger; (animal) to trample (fodder) into a filthy mash; (animal with sharp claws) to trample on or over someone’. Proto-Semitic **rak'-at'*- ‘to dance’ > Ḥarsūsi *rátḳeṭ* ‘to dance with hopping steps’; Mehri *arōḳəṭ* ‘to do a hopping dance’, *rátḳəṭ* ‘(goats) to jog about as if dancing’. Proto-Semitic **rak'-ad*- ‘to move quickly, to jump, to leap, to skip, to hop, to dance’ > Arabic *raḳada* ‘to run with leaps and bounds’, *raḳadān* ‘leaping, jumping (said of lambs)’; Śḥeri / Jibbāli *ɛrḳɔ́d* ‘to dance’; Hebrew *rāḳaḏ* [רָקַד] ‘to skip about, to dance’; Aramaic *rəḳaḏ* ‘to dance’; Akkadian *raḳādu* ‘to hop, to skip, to dance’; Ugaritic *mrḳdm* ‘dancers’. Murtonen 1989:405; Klein 1987:628.
B. Proto-Kartvelian **req'*-/**rq'*- ‘to shake, to move back and forth, to undulate’: Georgian *rq'*- ‘to oscillate, to shake’; Mingrelian *raʔ*- ‘to shake’; Svan *req'*-/*rq'*- (*rəq'*-) ‘to shake, to tremble; to fall, to overthrow, to topple’. Schmidt 1962:130; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:285 **req̇*-/**rq̇*-; Fähnrich 2007:347—348 **req̇*-/**rq̇*-; Klimov 1998:157 **req̇*- : **rq̇*- ‘to oscillate, to shake’.

Buck 1949:10.43 jump, leap (vb.); 10.44 dance (vb.). Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 1997, **riq̇a*|*æ* ‘to shake’ (intr.), ‘to be shaky’.

969. Proto-Nostratic root **rat^h*- (~ **rət^h*-):
(vb.) **rat^h*- ‘to turn, to roll; to run’;
(n.) **rat^h-a* ‘turning, rolling; running’

A. Proto-Afrasian *_rat-_ ‘to turn, to roll; to run’: Semitic: Arabic *rataʔa* ‘to go away, to depart; to gallop with short steps’, *rataka* ‘to run with short steps, to trot’. Proto-Southern Cushitic *_rat-_ ‘to continue onward’ > Ma’a *iritimé*/*iratimé* ‘crossing, ford’; Dahalo *raṯ-* ‘to walk about’, *raṯṯið-* ‘to continue (something)’. Ehret 1980:219.

B. Proto-Indo-European *ret^h-/*rot^h- ‘to turn, to roll; to run’: Sanskrit *rátha-ḥ* (< *_ratH-á-_ ‘wheeled’ [cf. Burrow 1973:72]) ‘chariot, especially a two-wheeled war-chariot; wagon, cart’; Avestan *raθa-* ‘wagon, chariot’; Umbrian *amb-retuto* ‘to walk around’; Latin *rota* ‘wheel’, *rotundus* ‘round, circular’; Old Irish *roth* ‘wheel’, *rethid* ‘to run, to flow’, *riuth* ‘running’; Welsh *rhod* ‘wheel’, *rhedaf* ‘to run’; Old English *raðe*, *ræd* ‘quick, swift’; Old Frisian *reth* ‘wheel’; Old Saxon *rath* ‘wheel’; Old High German *rado*, *rato* ‘quickly’, *rad* ‘wheel’ (New High German *Rad*); Lithuanian *rãtas* ‘wheel’, *rãtai* ‘cart, vehicle’, *ratẽlis* ‘spinning wheel’, *ritù*, *rìsti* ‘to roll’. Rix 1998a:459 *_ret-_ ‘to run’, *_rót-o-_ ‘wheel’ (in Old Irish *roth*), (coll.) *$rot\text{-}eh_2$- (in Latin *rota*), (adj.) *$rot\text{-}h_2\text{-}ó$- (in Sanskrit *rátha-ḥ*); Pokorny 1959:866 *_ret(h)-_ ‘to run; to turn, to roll’, *_roto-_ ‘wheel’; Walde 1927—1932.II:368 *_reth-_; Mann 1984—1987:1073 *_ret-_ ‘to run, to roll, to go’, 1090—1091 *_rot-_ ‘quick; rush’, 1091 *_rot-_, *_rotos_ (*_rothos_) ‘wheel; vehicle’; Watkins 1985:54 *_ret-_ and 2000:71 *_ret-_ ‘to run, to roll’; Mallory—Adams 1997:640—641 *$róth_2o/eh_a$-* ‘wheel’; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.II:719 *$ret[^h]$-,*$rot[^h]o$- and 1995.I:622—623 *ret^h- ‘to run, to ride; to roll’, *rot^ho- ‘wheel’; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.II:443—444; Ernout—Meillet 1979:577—578; De Vaan 2008:527; Orël 2003:298 Proto-Germanic *_raþan_; Kroonen 2013:405 Proto-Germanic *_raþa-_ ‘wheel’; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:577; Kluge—Seebold 1989:576—577 *_ret-_; Boutkan—Siebinga 2005:318; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.III:38—39; Fraenkel 1962—1965.II:703; Smoczyński 20017.1:501; Derksen 2015:376 *_Hrót-o-_, *$Hrót\text{-}eh_2$-; Matasović 2009:310 *$(H)reth_2$- and 314—315 *$(H)roth_2o$-; Wodtko—Irslinger—Schneider 2008:575—580 *_ret-_ (Sanskrit *rátha-ḥ* < *$rot\text{-}h_2\text{-}ó$-).

Buck 1949:10.46 run (vb.); 10.75 chariot, wagon, cart; 10.76 wheel. Bomhard 1996a:207—208, no. 605.

970. Proto-Nostratic root *_raw-_ (~ *_rəw-_):
Extended form:
(vb.) *_raw-V-ħ-_ ‘to be spacious, wide’;
(n.) *_raw-ħ-a_ ‘space, room’; (adj.) ‘spacious, wide’

A. Afrasian: Proto-Semitic *_raw-aħ-_ ‘to be spacious, wide’ > Hebrew *rāwaḥ* [רָוַח] ‘to be spacious, wide’; Aramaic *rəwaḥ* ‘to be wide’; Arabic *rawiḥa* ‘to be spacious, wide’, *ʔarwaḥ* ‘spacious, wide’; Sabaean *rwḥ* ‘to widen, to

enlarge'. Murtonen 1989:395—396; Klein 1987:610; Zammit 2002:202—203.

B. Proto-Indo-European **rewh̯h̯-*/**rowh̯h̯-*/**ruh̯h̯-* > **rū-* '(n.) open space; (adj.) wide, spacious': Avestan *ravah-* 'space'; Latin *rūs* 'the country (as opposed to the city)'; Middle Irish (f.) *róe*, *rói* 'field, open land'; Gothic **rūm* 'room, space'; Old Icelandic *rúm* 'room, space', *rúmr* 'roomy, ample, spacious, broad', *rýma* 'to make more roomy, to clear the way'; Swedish *rum* 'space'; Old English *rūm* '(adj.) spacious, wide (road); open (country); extended (period of time); unrestricted, lax; liberal, bountiful; noble, magnificent; (n.) space; space of time; sufficient space, room; sufficient or fitting time, opportunity', *rȳman* 'to clear (road), to make clear (space)', *rȳmet(t)* 'space, extent; sufficient space, room; extension of landed property; benefit'; Old Frisian *rūm* 'room, space'; Old Saxon *rūm* 'room, space'; Old High German *rūm* 'room, space' (New High German *Raum*); Tocharian A/B *ru-* 'to open'. Rix 1998a:462 **reu̯h$_1$-* 'to open'; Pokorny 1959:874 **reu̯ə-* : **rū-* 'to open'; Walde 1927—1932.II:356—357 **reu̯os*; Mann 1984—1987:1079 **reu̯os* (*-es-*) 'open, plain, flat; space, surface', 1100 **rŭm-* 'spacious; space', 1103 **rūs* 'space, place'; Watkins 1985:55 **reuə-* and 2000:71 **reuə-* '(vb.) to open; (n.) space'; Mallory—Adams 1997:534 **réuh$_x$es-* 'open space', **réuh$_x$-* 'to (be) open'; Ernout—Meillet 1979:583 **rewos*; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.II:454 **reu-*; De Vaan 2008:531; Orël 2003:309 Proto-Germanic **rūman* ~ **rūmaz*, 309 **rūmaz*, 309 **rūmjanan*; Kroonen 2013:418 Proto-Germanic **rūma-* 'roomy, spacious'; Feist 1939:400; Lehmann 1986:387 **reuə-*, **rū-*; De Vries 1977:453 and 455; Klein 1971:642; Onions 1966:773 Common Germanic **rūmaz* 'spacious'; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:587 **reu̯-*; Kluge—Seebold 1989:585 **reu-*; Adams 1999:536—537 **reu(h$_x$)-*; Van Windekens 1976—1982.I:409 **rū-* (**reu-* is also possible).

Buck 1949:7.21 room (in a house); 19.13 country (vs. town). Bomhard—Kerns 1994:708, no. 594; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 2004, **rV̄wXV* 'broad'; Illič-Svityč 1965:373 **rʌwḥʌ* 'wide' ['широкий'].

971. Proto-Nostratic root **rek'-*:
(vb.) **rek'-* 'to sprinkle, to spray, to wet, to moisten';
(n.) **rek'-a* 'sprinkling, spray, rain'

A. Proto-Afrasian **rek'-* 'to sprinkle, to spray, to wet, to moisten': Proto-Semitic **rak'-* (**rak'-aħ-*, **rak'-ay-*) 'to sprinkle, to spray' > Geez / Ethiopic *raḳḥa* [ረቅሐ] 'to sprinkle, to spray', *raḳaya* [ረቀየ] 'to sprinkle, to asperse, to sprinkle with holy water to drive out demons, to cleanse with holy water'; Tigrinya *räḳäyä* 'to sprinkle, to sprinkle with holy water (on a place or a person)'; Amharic *räḳḳä* 'to sprinkle holy water'; Gurage *reḳḳä* 'to spray water, to sprinkle water'; Argobba *räḳḳa* 'to sprinkle water'.

Leslau 1979:521 and 1987:472 and 473. Proto-Semitic **ra/ya/k'*- ‘to pour out, to empty’ > Hebrew *rīḳ* [רִיק] (base *ryḳ* [ריק]) ‘to empty out, to pour out’, *rēḳ* [רֵיק] ‘empty, void’; Aramaic *rīḳ* ‘to empty, to pour’; Akkadian *rāḳu* ‘to be empty, void’, *rēḳu* ‘empty’; Arabic *rāḳa* (base *ryḳ*) ‘to flow out, to pour forth; to pour out, to shed, to spill’, *rīḳ* ‘saliva, spittle’. Murtonen 1989:399; Klein 1987:616—617. West Chadic: Dera *reke* ‘to moisten’. Orël—Stolbova 1995:447, no. 2107, **reḳ*- ‘to pour, to soak’.

B. Proto-Indo-European **rek'*-/**rok'*- ‘to wet, to moisten’ (**rek'-nó-s* ‘rain’, apparently deglottalized to **rek-nó-s* in Germanic **reg-na-z* ‘rain’): Gothic *rign* ‘rain’, *rignjan* ‘to rain’; Old Icelandic *regn* ‘rain’, *regna*, *rigna* ‘to rain’, *raki* ‘dampness, wetness’, *rakr* ‘damp, wet’; Swedish *regn* ‘rain’, *regna* ‘to rain’; Danish *regne* ‘to rain’; Old English *regn*, *rēn* ‘rain’, *regnian* ‘to rain’; Old Frisian *rein* ‘rain’, *reinia* ‘to rain’; Old Saxon *regan*, *regin* ‘rain’; Dutch *regen* ‘rain’; Old High German *regan* ‘rain’ (New High German *Regen*), *reganōn* ‘to rain’ (New High German *regnen*). Perhaps also: Latin *rigō* ‘to wet, to moisten, to bedew’; Albanian *rredh* ‘to flow, to pour’. Rix 1998a:450 **reĝ*- ‘to flow, to pour; to drop, to drip’; Pokorny 1959:857 **reĝ*-, **reĥ*- (**rek*- ?) ‘wet, moist; rain’; Walde 1927—1932.II:365—366 **reĝ*-, **req*-; Watkins 1985:54 **reg*- and 2000:70 **reg*- ‘moist’; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.II:680 **reĥ'*- and 1995.I:587 **reĥ'*- ‘to make wet, to irrigate’; Mallory—Adams 1997:639 **reĝ*- ~ **reknos* ‘moist; to make wet’; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.II:435; Ernout—Meillet 1979:573—574 (without etymology); De Vaan 2008:523; Orël 2003:300 Proto-Germanic **reɢnan* ~ **reɢnaz*, 300 **reɢnjanan*; Kroonen 2013:408 Proto-Germanic **regna*- ‘rain’; Feist 1939:397; Lehmann 1986:284; De Vries 1977:432 and 437; Onions 1966:737; Klein 1971:615; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:590; Kluge—Seebold 1989:588.

Buck 1949:1.75 rain; 15.83 wet, damp. Bomhard 1996a:207, no. 604.

972. Proto-Nostratic root **riy*- (~ **rey*-):
(vb.) **riy*- ‘to prosper, to thrive, to flourish, to increase, to grow’;
(n.) **riy-a* ‘increase, growth, prosperity, wealth’

A. Proto-Afrasian **riy*- ‘to increase, to grow’: Semitic: Arabic *rāʿa* (base *ryʿ* [ريع]) ‘to increase, to grow, to flourish, to thrive; to augment (something)’, *rayʿ* ‘yield; returns, proceeds, income (accruing from an estate), interest; profit, share, royalty; prime, choicest part’. West Chadic: Tangale *riy* ‘to multiply’. Orël—Stolbova 1995:451, no. 2126, **riy*- ‘to grow’.

B. Proto-Indo-European **riy-C-*/**rey-C*- > (**rī-C-*/)**rē-C*-; (**riy-V-*/)**rey-V*- (also **rēy*- in Indo-Iranian) ‘wealth, prosperity, riches’: Sanskrit *rā́-ḥ* ‘property, possessions, goods, wealth, riches’ (gen.-abl. sg. *rāyáḥ*), *rā́ti* ‘to grant, to give, to bestow’, *rayí-ḥ* ‘generous, favorable, gracious’; Avestan *raēvant*- ‘rich, wealthy’, *rā*- ‘to grant, to concede, to vouchsafe’; Latin *rēs*

‘thing, object, matter, affair, circumstance’ (gen. sg. *reī*); Umbrian *ri* ‘thing, ceremony, account’. Pokorny 1959:860 **rei-* : **rēi-* ‘possession, thing’; Walde 1927—1932.II:343 **rē(i)-*; Mann 1984—1987:1069 **rē̯ios*; **rēis* ‘factual, apposite, substantive; fact, matter, substance’; Mallory—Adams 1997:637—638 **réh$_1$is* (gen. **reh$_1$i̯ós*) ‘possessions’; Watkins 1985:53 **rē-* and 2000:70 **rē-* ‘to bestow, to grant’ (contracted from earlier **reə̯$_1$-*), suffixed form **reə̯-i-* ‘goods, wealth, property’; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.II:430—431 **rē̯i-*; Ernout—Meillet 1979:571; De Vaan 2008:520—521; Schmalstieg 1980:57—59; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.II:747 **reH(i)-* and 1995.I:650 **reH(i)-* ‘possessions, property’; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.III:45—46.

Buck 1949:11.41 property; 11.42 wealth, riches. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:709—710, no. 596. Different etymology in Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 1978, **rVH$_2$i* (= **rVh|ʕ|ħi* ?) ‘thing’.

973. Proto-Nostratic root **rom-*:
(vb.) **rom-* ‘to stop, to rest, to relax’;
(n.) **rom-a* ‘rest, quietude, calmness, tranquility, relaxation’; (adj.) ‘quiet, tranquil, still, gentle, silent, relaxed’

A. Afrasian: Proto-Semitic **ram-aʔ-* ‘to stop, to rest, to relax; to become relaxed, slack’ > Akkadian *ramū* ‘to become slack, loose’; Hebrew *rəmīyyāh* [רְמִיָּה] ‘laxness, slackness’; Arabic *ramaʔa* ‘to stop, to stay, to remain, to abide’. Proto-Semitic **ram-am-* ‘to be quiet, to be at rest’ > Arabic *(ʔa)ramma* ‘to be quiet’; Geez / Ethiopic *ʔarmama* [አርመመ] ‘to keep silence, to keep silent, to be tranquil, to be quiet, to remain quiet, to be at rest, to make silent, to reduce to silence, to astound’, *rəmum* [ርሙም] ‘silent, quiet; one who keeps silence’, *marməm* ‘silent’; Tigrinya *(ʔa)rmämä* ‘to be silent, to be taciturn’; Amharic *(a)rämmämä* ‘to be silent’. Leslau 1987:471. Proto-Semitic **ram-ak-* ‘to stop, to remain, to abide’ > Arabic *ramaka* ‘to stop, to remain, to abide’.
B. Dravidian: Gondi *romānā*, *rom-* ‘to rest’, *rōmānā* ‘to rest after labor’, *roma* ‘rest, repose’; Konḍa *rōmb-* ‘to rest, to take rest’; Pengo *jōm-* ‘to stop, to rest, to cease’; Kui *jāmba* (*jāmbi-*) ‘to rest, to cease, to subside’; Kuwi *jōmali*, *jōminai*, *jōm-* ‘to rest’, (?) *rēmb-* ‘to rest’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:469, no. 5178.
C. Proto-Indo-European **rom-*/**rm̥-* (secondary *e*-grade form: **rem-*) ‘to stop, to rest, to relax’: Greek (with prefixed ἠ-) ἤρεμος, ἠρεμαῖος ‘still, quiet, gentle’, ἠρεμέω ‘to keep quiet, to be at rest’, ἠρέμησις ‘quietude’, ἐρεμίζω ‘to make still or quiet’; Sanskrit *rámate* ‘to stop, to stay, to rest, to abide’; Avestan *rāman-* ‘quiet’; Gothic *rimis* ‘rest, quiet, tranquility, calm’; Lithuanian *rãmas* (n.) ‘quiet’, *ramùs* (adj.) ‘quiet, calm’, (inf.) *rìmti* ‘to be calm’. Rix 1998a:224—225 **h$_1$rem-* ‘to be still, quiet’; Pokorny

1959:864 **rem-*, **remə-* ‘to rest’; Walde 1927—1932.II:371—372 **rem-*; Mann 1984—1987:1062 **rāmeḭō* ‘to quieten, to appease, to pacify; to acquiesce, to subside, to rest’ (radical: **ram-*), 1062 **rāmos*, *-ā* (**ram-*) ‘restful, quiet, tame, alone; rest, quietude, solitude’, 1083 **rm̥tos*, *-is* ‘restful, resting, quiet; rest’; Boisacq 1950:328—329 **rem-*; Hofmann 1966:109; Frisk 1970—1973.I:642—643; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:416; Beekes 2010.I:525 **h₁remH-*; Orël 2003:302 Proto-Germanic **remez*; Kroonen 2013:409 Proto-Germanic **rēmiz-* ‘quiet, tranquility’; Lehmann 1986:285 **rem-* ‘to rest, to support’; Feist 1939:398; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.III:43—44; Fraenkel 1962—1965.II:695—696.

Buck 1949:12.16 remain, stay, wait; 12.19 quiet (adj.). Möller 1911:210; Brunner 1969:20, no. 16; Bomhard—Kerns 1994:711, no. 598; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 1988, **[ʾ]rômV* ‘quiet; to rest’.

974. Proto-Nostratic root **row-*:
(vb.) **row-* ‘to cut, tear, or break apart’;
(n.) **row-a* ‘cut, tear’

A. Afrasian: Egyptian (f.) *rwỉt* ‘interruption’. Hannig 1995:461; Faulkner 1962:148.

B. Proto-Indo-European **row-*/**rŭ-* (secondary *e*-grade form: **rew-*) ‘to cut, tear, or break apart’: Sanskrit *ravate* ‘to break or dash to pieces’, (causative) *ropayati* ‘to cause acute or violent pain’, *ru-ḥ* ‘cutting, dividing’, *rúpyati* ‘to suffer violent or racking pain’; Latin *ruō* ‘to fall down, to collapse (intr.); to hurl down (tr.)’, *rumpō* ‘to break, to shatter, to burst open’ (past ptc. *ruptum*), *rŭtrum* ‘spade, shovel’, *rūdus* ‘broken fragments of stone used for plastering’; Middle Irish *rúam* ‘spade’; Gothic *raupjan* ‘to pluck, to pick’, *riurs* ‘destructible, perishable’, *riurjan* ‘to destroy’, *riurei* ‘destruction’; Old Icelandic *reyfa* ‘to rob’, *rýja* ‘to pluck wool off sheep’, *rupla* ‘to plunder, to take by force’, *rupl* ‘plunder, booty’, *riúfa* ‘to break a hole in, to break’; Old English *rēofan* ‘to break, to tear’, *rēaf* ‘spoil, booty’, *rēafian* ‘to rob, to plunder, to seize; to ravage, to destroy’, *rīepan* ‘to spoil, to plunder’; Old Saxon *rōpian* ‘to pluck, to pull out’; Old High German *roufen*, *ropfōn* ‘to pluck, to pull out’ (New High German *raufen*, *rupfen*), *roub* ‘robbery’ (New High German *Raub*); Lithuanian *rausiù*, *raũsti* ‘to dig’, *ráuju*, *ráuti* ‘to pull up; to tear up by the roots, to uproot’, (inf.) *ravėti* ‘to weed’; Old Church Slavic *ryjǫ*, *ryti* ‘to dig’, *rъvǫ*, *rъvati* ‘to grab, to snatch’, *rovъ* ‘ditch, grave’; Czech *rov* ‘tomb’. Rix 1998a:461 **reu̯H-* ‘to tear or rip open’ and 462 **reu̯p-* ‘to tear, to break’; Pokorny 1959:868—871 **reu-*, **reu̯ə-*, **rŭ-* ‘to rip up, to pull out, to root out’; Walde 1927—1932.II:351—356 **reu-*; Mann 1984—1987:1076—1977 **reupō* (**rup-*) ‘to tear, to break, to burst, to plunder’, 1077 **reus-* ‘to pull, to tear, to snatch, to dash, to rout, to rob, to stir;

pulling', 1077 *reusk̂-* (**reusk̂ō*, **rousk̂-*, **rusk̂-*), 1077 **reusr̥io-* 'to perish, to fail, to collapse, to break; perishable', 1078 **reutlos*, *-om* (**reutro-*), 1078 **reu̯ō*, *-i̯ō* 'to seize, to pluck, to snatch', 1094 **roupei̯ō* 'to tear, to seize, to rack, to crunch', 1094 **roupos* 'seizure', 1095—1096 **rou̯i̯ō* 'to dig up', 1096 **rou̯os*, *-ā*, *-i̯ə* 'digging, ditch, bed, channel, hollow', 1096 **rub-* 'to snatch, to seize', 1099—1100 **rūi̯ō* 'to pluck, to tear, to drag, to uproot', 1100—1101 **rumb-* 'to cut', 1101 **rump-* 'to burst', 1101—1102 **rŭp-* 'to break, to crumble; rough, course, hard', 1102 **ruptós*, 1102 **rūs-* 'to fall, to fail, to crumble, to decay; feeble, weak, poor', 1104 **rŭt-* 'dug; digging', 1104 **ru̯ō*; Watkins 1985:55 **reu-* (also **reuə-*) and 2000:71 **reuə-* 'to smash, to knock down, to tear out, to dig up, to uproot'; Mallory—Adams 1997:567 **reu(hx)-* 'to tear out, to pluck'; Ernout—Meillet 1979:581—582 and 582—583; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.II:447—448 **rēus-*, **rŭs-*, II:451 **reub-*, and II:453—454 **ru(u̯)ó* or **reu̯ō*; De Vaan 2008:530; Orël 2003:299 Proto-Germanic **raupjanan*, 303 **reufanan*, 303 **reuriz*, 303 **reurjanan*; Kroonen 2013:406—407 Proto-Germanic **raupjan-* 'to tear (off)' and 410 **reufan-* 'to break (off)'; Feist 1939:395 **reu̯p-* and 400; Lehmann 1986:282 **rew-* and 286 **rew-*; De Vries 1977:442, 454, and 455 **reu-*; Klein 1971:620; Onions 1966:743—744 and 744; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:585 **reup-* (< **reu-*), 586 **reup-*, and 616; Kluge—Seebold 1989:584 and 619; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.III:63 and III:68—69; Smoczyński 20017.1:504 **rou̯-éi̯e-*; Fraenkel 1962—1965.II:708 and II:708—709.

C. Uralic: Proto-Finno-Ugrian **rowɜ-* 'to cut, to carve' > Hungarian *ró-*/*rov-* 'to carve, to engrave, to cut (runes, etc.)', (dial.) 'to cleave (a log with an axe)'; Cheremis / Mari *roe-*, *rue-* 'to cut (with an axe, etc.), to hew, to chop'; Ostyak / Xanty *rogõm-* 'to cut out, etc.'. Collinder 1955:111 and 1977:125; Rédei 1986—1988:425 **rokɜ-* (**roγɜ-*, **rowɜ-*); Illič-Svityč 1965:362 Proto-Uralic **rowa-*.

Buck 1949:8.22 dig; 9.22 cut (vb.); 9.26 break (vb. tr.); 9.28 tear (vb. tr.); 9.81 carve. Illič-Svityč 1965:362 **rowʌ-* 'to dig' ['рыть']; Bomhard—Kerns 1994:713—714, no. 601; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 2001, **rowV* (or **rowHV* ?) 'to dig, to scratch, to carve'.

975. Proto-Nostratic root **rum-* (~ **rom-*):
(vb.) **rum-* 'to grow or become dark; to darken';
(n.) **rum-a* 'darkness, night; twilight, dusk'; (adj.) 'dark'

A. Afrasian: East Chadic: Jegu *ráámân* 'black'; Mubi *rám*. Jungraithmayr—Ibriszimow 1994.I:13 and II:28—29.

B. Proto-Kartvelian **rum-* 'to grow or become dark; to darken': Georgian *rum-* 'to grow or become dark; to darken', *m-rum-e* 'dark'; Mingrelian *rum-* 'to grow or become dark; to darken'. Klimov 1964:157 **rum-* and

1998:160 **rum-* ‘to get dark’; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:288 **rum-*; Fähnrich 2007:352—353 **rum-*.

C. Proto-Indo-European **romH-*/**rm̥H-* (secondary *e*-grade form: **remH-*) ‘dark, dark-colored’: Sanskrit *rāmá-ḥ* ‘dark, dark-colored, black’, *rāmī́* ‘darkness, night’, *rā́trī* (< **rm̥H-*) ‘night, darkness or stillness of night’; Old English *romēi* ‘sooty’; Middle High German *rām*, *rōm* ‘dirt, soot’ (New High German *Rahm* ‘soot’), *rāmec*, *rāmig* ‘dirty, sooty’ (New High German *rahmig* ‘sooty’). Mayrhofer 1956—1980.III:54—55; Orël 2003: 304 Proto-Germanic **rēmaz*; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:579; Kluge—Seebold 1989:579.

D. Uralic: Proto-Finno-Ugrian **r[ü]mke* ‘dark’ > Lapp / Saami *râw'ke-* ‘to wink (the eyes)’, (Lule) *râm'kâ-*, *râw'kâ-* ‘to wink’, *râm'ko* ‘closed (only of the eyes)’, *râm'kotâ-* ‘to wink’; Cheremis / Mari (West) *rəm* ‘twilight, dusk’, (East) *rümbalge* ‘twilight, dusk’; Votyak / Udmurt *ǯomyt* ‘twilight, dusk’; Zyrian / Komi *rõmyd* ‘twilight, dusk’; Ostyak / Xanty *rimək* ‘dusk, twilight; dark; darkness’, *riməkəl-* ‘to become dusk, to get dark’. Collinder 1955:110, 1960:413 **remke*, 1977:124; Rédei 1986—1988:747 **rʏ̈mɜ*.

Buck 1949:1.62 darkness; 14.42 night; 15.63 dark (of color). Dolgopolsky 1992:321, no. 38, **rumE* ‘dark; to close the eyes’ and 2008, no. 1990, **r[ü]HmV* (or **r[ü]gmV* ?) ‘dark’; Bomhard 1996a:213—214, no. 611.

APPENDIX:
LANGUAGE CONTACT

In Chapter 13 of this book, I propose that "[t]he unified Nostratic parent language may be dated to between 15,000 to 12,000 BCE, that is, at the end of the last Ice Age — it was located in the Fertile Crescent just south of the Caucasus…" In our joint monograph, *The Nostratic Macrofamily: A Study in Distant Linguistic Relationship*, John C. Kerns proposed the exact same location ("the Fertile Crescent just south of the Caucasus" [Bomhard—Kerns 1994:155]). In his 1998 book, *The Nostratic Hypothesis and Linguistic Paleontology*, Aaron Dolgopolsky also places the homeland in the same general area (cf. Dolgopolsky 1998:26). As can be seen, Kerns, Dolgopolsky, and I are essentially in agreement about the location of the homeland of the speakers of the Nostratic parent language. If the scenario we are proposing is correct, we would expect to find evidence of prehistoric contact between Nostratic and non-Nostratic neighboring languages. A good place to look for such evidence would be the Northwest and Northeast Caucasian languages. Not only are languages of these families still extant, there are good reasons to believe that, in ancient times, they covered a considerably wider geographic area than they do at present. For example, the Hurrian language (along with the closely-related Urartian), which was located in the northeastern Zagros-Taurus corner of the "hilly flanks" of Mesopotamia, may have belonged to the Northeast Caucasian language family (cf. Diakonoff—Starostin 1996). Likewise, Hattic, which was located in central Anatolia, has been claimed by some to be an ancient Northwest Caucasian language (cf. Diakonoff 1990:63; Chirikba 1996a). We may note in passing that, according to Nikolayev—Starostin (1994), the Northwest and Northeast Caucasian language families are related. Together, they form a larger North Caucasian super-family.

A comparison of the vocabularies of the North Caucasian languages and the Nostratic languages shows that there is indeed evidence of very ancient contact between North Caucasian and Nostratic. The evidence that I have gathered is listed in this Appendix (the Circassian material is from Kuipers 1975; the Abkhaz material is from Chirikba 1996b; the Proto-North Caucasian material is from Nikolayev—Starostin 1994). The evidence presented here is especially significant in that it independently corroborates the Proto-Nostratic reconstructions I have proposed as opposed to those of Illič-Svityč and Dolgopolsky.

1. Proto-Nostratic root **baʕ-* (~ **bəʕ-*):
   (vb.) **baʕ-* 'to pour';
   (n.) **baʕ-a* 'torrent, outpour'

   Proto-North Caucasian **bV̌HV* 'big, many' (cf. Nikolayev—Starostin 1994: 316—317).

   Proto-Circassian **ba* 'much' (cf. Kuipers 1975:11).

3. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **baba* ‘father’ (nursery word):

   Proto-North Caucasian **babajV* ‘father, grandfather’ (a nursery word) (cf. Nikolayev—Starostin 1994:286; Chirikba 1996b:13).

24. Proto-Nostratic root (Eurasiatic only) **ban-* (~ **bən-*):
   (vb.) **ban-* ‘to cut, to strike’;
   (n.) **ban-a* ‘cut, wound’

   Proto-Circassian **ban(a)* ‘to fight’ (cf. Kuipers 1975:12).

29. Proto-Nostratic **bar-* (~ **bər-*):
   (vb.) **bar-* ‘to be thick, bushy, shaggy; to be coarse, rough, harsh’
   (n.) **bar-a* ‘roughness, coarseness, harshness; thickness, shagginess’; (adj.) ‘rough, harsh, coarse; thick, shaggy, bushy’
   Derivative of:
   (vb.) **bar-* ‘to swell, to puff up, to expand’;
   (n.) **bar-a* ‘swelling, bulge, increase’

   Proto-North Caucasian **barḳwĂ* ‘rough skin’: (cf. Starostin—Nikolayev 1994:288).

40. Proto-Nostratic root **bay-* (~ **bəy-*):
   (vb.) **bay-* ‘to apportion, to divide into shares, to distribute, to allot, to share’;
   (n.) **bay-a* ‘portion, share’

   Proto-Circassian **bayə* ‘rich’ (cf. Kuipers 1975:12). Note: This may be a loan from Turkic.

48. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **bin-a*, **ban-a* ‘younger relative: (m.) younger brother, younger son; (f.) younger sister, younger daughter’:

   Proto-Circassian **bənə* ‘(children of) family’ (cf. Kuipers 1975:12).

49. Proto-Nostratic root **bir-* (~ **ber-*):
   (vb.) **bir-* ‘to swell, to rise, to grow’;
   (n.) **bir-a* ‘largeness, greatness, height, tallness’
   Extended form:
   (vb.) **bir-V-g-* ‘to be high’;
   (n.) **bir-g-a* ‘height, high place’; (adj.) ‘high, tall, lofty’

   Proto-North Caucasian **bīrčV* (~ *-ē-*, *-ī-*) ‘rich, honorable’ (cf. Nikolayev—Starostin 1994:305).

56. Proto-Nostratic (n.) *bor^{y}-*a* ‘a dark color’; (adj.) ‘dark, dark-colored’:

Proto-North Caucasian *$b\bar{u}rV$ (~ -$\bar{o}$-) ‘grey, brown’ (cf. Nikolayev—Starostin 1994:313—314). Note: This may be a borrowing.

58. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **bud-a* ‘lowest part or region (of anything)’:

Proto-North Caucasian **bVdV* ‘side’ (cf. Starostin—Nikolayev 1994:315—316).

64. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **bul-a* (~ **bol-a*) ‘penis, testicle(s)’:
Derivative of:
(vb.) **bul-* ‘to swell, to expand, to spread out, to overflow; to puff up, to inflate’;
(n.) **bul-a* ‘large quantity or amount; expansion, spread, inflation; puff, blow’

Proto-North Caucasian *$b\dot{\imath}lV$ (~ -$\dot{l}$-) ‘penis’ (cf. Nikolayev—Starostin 1994: 307).

119. Proto-Nostratic root *$p^{h}ir$- (~ *$p^{h}er$-):
(vb.) *$p^{h}ir$- ‘to bring forth, to bear fruit’;
(n.) *$p^{h}ir$-*a* ‘birth, issue, offspring, descendant, fruit’

Proto-North Caucasian *$p\check{\imath}r\underline{q}w\check{A}$ ‘a kind of fruit’ (cf. Nikolayev—Starostin 1994:873—874).

120. Proto-Nostratic root *$p^{h}ir$- (~ *$p^{h}er$-):
(vb.) *$p^{h}ir$- ‘to move swiftly, to hasten, to be in a hurry, to be greatly agitated; to flutter, to fly, to flee’;
(n.) *$p^{h}ir$-*a* ‘flying, flight, fleeing’

Proto-North Caucasian *$p\dot{\imath}rV$ ‘(vb.) to fly; (n.) flight’ (cf. Nikolayev—Starostin 1994:874—875; Chirikba 1996b:21—22).

123. Proto-Nostratic root *$p^{h}it'^{y}$- (~ *$p^{h}et'^{y}$-):
(vb.) *$p^{h}it'^{y}$- ‘to give birth to’;
(n.) *$p^{h}it'^{y}$-*a* ‘genitals (male or female); birth, origin’

Proto-North Caucasian *$p\bar{u}\dot{t}i$/*$b\bar{u}\dot{t}i$ ‘genitals (mostly female)’ (cf. Nikolayev—Starostin 1994:876—877).

138. Proto-Nostratic root *$p^{h}uw$- (~ *$p^{h}ow$-):
(vb.) *$p^{h}uw$- ‘to puff, to blow, to exhale; to puff up, to inflate’;
(n.) *$p^{h}uw$-*a* ‘a puff, the act of blowing, breath’

Proto-North Caucasian **pūHV* ‘(vb.) to blow; (n.) blowing’ (onomatopoeic root) (cf. Nikolayev—Starostin 1994:875).

144. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **da-* ‘mother, sister’; (reduplicated) (n.) **da-da-* ‘mother, sister’ (nursery words):

Proto-North Caucasian **dājV/*dādājV* ‘father; mother’ (a common North Caucasian nursery word) (cf. Nikolayev—Starostin 1994:397—398; Chirikba 1996b:29—30).

156. Proto-Nostratic root (?) **daw-* (~ **dəw-*):
(vb.) **daw-* ‘to sound, to resound, to make a noise’;
(n.) **daw-a* ‘sound, noise’

Proto-North Caucasian **dwǎnʔV* ‘a kind of musical instrument’ (cf. Nikolayev—Starostin 1994:406—407).

182. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **dur-a* ‘goat, sheep, ram’ (perhaps originally ‘horned animal’):

Proto-North Caucasian **dVrq̇wV* ‘he-goat’ (cf. Nikolayev—Starostin 1994: 403).

183. Proto-Nostratic root **duw-* (~ **dow-*):
(vb.) **duw-* ‘to blow about, to fly about, to scatter; to be blown, strewn, or scattered about’;
(n.) **duw-a* ‘anything blown, sprinkled, scattered, or strewn about: smoke, steam, vapor; rain, shower, drizzle, raindrops; dust’; (adj.) ‘blown about, sprinkled, scattered, strewn’

Proto-North Caucasian **dwiHV* ‘wind’ (cf. Nikolayev—Starostin 1994:407).

184. Proto-Nostratic demonstrative stems:
Proximate: **tʰa-* (~ **tʰə-*) ‘this’;
Intermediate: **tʰi-* (~ **tʰe-*) ‘that’;
Distant: **tʰu-* (~ **tʰo-*) ‘that yonder’

Proto-North Caucasian **tV* ‘that’ (demonstrative pronoun) (cf. Nikolayev—Starostin 1994:990—991).

232. Proto-Nostratic root **t’aw-* (~ **t’əw-*):
(vb.) **t’aw-* ‘to hit, to strike’;
(n.) **t’aw-a* ‘stroke, blow, injury, harm, damage’

Proto-Circassian **t'awə* 'to bump (one's head)' (cf. Kuipers 1975:18).

243. Proto-Nostratic root **t'uʔʷ-* (~ **t'oʔʷ-*):
(vb.) **t'uʔʷ-* 'to separate, divide, or split into two parts; to cut in half';
(n.) **t'uʔʷ-a* 'separation or division into two; two halves'
(used as the base for the numeral 'two' in Indo-European and Altaic)

Proto-Northwest Caucasian **ṭq̇o* 'two' (cf. Colarusso 1981.I:538 **t'q'ù-* and 1992:45 **t'q'o*; Kuipers 1975:19 Proto-Circassian **Tq̇ʷ(a)*). Note: Nikolayev—Starostin (1994:924) reconstruct Proto-North Caucasian **q̇Hwā̆* 'two', West Caucasian **tqI:́ʷA* 'two'. However, they note: "The PWC form has a prefixed dental; this may be an innovation, but may also reflect the common NC state (**tq̇Hwā̆* with simplification of the initial cluster in PEC)."

253. Proto-Nostratic indefinite pronoun stem **dʸi-* (~ **dʸe-*) 'this one, that one':

Proto-North Caucasian **ʒ́ĭ* 'self, oneself' (cf. Nikolayev—Starostin 1994: 1102—1103).

266. Proto-Nostratic root **t'ʸal-* (~ **t'ʸəl-*) and/or **t'ʸil-* (~ **t'ʸel-*):
(vb.) **t'ʸal-* and/or **t'ʸil-* 'to overshadow, to cover over, to make dark';
(n.) **t'ʸal-a* and/or **t'ʸil-a* 'shade, shadow; covering; darkness'

Proto-North Caucasian **ć̌ɬ̌lχwV* 'looming, haze; fumes' (cf. Nikolayev—Starostin 1994:379).

291. Proto-Nostratic root **sʸuw-* (~ **sʸow-*):
(vb.) **sʸuw-* 'to be proper, fitting, suitable, appropriate, good, well, fine, beautiful';
(n.) **sʸuw-a* 'propriety, suitability, appropriateness'; (adj.) 'proper, fitting, suitable, appropriate'

Proto-Circassian **ś'ʷ(a)* 'good', **ś'ʷəś'a* 'beneficent, benefit, good deed', **ś'ʷəč̣'a* 'gratitude' (cf. Kuipers 1975:32—33).

326. Proto-Nostratic 3rd person pronoun stem **si-* (~ **se-*) 'he, she, it; him, her; they, them'; 3rd person possessive suffix **-si* (~ **-se*) 'his, her, its; their':

Proto-North Caucasian **s̲āj* interrogative pronoun: 'what?' — originally used only as an oblique base (Nikolayev—Starostin 1994:958).

330. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **ǯagʷ-a* 'a small tree, a bush or shrub':

Proto-North Caucasian **ǯ̆ăgV* ‘a kind of shrub’ (cf. Nikolayev—Starostin 1994:1105).

339. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **č’am-a* ‘reed, grass’:

Proto-North Caucasian **ç̌ămħV* ‘a kind of plant’ (cf. Nikolayev—Starostin 1994:383).

340. Proto-Nostratic root **č’ik’-* (~ **č’ek’-*):
(vb.) **č’ik’-* ‘to be small’;
(n.) **č’ik’-a* ‘small things’; (adj.) ‘small’

Proto-North Caucasian **ç̌ăkŭ* / **ç̌ăḳŭ* ‘young (of animals), boy’; West Caucasian **ç̌əḳʷə* ‘young boy, youngster; small’ (cf. Nikolayev—Starostin 1994:382—383).

342. Proto-Nostratic demonstrative pronoun stem **ša-* (~ **šə-*) ‘this, that’:

Proto-North Caucasian **s̲ĭ* interrogative pronoun stem: ‘who?, what?’; West Caucasian **šə́* (~ **šə́ː-*) ‘how?’ (cf. Nikolayev—Starostin 1994:986).

345. Proto-Nostratic root **šaw-* (~ **šəw-*):
(vb.) **šaw-* ‘to sigh, to pant, to gasp, to breathe deeply’;
(n.) **šaw-a* ‘breath, sigh’
Related to:
(vb.) **šaw-* ‘to sleep, to rest’;
(n.) **šaw-a* ‘sleep, slumber, rest’

Proto-North Caucasian **s̲ĭHwV* ‘(n.) breath; (v.) to breathe’ (cf. Nikolayev—Starostin 1994:961—962). Note also: Proto-North Caucasian **šHīwṭV* ‘whistle; reed-pipe’ (cf. Nikolayev—Starostin 1994:984).

350. Proto-Nostratic root **gaʔ-* (~ **gəʔ-*):
(vb.) **gaʔ-* ‘to go, to leave, to depart; to leave behind, to abandon, to forsake’;
(n.) **gaʔ-a* ‘abandonment, lack, want, need, deprivation, loss, deficit’; (adj.) ‘abandoned, forsaken, left behind; wanting, lacking, deprived of’

Proto-Circassian **ga* ‘bad, insufficient, lacking’ (cf. Kuipers 1975:50; Chirikba 1996b:35 **gə*).

358. Proto-Nostratic root **gal-* (~ **gəl-*):
(vb.) **gal-* ‘to dig, scoop, or hollow out’ (> ‘to plow’);
(n.) **gal-a* ‘the act of digging, scooping, or hollowing out’
Derivative of:

(vb.) **gal-* ‘to cut, break, tear, or pluck off; to separate’;
(n.) **gal-a* ‘cut, break, tear, separation’

Proto-North Caucasian **găl(V)gV* ‘stick’ (derivative of **gălV* [~ **-ɬ-*] ‘stick’) (cf. Nikolayev—Starostin 1994:429 and 429—430).

365. Proto-Nostratic root **gam-* (~ **gəm-*):
(vb.) *gam-* ‘to bend, to be bent’;
(n.) *gam-a* ‘a bent or curved object: hook; wrist, ankle; etc.’

Proto-North Caucasian **gāmćwV* ‘canine tooth, fang’ (cf. Nikolayev—Starostin 1994:430).

379. Proto-Nostratic pronominal base of unclear deictic function **gi-* (~ **ge-*):

Proto-North Caucasian **gV* ‘that (below the speaker)’ (cf. Nikolayev—Starostin 1994:442—443).

386. Proto-Nostratic root **gir-* (~ **ger-*):
(vb.) **gir-* ‘to gird, to enclose’;
(n.) **gir-a* ‘enclosure fence, wall’

Proto-North Caucasian **gīrgwV* ‘circle, round’ (cf. Nikolayev—Starostin 1994: 438—439).

413. Proto-Nostratic root **kʰam-* (~ **kʰəm-*) or **qʰam-* (~ **qʰəm-*):
(vb.) **kʰam-* or **qʰam-* ‘to seize, to grasp, to grip, to clutch’;
(n.) **kʰam-a* or **qʰam-a* ‘grip, hold, hand(ful); bond, fetter’

Proto-North Caucasian **q̲ĕmtV* ‘palm of the hand, handful’ (cf. Nikolayev—Starostin 1994:888).

432. Proto-Nostratic root **kʰatʰ-* (~ **kʰətʰ-*):
(vb.) **kʰatʰ-* ‘to plait, to weave, to twist’;
(n.) **kʰatʰ-a* ‘that which is plaited, woven, twisted: mat, net, knot’
Derivative:
(n.) **kʰatʰ-a* ‘rag’

(?) Proto-Circassian **kʰatʰə* ‘sheep-shed’ (cf. Kuipers 1975:49). Assuming semantic development as in Old Church Slavic *котьсь* ‘pen, coop’.

440. Proto-Nostratic root **kʰay-*:
(vb.) **kʰay-* ‘to scoop out’;
(n.) **kʰay-a* ‘spoon, ladle’

Extended form:
(vb.) *k^h*ay-V-w-* ‘to dig’;
(n.) *k^h*ay-w-a* ‘cave, pit, hollow’

Proto-Circassian *k^h*əya* or *k^h*ayə* ‘tub’ (cf. Kuipers 1975:49).

459. Proto-Nostratic root **k’ak’-* (onomatopoeic):
(vb.) **k’ak’-* ‘to cackle, to chatter’;
(n.) **k’ak’-a* ‘crackling sound’
Derivative:
(n.) **k’ak’-a* (onomatopoeic bird name) ‘partridge’

Proto-Circassian *$\acute{k}a\acute{k}a$ ‘to chirp’ (cf. Kuipers 1975:52; Chirikba 1996b:45).

463. Proto-Nostratic root **k’al-* (~ **k’əl-*):
(vb.) **k’al-* ‘to take away, to remove, to deprive of; to decrease, to diminish, to reduce; to be or become reduced or diminished’;
(n.) **k’al-a* ‘littleness, small quantity, scarcity; few things; lack, want, poverty, deficiency, insufficiency’; (adj.) ‘little, scanty, sparse, meager, insufficient, lacking, short of, wanting, needy’

Proto-North Caucasian **ḳălḳV* ‘a small thing’ (cf. Nikolayev—Starostin 1994: 721; Chirikba 1996b:46).

474. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **k’aŋ-a* ‘knot, knob, joint’:
Derivative of:
(vb.) **k’aŋ-* ‘to bend, twist, turn, or tie together’;
(n.) **k’aŋ-a* ‘wreath, rope, cord, fiber, tie, band, string’

Proto-Circassian *$\acute{k}$*anə* ‘knuckle-bone (used in bone game)’ (cf. Kuipers 1975:52).

480. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **k’ar-a* ‘blackness, darkness, obscurity; dark cloud, rainy weather; dirt, grime’; (adj.) ‘dark, dark-colored; dirty, soiled’:

Proto-North Caucasian **ḳărV* ‘black; coal’ (cf. Nikolayev—Starostin 1994: 719—720).

481. Proto-Nostratic root **k’ar-* (~ **k’ər-*):
(vb.) **k’ar-* ‘to twist, to turn, to bend, to wind; to tie (together), to bind’;
(n.) **k’ar-a* ‘that which is tied or bound together: bunch, bundle’; (adj.) ‘bent, curved, crooked; tied, bound’
Possible derivative:
(n.) **k’ar-a* ‘protuberance, lump, hump, breast’

(?) Proto-Circassian **k̓ərə* ‘thick, dense (of wool, beard, etc.), long (of hair), high (of grass)’ (cf. Kuipers 1975:52). Assuming semantic development from ‘closely or firmly twisted together’.

491. Proto-Nostratic root **k’ir-* (~ **k’er-*) or **k’ur-* (~ **k’or-*):
(vb.) **k’ir-* or **k’ur-* ‘to cut, to cut into, to incise, to engrave, to notch; to cut off, to sever, to nip off, to clip; to cut in two, to split’;
(n.) **k’ir-a* or **k’ur-a* ‘cut, slit, notch; chip, piece cut off’

Proto-North-Caucasian **ḳirV* ‘knife, axe’ (cf. Nikolayev—Starostin 1994: 725—726).

508. Proto-Nostratic root **g^{w}an-* (~ **g^{w}ən-*):
(vb.) **g^{w}an-* ‘to hit, to strike, to slay, to kill, to wound, to harm, to injure’;
(n.) **g^{w}an-a* ‘strike, harm, injury’

Proto-North Caucasian **gwanV̌* (~ *-ŏ-*) ‘supply (of meat)’, perhaps originally ‘portion of meat (of a slaughtered animal)’ as in Avar-Andi (cf. Nikolayev—Starostin 1994:443—444).

510. Proto-Nostratic root **g^{w}ar-* (~ **g^{w}ər-*):
(vb.) **g^{w}ar-* ‘to turn, to twist, to wind, to wrap, to roll’;
(n.) **g^{w}ar-a* ‘any round or circular object’; (adj.) ‘rolling, round, bent, twisted, turned’

Proto-North Caucasian **gwērV* ‘circle; round; to roll’ (cf. Nikolayev—Starostin 1994:447—448). Note also: Proto-North Caucasian **gwV̌rV* ‘enclosure’ (cf. Nikolayev—Starostin 1994:452; Chirikba 1996b:38).

514. Proto-Nostratic root **k^{wh}al-* (~ **k^{wh}əl-*):
(vb.) **k^{wh}al-* ‘to revolve, to go around, to roll’;
(n.) **k^{wh}al-a* ‘circle, circuit’

Proto-North Caucasian **kwĕlˤV* ‘thread’ (cf. Nikolayev—Starostin 1994:705).

522. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **k^{wh}ar-a* ‘vessel, pot’:

Proto-North Caucasian **k̲wərV* ‘a kind of vessel’ (cf. Nikolayev—Starostin 1994:706).

528. Proto-Nostratic relative pronoun stem **k^{wh}i-* (~ **k^{wh}e-*); interrogative pronoun stem **k^{wh}a-* (~ **k^{wh}ə-*):

Proto-North Caucasian **kwi* interrogative pronoun: ‘who?’ (cf. Nikolayev—Starostin 1994:709—710).

545. Proto-Nostratic root **k’ʷas-* (~ **k’ʷəs-*):
(vb.) **k’ʷas-* ‘to strike fire, to put out (fire)’;
(n.) **k’ʷas-a* ‘spark, fire’

Proto-Circassian **k̓ºasa* ‘to go out (as fire, light); to escape, to run away, to desert, to elope’ (cf. Kuipers 1975:60; Chirikba 1996b:50 *k̓ºášə*).

549. Proto-Nostratic root **k’ʷed-*:
(vb.) **k’ʷed-* ‘to destroy, to damage, to ruin; to decay, to rot, to spoil’;
(n.) **k’ʷed-a* ‘death, destruction, damage, ruin, decay’
Note also:
(vb.) **k’ʷad-* ‘to strike, to beat, to smash, to pound’;
(n.) **k’ʷad-a* ‘knock, stroke, thrust’

Proto-Circassian **k̓ºad(a)* ‘to disappear, to get lost, to perish’ (cf. Kuipers 1975:60).

578. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **q’alʸ-a* ‘sexual organs, genitals, private parts (male or female)’:

Proto-North Caucasian **q̇Vlē* (~ **q̇-*, **-i*) ‘child’ (cf. Nikolayev—Starostin 1994:929; Chirikba 1996b:63 **q̓ºaltá-sə*). For the semantics, cf. Svan [*q’l-*] in *q’law* ‘child (male)’, alongside Georgian *q’l-e* (< **q’al-e* or **q’ol-e*) ‘penis’; Mingrelian *ʔol-e* (< **q’ol-a-i*) ‘penis’; Laz *q’ol-e*, *k’ol-e* ‘penis’.

585. Proto-Nostratic root **ɢʷal-* (~ **ɢʷəl-*):
(vb.) **ɢʷal-* ‘to curve, to bend, to roll; to be round’;
(n.) **ɢʷal-a* ‘round object: circle, globe, sphere, ball, etc.’
Derivative:
(n.) **ɢʷal-a* ‘head, skull’

Proto-North Caucasian **ɢwălḥē* ‘udder; breast’ (cf. Nikolayev—Starostin 1994:465).

590. Proto-Nostratic root **q’ʷal-* (~ **q’ʷəl-*):
(vb.) **q’ʷal-* ‘to throw, to hurl’;
(n.) **q’ʷal-a* ‘sling, club; throwing, hurling’

Proto-North Caucasian **q̱̇w[ä]ɬʔV̌* ‘arm, bosom, armpit’ (cf. Nikolayev—Starostin 1994:933—934). Semantics as in: Proto-Kartvelian **q’wil-* ‘shoulder bone, shoulder blade; arm’: Georgian *q’vl-iv-i* ‘shoulder blade’; Mingrelian

ʔvil-e ‘bone, arm’; Laz *q’vil-i*, *ʔil-i* ‘bone’. Klimov 1964:211—212 **q̇wl-iw-* and 1998:242 **q̇wl-iw-*; Schmidt 1962:141; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:415 **q̇wil-*; Fähnrich 2007:516 **q̇wil-*.

594. Proto-Nostratic root (Eurasiatic only) **q’ʷatʸʰ-* (~ **q’ʷətʸʰ-*):
(vb.) **q’ʷatʸʰ-* ‘to say, to speak, to call’;
(n.) **q’ʷatʸʰ-a* ‘call, invocation, invitation, summons’

Proto-Circassian **q̓ºatʰa* ‘to tell, to report; to announce, to make known’ (cf. Kuipers 1975:73).

602. Proto-Nostratic root **t͡ɬʰay-* (~ **t͡ɬʰəy-*):
(vb.) **t͡ɬʰay-* ‘to grow old, to turn gray (hair)’;
(n.) **t͡ɬʰay-a* ‘old age, gray hair’

Proto-North Caucasian **ƛ̆ǎjV* ‘time, day’ (cf. Nikolayev—Starostin 1994:766).

610. Proto-Nostratic root **t͡ɬ’il-* (~ **t͡ɬ’el-*):
(vb.) **t͡ɬ’il-* ‘to be bent, curved, round’;
(n.) **t͡ɬ’il-a* ‘bent, curved, round thing or object’; (adj.) ‘bent, curved, round’

Proto-North Caucasian **ƛ̓[ɬ̆]lĭ* ‘ear (of corn)’ (cf. Nikolayev—Starostin 1994: 779).

614. Proto-Nostratic demonstrative stems (originally deictic particles):
Proximate: **ʔi-* (~ **ʔe-*) ‘this’;
Intermediate: **ʔu-* (~ **ʔo-*) ‘that’;
Distant: **ʔa-* (~ **ʔə-*) ‘that yonder, that over there’

Proto-North Caucasian **ʔi* ‘this’ (a common Proto-North Caucasian demonstrative stem, in the majority of languages used for near deixis) (cf. Nikolayev—Starostin 1994:214—215), **ʔŏ* ‘that’ (this demonstrative stem is mostly used for far deixis) (cf. Nikolayev—Starostin 1994:218—219), **ʔu* (~ **hu*) ‘that’ (cf. Nikolayev—Starostin 1994:222).

Proto-Abkhaz demonstrative pronoun: **a* ‘this’ (used only in compounds) (cf. Chirikba 1996b:1).

616. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **ʔab(b)a* ~ **ʔapʰ(pʰ)a* ‘father, forefather’ (nursery word):

Proto-North Caucasian **ʔŏbV̄(jV)* ‘father’ (a nursery word) (cf. Nikolayev—Starostin 1994:217; Chirikba 1996b:1 **abá*).

621. Proto-Nostratic root **ʔakʰ-* (~ **ʔəkʰ-*):

(vb.) *ʔak^{h}- ‘to eat’;
(n.) *ʔak^{h}-*a* ‘food, meal; fodder, feed, morsel’

(?) Proto-North Caucasian *ʔ*ikwVn* ‘to eat’ (cf. Nikolayev—Starostin 1994: 207).

636. Proto-Nostratic (n.) *ʔan^{y}*a* ‘mother, aunt’ (nursery word):
Note also:
(n.) *ʔen^{y}*a* ‘mother, elder sister’

Proto-North Caucasian *ʔ*ānV(j)V* ‘mother’ (cf. Nikolayev—Starostin 1994: 201—202; Chirikba 1996b:9).

652. Proto-Nostratic root *ʔay- (~ *ʔəy-):
(vb.) *ʔay- ‘to go, to proceed’;
(n.) *ʔay-*a* ‘journey’
Note also:
(vb.) *ʔiy- ‘to come, to go’;
(n.) *ʔiy-*a* ‘approach, arrival; path, way’

Proto-Abkhaz *jə ‘to come, to go’ (cf. Chirikba 1996b:126).

664. Proto-Nostratic (n.) *ʔer-*a* ‘earth, ground’:

Proto-North Caucasian *ʔ*ārV* ‘plain’ (cf. Nikolayev—Starostin 1994:202).

669. Proto-Nostratic root *ʔil- (~ *ʔel-):
(vb.) *ʔil- ‘to see, to know’;
(n.) *ʔil-*a* ‘eye’

Proto-North Caucasian *ʔ*iL̲V* ‘to look’ (cf. Nikolayev—Starostin 1994:209).

703. Proto-Nostratic root *ħag- (~ *ħəg-):
(vb.) *ħag- ‘to be pressed or weighed down; to be oppressed; to be vexed, distressed, disheartened, afflicted, troubled’;
(n.) *ħag-*a* ‘trouble, affliction, oppression, distress, grief, sadness’

Proto-North Caucasian *=*HägGwVn* ‘to tremble, to be afraid’ (cf. Nikolayev—Starostin 1994:553—554).

724. Proto-Nostratic root *ħar- (~ *ħər-):
(vb.) *ħar- ‘to scratch, to scrape’ (> ‘to plow’);
(n.) *ħar-*a* ‘scraping, scratching’

Proto-North Caucasian *=*HarxVr* (~ *-ə-*, *-λ-*) ‘to sweep’ (cf. Nikolayev—Starostin 1994:548). Note also: Proto-North Caucasian **HěrχwA* / **HěwχwA* ‘to comb, to scratch, to scrape’ (cf. Nikolayev—Starostin 1994:562).

731. Proto-Nostratic root **ħaw-* (~ **ħəw-*):
(vb.) **ħaw-* ‘to swell, to increase’;
(n.) **ħaw-a* ‘swelling, increase, growth; great number or amount’

Proto-North Caucasian **HăwaχV* ‘to swell’ (cf. Nikolayev—Starostin 1994: 549—550).

757. Proto-Nostratic root **ʕat^{h}-* (~ **ʕət^{h}-*):
(vb.) **ʕat^{h}-* ‘to move, to proceed, to advance (in years)’;
(n.) **ʕat^{h}-a* ‘maturity, old age; advance’; (adj.) ‘mature, old; advanced’

Proto-North Caucasian *=*ətV* ‘to move, to go, to come’ (cf. Nikolayev—Starostin 1994:423).

783. Proto-Nostratic root **γil-* (~ **γel-*):
(vb.) **γil-* ‘to bear, to give birth, to beget (of humans)’;
(n.) **γil-a* ‘child, youth, young person’; (adj.) ‘young, immature’

Proto-North Caucasian **HVλU* ‘to bear, to give birth; to create’ (cf. Nikolayev—Starostin 1994:614 **HVλU* ‘to bear, to give birth; to create’).

791. Proto-Nostratic 1st person personal pronoun stem **wa-* (~ **wə-*) ‘I, me; we us’:

Nakh **waj* ‘we (incl.)’ (listed under Proto-North Caucasian **u̯ō* ‘thou’) (cf. Nikolayev—Starostin 1994:1014—1015).

801. Proto-Nostratic root **wal-* (~ **wəl-*):
(vb.) **wal-* ‘to flow, to wet, to moisten’;
(n.) **wal-a* ‘flow, trickle; wetness, moisture, dampness’; (adj.) ‘wet, damp’

Proto-Circassian **wala* ‘cloud’ (cf. Kuipers 1975:96). Assuming semantic development as in Old English *weolcen*, *wolc*, *wolcen* ‘cloud’; Old Frisian *wolken*, *wulken* ‘cloud’; Old Saxon *wolkan* ‘cloud’; Dutch *wolk* ‘cloud’; Old High German *wolchan*, *wolkan* ‘cloud’ (New High German *Wolke*).

804. Proto-Nostratic root **wal^{y}-* (~ **wəl^{y}-*):
(vb.) **wal^{y}-* ‘to turn, to roll, to revolve’;
(n.) **wal^{y}-a* ‘circle, circumference; turn, rotation’; (adj.) ‘round’

Proto-Circassian **waλa* ‘to totter, to reel; to wave, to undulate’ (cf. Kuipers 1975:86).

807. Proto-Nostratic root **wan-* (~ **wən-*):
(vb.) **wan-* ‘to stay, to remain’;
(n.) **wan-a* ‘abode, dwelling’

Proto-Circassian **wəna* ‘house’ (cf. Kuipers 1975:86).

813. Proto-Nostratic root **war-* (~ **wər-*):
(vb.) **war-* ‘to look, to watch out for, to observe, to care for’;
(n.) **war-a* ‘watch, vigil, guardianship, care; watchman, guard, keeper, warder’

Proto-North Caucasian **ʔwerV* ‘look, sight’ (cf. Nikolayev—Starostin 1994: 248—249).

816. Proto-Nostratic root **war-* (~ **wər-*):
(vb.) **war-* ‘to raise, to elevate, to grow, to increase’;
(n.) **war-a* ‘uppermost, highest, or topmost part’

Proto-North Caucasian **wărte* ‘top’ (cf. Nikolayev—Starostin 1994:1039). Note: This may be an Iranian or Indo-Iranian loan.

Proto-Circassian **warqːə* ‘nobleman’ (cf. Kuipers 1975:87).

821. Proto-Nostratic root **waš-* (~ **wəš-*):
(vb.) **waš-* ‘to add (to), to augment, to increase, to heap up’;
(n.) **waš-a* ‘augmentation, increase, addition, increment’; (adj.) ‘increased, augmented, heaped up, filled, full’

Proto-Circassian **wəśa* ‘to stuff, to fill’ (cf. Kuipers 1975:85).

829. Proto-Nostratic root **welʸ-*:
(vb.) **welʸ-* ‘to be open, to be vacant’;
(n.) **welʸ-a* ‘open space, open land, field, meadow’

Proto-North Caucasian **wɬlʒwV* ‘mountain pasture’ (cf. Nikolayev—Starostin 1994:1055—1056).

835. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **wir-a* ‘a kind of tree: aspen, alder, poplar, or the like’:

Proto-North Caucasian **ʔwērxi* ‘a kind of foliage tree’ (cf. Nikolayev—Starostin 1994:230—231).

844. Proto-Nostratic indefinite pronoun stem **ma-* (~ **mə-*), **mi-* (~ **me-*), **mu-* (~ **mo-*) ‘one, someone, somebody, anyone, anybody; other, another’:

Note: This may originally have been a demonstrative stem, with three degrees of distance:
Proximate: **ma-* (~ **mə-*) ‘this’;
Intermediate: **mi-* (~ **me-*) ‘that’;
Distant: **mu-* (~ **mo-*) ‘that yonder’

Proto-North Caucasian **mV* demonstrative pronoun (cf. Nikolayev—Starostin 1994:842—843).

Proto-Circassian **mə* ‘this’ (cf. Kuipers 1975:87). Proto-Circassian **maw* ‘thither, that’ (cf. Kuipers 1975:88).

845. Proto-Nostratic (nursery word) (n.) **ma(a)* ‘mother, mommy’, (reduplicated) **mam(m)a*, **mem[e]* ‘mother; (mother’s) breast, milk’; used as a verb, the meaning was probably ‘to suckle, to nurse; to suck (the breast)’ (as noted by Watkins 2000:50: “[a] linguistic near-universal found in many of the world’s languages, often in reduplicated form”; see also Jakobson 1971[1960]):

Proto-North Caucasian **məmV* ‘teat, nipple; pimple’ (cf. Nikolayev—Starostin 1994:806—807).

846. Proto-Nostratic negative/prohibitive particle **ma(ʔ)-* (~ **mə(ʔ)-*) ‘no, not’:

Proto-North Caucasian **ma* (~ *-ə*) prohibitive particle (cf. Nikolayev—Starostin 1994:797).

Proto-Circassian **mə* negative prefix (cf. Kuipers 1975:87).

858. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **mal-a* ‘hill, mountain’:

Proto-North Caucasian *malš̲wV* ‘slope; muzzle, face’ (cf. Nikolayev—Starostin 1994:894—795).

874. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **man^{y}-a* ‘progenitor, begetter, man, male; penis’:
Derivative of:
(vb.) **man^{y}-* ‘to lust after, to desire passionately, to copulate with, to have sexual intercourse, to beget’;
(n.) **man^{y}-a* ‘ardent desire, passion, lust’

Proto-North Caucasian **mV̄nxV* ‘male, man’ (cf. Nikolayev—Starostin 1994: 840).

Proto-Circassian **mana* ‘penis’ (cf. Kuipers 1975:89).

878. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **mar-a* ‘(young) man, male (human or animal)’:

Proto-North Caucasian **mōrŁV* ‘male’ (cf. Nikolayev—Starostin 1994:830—831). According to Nikolayev—Starostin, “an important social term, not borrowed (as sometimes supposed) from Indo-Aryan.”

887. Proto-Nostratic root **mat’-* (~ **mət’-*):
(vb.) **mat’-* ‘to stretch, to expand, to lengthen, to draw out, to measure out’;
(n.) **mat’-a* ‘measure, measurement, amount; extent, limit’

Proto-North Caucasian **mĭṭwi* (~ *-ē*) ‘growth, excrescence’ (cf. Nikolayev—Starostin 1994:823).

891. Proto-Nostratic interrogative pronoun stem **mi-* (~ **me-*) ‘who?, which?, what?’, relative pronoun stem **ma-* (~ **mə-*) ‘who, which, what’:

Proto-North Caucasian **mV* interrogative stem (cf. Nikolayev—Starostin 1994: 843).

898. Proto-Nostratic root **mir-* (~ **mer-*):
(vb.) **mir-* ‘to stab, to pierce, to wound, to cause pain’;
(n.) **mir-a* ‘wound, pain’

Proto-North Caucasian **mirć(w)Ē* ‘knife, sickle’ (cf. Nikolayev—Starostin 1994:822—823).

907. Proto-Nostratic (Eurasiatic only) (n.) **mur-a* ‘mulberry, blackberry’:

Proto-North Caucasian **mer(ʔ)V* ‘a kind of berry’ (cf. Nikolayev—Starostin 1994:804—805).

911. Proto-Nostratic first person singular personal pronoun **na* (~ **nə*) ‘I, me’:

Note: On the basis of Dravidian (and possibly Altaic), the original form of this stem may have been **ŋa* (~ **ŋə*), but this is not certain. Sumerian [Emegir] *g̃á.e* [= /ŋa-/] ‘I’ supports such a reconstruction as well.

912. Proto-Nostratic first person plural exclusive personal pronoun **na* (~ **nə*) ‘we, us’:

Proto-North Caucasian **nɬ̆* 'I' (possibly originally a collective plural pronoun: cf. Proto-Dargwa **nu-s:a* 'we' [exclusive], **nu-x:a* 'we' [inclusive]) (cf. Nikolayev—Starostin 1994:855).

913. Proto-Nostratic deictic particle **na* (~ **nə*), **ni* (~ **ne*) 'this, that':

Proto-North Caucasian **nV* 'this, that' (a demonstrative stem) (cf. Nikolayev—Starostin 1994:858).

935. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **nus^{y}-a* 'woman, female; any female connected by marriage: wife, bride, sister-in-law, daughter-in-law':
Derivative of:
(vb.) **nus^{y}-* 'to be small, minute, soft, weak, delicate';
(n.) **nus^{y}-a* 'smallness, insufficiency, decrease, diminishment'; (adj.) 'small, minute, soft, weak, delicate'

Proto-North Caucasian **nŭsA* (~ *-ŏ-*) 'daughter-in-law' (cf. Nikolayev—Starostin 1994:856—857). Note: According to Tuite—Schulze (1998), the North Caucasian terms are loans from Indo-European; cf. Proto-Indo-European **(s)nuso-s* 'daughter-in-law'.

Proto-Circassian **nəsa* '(father's) brother's wife, daughter-in-law' (cf. Kuipers 1975:89).

975. Proto-Nostratic root **rum-* (~ **rom-*):
(vb.) **rum-* 'to grow or become dark; to darken';
(n.) **rum-a* 'darkness, night; twilight, dusk'; (adj.) 'dark'

Proto-North Caucasian **rVmɬ̆A̋* 'night, evening' (cf. Nikolayev—Starostin 1994:955—956).

I strongly suspect that most, if not all, of the Northwest Caucasian (Abkhaz and Circassian) evidence cited in this Appendix dates from the period when the speakers of Proto-Indo-European were in contact with speakers of Proto-Northwest Caucasian, as discussed in Chapter 13, §13.2, and Chapter 21 of this book and does not go back to the period of contact between Proto-Nostratic and Proto-North Caucasian. This is indicated, for example, by forms such as Proto-Circassian **q'^{o}at^{h}a* 'to tell, to report; to announce, to make known' (no. 594 above), which was clearly borrowed from Proto-Indo-European after it had lost the earlier palatalized alveolars but before it had lost the postvelars (see Chapter 4, Appendix, for details on the prehistoric development of the Proto-Indo-European phonological system). The matches between Proto-North Caucasian and Proto-Nostratic, on the other hand, go back much further in time. Though not all of the matches are perfect, as a group, they are extremely suggestive.

Besides the Northwest and Northeast Caucasian languages, another place to look for possible evidence of language contact is Sumerian. The Sumerian evidence is abundant and is included in the individual Nostratic etymologies. As noted at the end of Chapter 15, "… the evidence seems to indicate that Sumerian … is distantly related to Nostratic." Thus, the Sumerian situation is a bit different from that involving the Northwest and Northeast Caucasian languages, which points to contact rather than relationship, though ultimate relationship should not be ruled out at an even deeper time depth. The investigation of deeper relationship, however, lies beyond the scope of this book.